THE TREATISE ON THE GREAT VIRTUE OF WISDOM OF NĀGĀRJUNA

(MAHĀPRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀŚĀSTRA)

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VOL. I
CHAPTERS I – XV

COMPOSED BY THE BODHISATTVE NĀGĀRJUNA
AND TRANSLATED BY
THE TRIPIṬAKADHARMĀCĀRYA KUMĀRAJIVA
OF THE LAND OF KOUTCHA
UNDER THE LATER TS'IN

Translated from the French
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PREFACE

MAHĀPRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀŚĀSTRA

NĀGĀRJUNA

ÉTIENNE LAMOTTE

Here is a first attempt at an annotated translation of chapters I to XV of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā* (abbreviated as Mppś) by Nāgārjuna. The work has not come down to us in the original Sanskrit, but only through the intermediary of a Chinese translation, the *Ta tche tou louen*. This version which contains 90 chapters (p'in) in 100 rolls (kiuan), is by the Kuchanese Kumārajīva who worked in Tch'ang ngan in the *Siao yao* Park, in 404 or 405 A.D.[1] I (Lamotte) have used the edition of Taishô Issaikyô, vol. XXV, no. 1509; the numbers in the margins of this translation refer to the pages and columns of this edition[2].

The Mppś is a commentary on the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (abbreviated as Pañcaviṃśati) 'The Perfection of Wisdom in Five Thousand Lines', as it appears in Kumārajīva's Chinese translation *Mo ho pan jo po lo mi king* (Taishô, T VIII, no. 223). Of this Pañcaviṃśati we have four Chinese translations, one Tibetan translation, one Sanskrit revision and one Tibetan translation of this Sanskrit revision.

1. The four Chinese translations are:
i) The *Kouang tsan king* (Taishô, Vol. VIII, no. 222) in 27 chapters (p'in = *parivarta*) and 10 rolls (kiuan) by Dharmarakṣa, dating from 286 A.D.
ii) The *Fan kouang pan jo king* (Taishô, vol. VIII, no. 221) in 90 chapters and 20 rolls, by Mokṣala amd Saṃgharakṣa, dating from 291.
iii) The *Mo ho pan jo po lo mi king* (Taishô, vol. VIII, no. 223) in 90 chapters and 27 rolls, by Kumārajīva, dating from 403-404. This version is reproduced in its entirety and abundantly commented in the *Ta tche tou louen*.
iv) The second part of the Ta pan jo po lo mi king (Taishô, vol. VII, no. 220), in rolls 401 to 478, contains long extracts from the Pañcaviṃśati. The translation is by Hiuan tsang and is dated at 660-663.

T. Matsumoto has prepared a useful concordance for these four Chinese translations[3].
2. The Tibetan translation is entitled *Śes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stoṅ phrag ñi śu lṅa pa*; it consists of 76 chapters (leḥu = *parivarta*) and 78 sections (bam po = *khaṇḍa*). The name of the translators is not mentioned. The work is part of the Bkaḥ-ḥgyur, section śer phyin, II; it takes up four volumes of the

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[1] P.C. Bagchi, *Le canon bouddhique en Chine*, vol I, Paris 1927, p. 197. - Different from most Buddhist works, the Mppś was not translated into Tibetan but only into Chinese. For the Mppś and Touen-houang and Kharakhoto, see *Bibliographie bouddhique*, vol I, 1930, no. 105; vol. IV-V, 1934, no. 307.

[2] *The Tripitaka in Chinese, revised, collated, added, rearranged and edited* by J. Takakusu and K Watanabe, 55 vols., Tokyo, 1924-1929.

[3] T. Matsumoto, *Die Prajñāpāramitā-Literatur* (Bonner orientalische Studien, Heft 1). Stuttgart, 1932, p. 38-41.

Peking Bkaḥ-ḫgyur (vol. ñi-di: Tibetan collection of the Bibliotheque Nationale, no. 40-43) and three volumes of the Narthang Bkaḥ-ḫgyur (vol. ka-ga: Tibetan collection of the Bibliotheque Nationale, no. 385-387).

3. The Sanskrit recension which repeats its title at the end of each chapter is entitled: *Āryapañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā bhagavatī prajñāpāramitā abhisamayālaṃkārānusāreṇa saṃśodhitā*. It contains eight chapters (*parivarta*)[4]. As its title indicates and as Dutt has established, it is a reworked recension of the original Sanskrit Pañcaviṃśati, modified with the intention of serving as commentary to the Abhisamayālaṃkāra[5].

4. The Tibetan translation of this Sanskrit recension is entitled *Śes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stoṅ phrag ñi śu lṅa pa*, but its real title, which corresponds word for word with that of the Sanskrit recension, is given by the colophon: *Ḥpags pa bcom ldan ḥdas ma śes rab kyi rol tu phyin pa stoṅ phrag ñi śu lṅa pa mṅon par rtogs paḥi rgyan gyi rjes su ḥbraṅs nas dag par gtugs pa*. This work consists of 8 chapters (leḥu = *parivarta*) and 74 sections (bam po = *khaṇḍa*); if the Tibetan indexes are to be believed, it has as author Simhabhadra or Haribadra, as translator Śantibhadra, and as proofreader Jayaśīla[6]. It is included in the Bsrtan-ḫgyur, Mdo ḫgrel section, vols. III, IV and V (Tibetan material in the National Library, nos. 198-200).

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The prologue (*nidāna*) of the Pañcaviṃśati, to which the first 15 chapters of the Mppś serve as commentary, is reproduced in almost identical words at the beginning of other Prajñāpāramitās, such as the Śatasāhasrikā and the Daśasāhasrikā. Therefore it is important to give some bibliographical information here on the literature of the Prajñās. For the Tibetan and Chinese versions, it is enough to refer to the excellent studies of Lalou and Matsumoto[7]; here we will limit ourselves to giving the list of the Prajñās in Sanskrit that have already been edited as a note[8].

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4 The first chapter has been edited by N. Dutt, *The Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā, ed. with critical notes and introduction* (Calcutta Oriental Series, no. 28), London, 1934.

5 This work has been edited by Th. Stcherbatsky and E. Obermiller, *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-Prajñāpāramitā-Upadeśa-Śhāstra, the work of bodhisattva Maitreya*. Fasc. I: Introduction, Sanskrit Text and Tibetan Translation (Biblioteca Buddhica, no. XXIII), Leningrad, 1929.

6 P. Cordier, *Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliotheque Nationale,* Paris, 1915, III, p. 276.

7 M. Lalou, *La version tibétaine des Prajñapāramitā*, Journal asiatique, July-Sept., 1929, p. 87-102. - T. Matsumoto, *Die Prajñāpmaramitā-Literatur*, Stuttgart, 1932, p. 22-25.

8 *Śatasāhasrikā P.P.*, ed. Pratāpachandra Ghoṣha (Biblioteca Indica), Calcutta, 1902-1914.

Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā P.P., ed. N. Dutt (Calcutta Oriental Series), London, 1934.

Daśasāhasrikā P.P. in Sten Konow, *The two first Chapters of the Daśasāsrikā, restoration of the Sanskrit Text, Analysis and Index* (Avhandlinger utgitt av det Norske Videnkaps-Akademi i Oslo), Oslo, 1941.

AṣtaÔahasrikā P.P., ed. Rājendralāla Mitra (Biblioteca Indica), Calcutta, 1888. - This edition, quite faulty, will favorably be replaced by the text of the Aṣtasāhasrikā incorporated by U. Wogihara in his edition of the *Abhisamayālaṃkārāloka*, Tokyo, 1932-1935.

Suvikrāntavikrāmi P.P., in T. Matsumoto, *op. cit.*, as appendix.

The Mppś is attributed to Nāgārjuna: Kumārajīva's version has as its title '*Ta tche tou louen*, composed by the bodhisattva Nāgārjuna and translated by the Tripiṭikadharmācārya Kumārajīva of the country of K'ieou tseu (Kucha) of the later Ts'in'; the *Li tai san pao ki*, a catalogue of the Tripiṭaka compiled in 597 by Fei Tch'ang fang, also notes that the original work is the work of the bodhisattva Nāgārjuna[9]. Nevertheless, it is odd that the Mppś does not appear in the lists of works attributed to Nāgārjuna by the *Long chou p'ou sa tchouan* (Taish*ô* 2047) and the Tibetan historians Bu ston and Tāranātha.

The bodhisattva Nāgārjuna (*Klu sgrub* in Tibetan, 'converted by a dragon' or 'converting the dragons'; in Chinese *Long chou* 'dragon tree', *Long mong* 'unflinching dragon' or *Long cheng* 'victorious dragon') is one of the most enigmatic, yet also one of the richest, figures in Buddhism. He lived in probably the second century of our era and played a rôle of primary importance in the formation of the Buddhism of the Greater Vehicle. Originally from the south, the country of Andhra, his influence extended as far as the north-west of India. Dialectician and metaphysician, he is the founder of the Madhymaka or 'Middle-Way' school, which, while accepting the buddhology and the mysticism of the Greater Vehicle, submits the old texts of Buddhism to negative criticism and ends up with absolute emptiness (*śūnyatā*). Nāgārjuna's theories have been thoroughly discussed in Asia and Europe. The question is whether the Madhyamaka accepts an absolutely existent Reality. L. de La Vallée Poussin has long believed that this school is nihilistic and denies the absolute[10]; on the other hand, Th. Stcherbatsaky was of the opinion that Nāgārjuna denied appearance only in order to affirm Being[11]. After an argument which at times turned into a quarrel, de La Vallée Poussin drew nearer to the position held by Stcherbatsky whereas the latter came very close to adopting the theses defended by de La Vallée Poussin[12]. But this is not the only problem with regard to Nāgārjuna.

Many Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese sources give us much information about the life and works of this author, but the facts they contain are soaked in the miraculous and seem to refer to several Nāgārjunas of different date and origin, so that the re-appearance of the same legends is inextricably tied up among them. They have been analyzed, perhaps with inaccuracies of detail, by Walleser[13] and summarized by

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Saptaśatikā P.P., ed. G. Tucci, in Memorie della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, vol. XVII, 1923, fasc. I; ed. J. Masuda, in Journal of the Taishô University, vol. VII, 1030, p. 186-241.

Vajracchedikā P.P., ed. M. Müller (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, vol. I part I), Oxford, 1881.

Adhyardhaśhatikā P.P., ed. E. Leumann, *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur*, Strassburg, 1912, p. 84 seq; ed. S. Toganoo and H. Izumi, *Prajñāpāramitānayaśatapañcsatikā*, Kyoto, 1917.

Prajñāpāramitāhṛidayasūtrā, ed. M. Müller (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, vol. I part III), Oxford, 1884.

9 P.C.Bagchi, *Le canon bouddhique en Chine*, T. I, p. 197.

10 L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Madhyamaka*, Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, VIII, p. 235-237; *Nirvāṇa*, Paris 1925; *Le dogme et la philosophie du Bouddhisme*, Paris, 1930, p. 113-118; *Madhyamaka*, Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, vol. II, 1932-1933, p. 1-59.

11 Th. Stcherbatsky, *Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, Leningrad, 1927, p. 35-39.

12 Th. Stcherbatsky, *Die drei Richtungen in der Philosophie des Buddhismus*, Rocznik Orjentalistyczny, vol. X, 1934, p. 1-37; *Madhyānta-Vibhaṅga*, Leningrad, 1936, p. VI-VIII.

13 M. Walleser, *The Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources*, Hirth Anniversry Volume, London, 1922, p. 421-455.

Winternitz in the second edition of his history of Indian literature[14]. Since then, other information has been collected.

Attention has been drawn to a series of predictions relative to Nāgārjuna found in the *Laṅkāvatāra*[15], the *Mahāmeghasūtra*[16], the *Mahāmāyasūtra*[17] and the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*[18].

Apart from Nāgārjuna the Mādhyamika philosopher, there was one other (or several) Nagarjunas, magician, alchemist and writer of tantra. Documents published By G. Tucci[19] and S. Lévi[20] may be added to the information we already possess. Moreover, it may have been Nāgārjuna who discovered and revealed to humans the Mahāvairocanasūtra, one of the main texts of Buddhist Vajrayana and of the Shingon sect[21].

All the sources, in emulation of one another, mention the friendly relations and alchemical collaboration between Nāgārjuna and a king of the Śātavāhana or Śātakarṇi dynasty (perhaps also Andhra) which, in the second or first century before our era until the end of the second century afterward, disputed the empire of Dekhan with the Śuṅga-Kānvas and with the Śakas, before dying out around Dhānyakaṭaka and Amarāvatī in Andhra proper[22]. S. Lévi has collated these different sources and related them to another cycle of legends relating to the rivalry between a Śātavāhana and the Kuṣaṇa king Kaniṣka[23].

Archeological discoveries, old and new, partially confirm the literary documents. According to the Tibetan historians, Nāgārjuna may have spent the last of his life in the land of Andhra, of the Teluga language, between the Godāvarī and the lower Kṛiṣṇā. The region abounds in sites made famous by archeology:

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14 M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, vol II, Calcutta, 1933, p. 341-348.

15 Laṅkāvatāra, ed. B. Nanjio, Kyoto, 1923, p. 286; Taishô 671, k. 9, p. 569a; Taishô 672, k. 6, p. 627c.

16 Mahāmeghasūtra cited in the Madhyamakāvatāra, Tibetan version ed. by L. de La Vallée Poussin, Saint Petersburg, 1912, p. 76; transl. in Le Muséon, 1910, p. 274. - Chinese translation by Dharmarakṣha, Taishô 387, k. 5, p. 1099-1100, studied by P. Demiéville, *Sur un passage du Mahāmeghasūtra*, Bull. de l'Éc. fr. d'ExtrĪme-Orient, vol. XXIV, 1924, p. 227-228. - Tibetan translation of Bkaḥ-ḥgyur ed. by G. Tucci, *Animadversiones indicae*, Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. XXVI, 1930, p. 145-147. - Bu ston, *Chos ḥbyuṅ*, tr. E. Obermiller, II, Heidelburg, 1932, p. 129.

17 Mahāmāyasūtra in Taishô 383, k. 2, p. 1013c. - Cf. J. Przyluski, *Légende de l'empereur Aśhoka*, Paris, 1923, p. 163-164.

18 Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, ed. Ganapati Śastrī, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, p. 616-617.

19 G.Tucci, Animadversiones indicae: VI. *A Sanskrit Biography of the Siddhas and some questions connected with Nāgārjuna*, Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Societry of Bengal, vol. XXVI, 1930, p. 138-155.

20 S. Lévi, *Un nouveau document sur le bouddhisme de basse époque dans l'Inde*, Bull. of the School of Or. Studies, vol. VI, part 2, p. 427-429.

21 *Kin kang ting king ta yu k'ie pi mi sin ti fa men yi kue*, Taishô 1798, k. 1, p. 808a-b. - Cf. R. Tajima, *Etude sur le Māhāvairocanasūtra*, Paris, 1936, p. 30-32.

22 For the history of this dynasty, see L. de La Vallée Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas*, Paris, 1930, p. 206-222; and *Dynasties et Histoire de l'Inde*, Paris, 1935, p. 184-185; R. Grousset, *L'Asie orientale des origines au XVe siecle*, Paris, 1941, p. 53-54, 72-77.

23 S. Lévi, *Kaniṣka and Śātavāhana*, Journal Asiatique, Jan.-Mar. 1936, p. 61-121.

Dhānyakaṭaka, ancient capital on the lower Kṛiṣṇā, corresponding to the actual Dharanīkot, in the district of Guntur, one mile west of the site of Amarāvatī; upstream and on the same south bank of the Kṛiṣṇā, Goli and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa; in the north-west, Jaggayyapeṭa. Nāgārjuna, it is said, constructed a building for the shrine of Dpal ḥbras spuṅs (Śīdhānyakaṭaka)[24], surrounded it with a wall and built 108 cells within the wall[25]. According to the same historians[26], he may have established his residence at Śrīparvata, a monastery situated on a rocky cliff overhanging the Kṛiṣṇā, and probably identified with the mountain in the *Po lo mo lo k'i li* (Bhramaragiri or Mountain of the Bees) which king Śātavāhana had hollowed out and fitted out for the bodhisattva Nāgārjuna[27]. The inscriptions discovered in the area corroborate all this information. The outer balustrade of the Amarāvati stūpa bears the inscription of two kings of the Andhra dynasty, Pulumāyī and Yajñaśrī[28]and according to some authors, it is to the latter that Nāgārjuna dedicated his *Letter of Suhṛllekha*. The Bhadanta Nāgārjunācārya himself is mentioned in an inscription found near the stūpa of Jaggayyapeṭa[29]. At Nāharallaboḍu, beside the mahācetiya of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, an inscription mentions the buildings erected by the lay Buddhist Bodhisiri and mentions 'the monastery on Siriparvata to the west of Vijayapurī' which must be the monastery of Śrīparvata where the Tibetan historians say that Nāgārjuna died[30]. In a more general way, the inscribed pillars at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa[31] bear precious indications on the Buddhism of the south at the time of Nāgārjuna: to a certain point, they inform us about the canonical scriptures (Dīgha, Majjhima and Pañcamātuka), the sects (Caityika, Aparaśaila, Pūrvaśaila, Bahuśrutīya, Mahāśāsaka and possibly also Mahāsāṃghika), the doctrines and especially the area of expansion of the Buddhism of the Andhakas. But the systematic study of these epigraphical facts has hardly yet begun up[32]. They should be compared with the Andhaka theses, the refutation of which is the particular aim of the Katāvatthu[33]. The discovery should also be mentioned of a Buddhist monastery at Hārwan in Kashmir, which the Rājataraṅgiṇī (I, 173) calls Ṣaḍarhadvana 'The Forest of the Six Arhats', which may have served as residence for Nāgārjuna[34]. - Finally, according to Bu ston and Tāranātha, Nāgārjuna stayed for a long time at Nālandā, the important center of tantric Buddhism, which he

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[24] Bu ston, transl. E. Obermiller, II, p. 125.

[25] Tāranātha, transl. by A. Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1869, p. 71.

[26] Bu ston, II, p. 127; Tāranātha, p. 73, 81, 303; Dpag bsam ljon bzaṅ, ed. Candra Das, Calcutta, 1908, p. 86.

[27] Hiuan tsang, Si yu ki, T 2087, k. 10, p. 929c. - For the Bhramaragiri-Śhrīparvata identifiction, T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, vol. II, London, 1905, p. 207-308.

[28] L. de La Vallée Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas*, p. 233.

[29] J. Burgess, *Notes on the Amarāvatī Stūpa*, Madras, 1882, p. 57..

[30] L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Dynasties et histoire de l'Inde*, p. 232.

[31] J. Ph. Vogel, *Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist Site at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa*, Epigraphia Indica, XX, i. p. 1-37.

[32] See N. Dutt, *Notes on the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscriptions*, Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. VII, 1931, p. 633-653; L. de La Vallée Pouossin, *Notes de Bibliographie bouddhique*, Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, vol. I, 1931-1932, p. 382-383; Bibliographie Bouddhique, IV-V, Paris, 1934, p. 135.

[33] See especially R. Saȴkrtyāyana, *Recherches bouddhiques*, I. Les origines du Mahāyāna, Journal Asiatique, Oct.-Dec. 1934, p. 195-208.

[34] R. C, Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, London, 1933, p. 105-111; Annual Bibliography of Indian Archeology, VIII (1933), p. 22; XI (1936), p. 21.

ornamented with monuments and illustrated with his miracles. We may hope that systematic exploration of this site, pursued systematically[35], will one day shed some light on the Nāgārjuna of Nālandā.

The literary and archeological information on Nāgārjuna is so plentiful and extends over so many centuries and different regions of India that it may be wrong to consider them as simple elements of biography. With regard to the person Nāgārjuna, they have but mediocre historical value; but they are documents of primordial interest if, giving up the search in them for a biography of Nāgārjuna, we consider them as evidence, naive but sincere, of the religious movement of reform tendencies to which Nāgārjuna attached his name. Leaving the south, this reform expanded to Kashmir and the north-west of India, not without undergoing, in the course of time, substantial transformation: dialectical and metaphysical in origin, it soon became tinged with magic, underwent the influence of the alchemical school and finally ended up in the tantric Buddhism of the Vajrayāna. To sketch even briefly this long history would take us too far away; here I will return to the Mppś and its first fifteen chapters of which a brief analysis must be given.

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The first part of the Nidāna or Prologue of the Pañcaviṃśati begins, as all sūtras do, with the traditional profession of faith: *Evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye*, and provides proof of its authenticity by making known the place where the sūtra was preached, by whom and to whom: 'Thus have I heard at one time. The Bhagavat was dwelling at Rājagṛha on Gṛdrakūṭaparvata, together with a great assembly of 500 bhikṣus endowed, except for Ānanda, with eleven excellent qualities, with 500 bhikṣuṇīs, 500 upāsakas and 500 upāsikās, with an immense crowd of bodhisattva- mahāsattvas endowed with 28 qualities and led by the 22 principal ones among them.'

The Mppś devotes thirteen chapters of commentary on this first part:

Chapter I: The twenty reasons why the Buddha preached the Prajñāpāramitā.

Chapters II-III: Explanation of the phrase: 'Thus have I heard at one time'.

Chapter II: Word-for-word explanation.

Chapter III: General explanation.

Chapter IV: Explanation of the word Bhagavat and other epithets applied to the Buddha. - Dissertation on the omniscience of the Buddha.

Chapter V: The place of the sūtra: The abodes (*vihāra*) of the Buddha. - Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata. - The frequent sojourns of the Buddha at Rājagṛha and Śrāvastī. - The Buddha's preferences for Rājagṛha and Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata.

Chapters VI-XIII: The assembly surrounding the Buddha

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[35] See H.D. Sankalia, The University of Nālandā, Madras, 1934; Annual Bibliography of Indian Archeology, I (1936), p. 12-13; III (1928), p. 19-20; VIII (1933), p. 8; IX (1934), p. 4.

Chapter VI: The assembly of bhikṣus: What should be understood by bhikṣu and saṃgha. - The eleven qualities of the bhikṣus who were present. - Why the arhats surround the Buddha. - Why Ānanda is not an arhat. - Origin of his name.

Chapter VII: The assembly of bhikṣuṇīs, upāsakas and upāsikas.

Chapter VIII-XIII: The assembly of bodhisattva-mahāsattvas.

1. Chapter VIII: The bodhisattva: his place in the assembly. - Definition of the word. - Bodhisattva with regression and without regression. - The bodhisattva in the Abhidharma system. - The bodhisattva in the Mahāyāna system.

2. Chapter IX: The epithet mahāsattva applied to the bodhisattva.

3. Chapter X: Qualities of the bodhisattva: no 1 to 18.

4. Chapter XI: Qualities of the bodhisattva: no. 19 to 21.

5. Chapter XII: Qualities of the bodhisattva: no. 22 to 24.

6. Chapter XIII: Qualities of the bodhisattva: no. 25 to 29. - The twenty-two main bodhisattvas.

Chapters XIV and XV comprise the second part of the Prologue. They appear as a play in ten acts of which here is a summary after a short analysis of the Mppś in k. 9, p. 122b24-122c6.

Act I. The Buddha enters into the Samādhirājasamādhi. - He emerges from it and smiles a first time with his whole body (*sarvakāya*). - Light rays come forth from the soles of his feet and the other parts of his body. - He lights up the trichiliocosm and the universes of the ten directions; the beings touched by them are established in bodhi.

Act II. The Buddha smiles a second time by all the pores of his skin (*sarvaromakūpa*); light rays come forth illuminating the trichiliocosm and the universes of the ten directions; beings touched by them are established in bodhi.

Act III. The Buddha, by means of his usual effulgence (*prakṛtiprabhā*), lights up the trichiliocosm and the universes of the ten directions; beings touched by this light are fixed in bodhi.

Act IV. The Buddha stretches out his tongue and covers the trichiliocosm with it; he smiles a third time and light rays are emanated from his tongue; on each of them there appear lotuses on which are seated imaginary Buddhas who preach the six pāramitās; beings who hear them are established in bodhi.

Act V. The Buddha who has entered into Siṃhavikrīḍitasamādhi shakes the trichiliocosm in six ways. - Description of the sixfold shaking of the earth. - The softening of the earth makes beings joyful. - Beings plunged into the bad destinies of the trichiliocosm are reborn among humans or the gods of kāmadhātu. - They turn to the Buddha to pay homage to him. - The same scene is reproduced in the universes of the ten directions. - In the trichiliocosm, the weak, the sick and the crippled are healed. - All beings are filled with brotherly benevolence; they practice the virtues, are celibate, experience great happiness and rejoice in marvelous wisdom.

Ace VI. The Buddha manifests his supernatural qualities in the trichiliocosm.

Act VII. The Buddha shows his ordinary (*prakṛtyātmabhāva*) body to the inhabitants of the trichiliocosm who come to him with flowers. - They throw these to the Buddha. - The flowers form a belvedere (*kūṭāgāra*) in the air. - Garlands and bouquets hang from it. - The trichiliocosm and the universes of the ten directions take on a golden color. - Each being has the impression that the Buddha is speaking to him in particular.

Act VIII. The Buddha smiles a fourth time and, in the light of this smile, beings of the trichiliocosm and the universes of the ten directions become aware of one another.

Act IX. At the ends of the universes of the eastern direction, the buddha Ratnākara reigns over the Ratnāvatī universe. - The bodhisattva Samantaraśmi asks him the reason for these marvels that he sees. - Ratnākara explains to him that they are due to the power of the Buddha Śākyamuni who reigns over the Sahā universe. - Samantaraśmi offers to go and pay homage to him. - Ratnākara approves, entrusts him with compliments and precious lotuses for Śākyamuni and makes some recommendations to him. - Samantaraśmi, accompanied by other bodhisattvas, starts his journey to the Sahā universe. - Before departing, he bows to the Buddhas of the East.

Act X. Samantaraśmi, laden with gifts, arrives before Śākyamuni and prostrates at his feet. - He greets him in the name of the Buddha Ratnākara and gives him the lotuses which the latter had intended for him. - Śākyamuni throws the lotuses to the Buddhas of the East. - They immediately fill all the universes of the East. - On each of them, an imaginary buddha preaches the six pāramitās; the beings who receive the teachings are established in bodhi. - Samantaraśmi and his entourage pay homage to Śākyamuni. - The scenes related to Acts IX and X are reproduced to the ends of the other nine directions. - The Sahā universe is transformed in a marvelous way. - It becomes the equal of the most eminent buddha-field (*buddhakṣetra*). - Śākyamuni gazes upon the immense assembly gathered before him.

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Let the reader not be deceived. This prologue which, at first reading, may appear as a web of childishness, is really a work of precision where every word counts, where every phrase, meticulously chosen, is arranged in a definite order according to a precise purpose. It is the culmination of long centuries of scholasticism. To interpret it correctly a commentary is indispensable, but the Mppś furnishes every desirable explanation for this purpose. It is an enormous compilation abounding in quotations of all kinds made, for the most part, without any precise reference. I [Lamotte] have attempted to identify them throughout the entire Buddhist literature, both canonical and post-canonical. The second fire at the Louvain Library, by restricting me once again to the meager resources of my personal library, made this hunt for references especially difficult. Therefore I did not have access to the *Dictionnaire des noms propres du bouddhisme indien* by C. Akanuma which would have been useful; on the other hand, I managed to glean from Malalasekara's Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names the volume of notes appended by E. Chavannes to his translation of *Cinq cents contes et apologues tirés du Tripiṭaka chinois*, and the rich references gathered by L. de La Vallée Poussin in his translation of Vasubandu's Abhidharmakośa. By furthering the research and crosschecking, I have succeeded in gathering quite a rich harvest of references which, I hope, will be useful to those who one day will continue this work. If some of my notes have been extended seemingly

abnormally, it is because I have tried to present a complete record of sources from which the Mppś was able to draw. It will, I hope, untangle some general conclusions which I intend to formulate in a later work.

Despite the difficulties of the times, the Fondation Universitaire has continued its kindness by defraying the expense of printing the present volume as generously as in the past and I express all my gratitude. How could I not also name J. Duculot, my faithful editor, who knew how to overcome all the obstacles so as to give this work a suitable presentation.

E. Lamotte

ABBREVIATIONS

Abhisamayālaṃkāra	Abhisayālaṃkāraprajñāpāramitopadeśaśāstra, ed. Th. Stcherbatsky-E. Obermiller (Bibl. Buddh. No. XXIII), Leningrad, 1929.
Acta Or.	Acta Orientalia, Leyden, since 1922.
Āloka	Abhisamayālaṃkārāloka, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1932-1935.
AM	Asia Major, Leipzig, since 1924.
An. Bibl.	Annual Bibliography of Indian Archeology. Kern Institute, Leyden, since 1928.
Aṅguttara	Aṅguttaranikāya, ed. R. Morris-E. Hardy, 5 vol. (PTS), London, 1885-1900.
- tr. Woodward-Hare	F. L. Woodward-E. M. Hare, *Gradual Sayings*, 5 vol. (PTS), London, 1932-1936.
- tr. Nyanatiloka	Nyanatiloka, *Die Reden des Buddha aus dem A.N. übersetzt*, 5 vol., München, s.d.
AO	Achiv Orientalni, Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute, Prague, since 1929.
Apadāna	ed. M.E. Lilley, 2 vol. (PTS), London, 1925-1927.
AR. Arch. Surv.	Annual Report of the Archeological Survey of India, New Series, since 1874.
Aṣtasāhasrikā	Aṣtasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, ed. R. Mitra (Bibl. Ind.), Calcutta, 1888 seq.
Ātānāṭikasūtra	*Bruchstücke des Ā.*, ed. H. Hoffmann (Klein. Sanskrit-Texte, No. V), Leipzig, 1939.
Atthasālinī	ed. E, Müller (PTS), London, 1897.
-tr. Tin, *Expositor*	P.M. Tin, *The Expositor*, 2 vol. (PTS), London, 1921.
Aung, *Compendium*	S.Z. Aung, *Compendium of Philosophy*, transl. of the Abhidhammatthasaṃgaha (PTS), London, 1929.
Avadānakalpalatā	ed. S.C. Das, 2 vol. (Bibl. Ind.), Calcutta, 1888-1918.
Avadānaśataka	ed. J.S. Speyer, 2 vol. (Bibl. Buddh. No. III), St. Petersburg, 1902-1909.
- tr. Feer	L. Feer, Avadānaśataka, *Cent légendes bouddhiques* (AMG No. XVIII), Paris, 1891.
Bagchi	P.C. Bagchi, *Le Canon bouddhique en Chine*, 2 vol. (Sino-Indica No. I, IV), Paris, 1927-1938.
Barth, *Oeuvres*	Oeuvres de Auguste Barth, 5 vol., Paris, 1914-1827.
BCLS	Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques, Académie Royale de Belgique.
Beal, *Catena*	S. Beal, *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, London, 1871.
Beal, *Romantic Legend*	S. Beal, *Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha*, London, 1875.

Beckh, *Buddhismus*	H. Beckh, *Buddhismus, Buddha und seine Lehre*, 2 vol. (Sammlung Göschen No. 174, 770), 3rd ed., Berlin-Leipzig, 1928.
BEFEO	Bulletin de l'École francaise d' Extrème Orient, Hanoi, since 1901.
Bhadracarī	ed.-tr. K. Watanabe, Leipzig, 1912.
Bhadramāyākāra	Bhadramāyākāravyākaraṅā, ed.-tr. K. Regamey (Warsaw Publications, no. III), Varsovie, 1938.
Bhavasaṃkrānti	Bhavasaṃkrāntisūtra, ed. N.A. Śhāstrī, Adyar Library, 1938.
Bhavya	tr. in M. Walleser, *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus*, Heidelberg, 1927, p. 78-93.
Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa	Bruchstücke des B., ed. E. Waldschmidt (Klein. Sanskrit-Texte No. III), Leipzig, 1926.
Bibl. B.	Bibliographie Bouddhique, Paris, since 1930.
Bigandet, Gaudama	P. Bigandet, *Vie ou légende de Gaudama, le Bouddha des Birmans,* Paris, 1878.
Bodh. bhūmi	Bodhisattvabhūmi, ed. U. Wogihara, 2 vol., Tokyo, 1930.
Bodhicaryāvatāra	ed. P. Minayeff, St. Petersburg, 1890.
- tr. Lav.	L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Introduction à la pratique des futures Bouddhas*, Paris, 1907.
- tr. Finot	L. Finot, *La marche à la lumière* (Classiques de l'Orient, No. II), Paris, 1920.
BS	Buddhistic Studies, ed. B.C. Law, Calcutta, 1931.
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London, since 1917.
Buddhacarita	ed. E.H. Johnston (Punjab Un. Publications No. XXXI), Calcutta, 1936.
- tr. Johnston	E.H. Johnston, *Acts of the Buddha* (Punjab Un. Publications, No. XXXII), Calcutta, 1936.
Buddhavaṃsa	ed. R. Morris (PTS), London, 1882.
-tr. Law	B.C. Law, *Lineage of the Buddha* (Minor Anthologies, No. III), London, 1938.
Bukkyo daijiten	2nd ed., Tokyo, 1928.
Burgess, Amarāvatī	J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stūpa of Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeṭa*, London, 1887.
Burnouf	E. Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1876.
Burnouf, Lotus	E. Burnouf, *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, 2 vol., 1st ed., Paris, 1852.
Bu ston	Bu ton, *History of Buddhism*, tr. E Obermiller, 2 vol. (Materialen zur Kunde des Buddhismus No. 18, 19), Heidelberg, 1931-1932.
CAGI	Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, ed. Majumdar, Calcutta, 1924.
Cariyāpiṭaka	ed. R. Morris (PTS), London, 1882.

- tr. Law	B.C. Law, *Collection of ways of conduct* (Minor Anthologies No. III), London, 1838.
Catuḥśataka	ed. V. Bhattacharya, Part II (Viśva-Bharati Series No. II), Calcutta, 1931.
"	ed. P. Vaidya, *Études sur Āryadeva et son C.*, Paris, 1923.
Chavannes	Chavannes, *Cinq cents Contes et Apologues extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois*, 4 vol., Paris, 1910-1934.
Chavannes	Chavannes, *Mémoires sur les Religieux éminents...par I-tsing*, Paris, 1894.
Chavannes, *Tou-kiue*	Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, St. Petersburg, 1900.
CHI	Cambridge History of India, ed. E.J.Rapson, I, Cambridge, 1922.
Combaz, *Inde et Orient*	G. Combaz, *L'Inde et l'Orient classique*, 2 vol. Paris, 1937.
Coomaraswamy, *Bodhgayā*	A. Coomaraswamy, *La sculpture de Bodhgayā* (Ars Asiatica No. XVIII), Paris, 1935.
Cordier	P. Cordier, *Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque National*, part III, Paris, 1915.
Csoma-Feer	A. Csoma de Körös-L. Feer, *Analyse du Kandjour* (AMG No. II), Paris, 1881.
Cunningham	A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bhārhut*, London, 1879.
Daśabhḥumika	ed. J. Rahder, Louvain, 1926.
Daśasāhasrikā	Dasasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, ed. S. Konow (Avhandlinger Utgitt Norske Akad. No. I), Oslo, 1941.
De Groot, *Code*	J.J.M. De Groot, *Le Code du Mahāyāna en Chine*, Amsterdam. 1893.
Dey, *Geogr. Dict.*	N. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of ancient and mediaeval India*, 2nd ed. (COS, no. 21), 1927.
Dhammapada	ed.-tr; C. Rhys-Davids (Minor Anthologies No. I), London, 1931.
Dhammapadaṭṭha	The Commentary on the Dhammapada, ed. H. Smith-H.C. Norman, 5 vol. (PTS), London, 1909-1925.
- tr. Burlingame	E.W. Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, 3 vol. HOS No. 28-30), Cambridge M., 1921.
Dhammasaṃgaṅī	ed. M. Müller (PTS), London, 1883.
- ed. Rh. D.	C. Rhys-Davids, *Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics* (Or. Tr. Fund No. XII), London, 1923.
Dharmasaṃgraha	ed. M. Müller-H. Wenzel (An. Ox.-Aryan Series, vol. I, part V), Oxford, 1885.
Dīgha	Dīghanikāya, ed. T.W. Rhys Davids-E.J. Carpenter, 3 vol. (PYS), London, 1890-1911.
- tr. Franke	R.O. Franke, *D. in auswahl übersetzt,* Göttingen, 1913.

- tr. Rh. D.	T.W. Rhys-Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha* (SBB No. 2, 3, 4). London, 1899-1921.
Dīpavaṃsa	ed.-tr. H. Oldenberg, London, 1879.
Divyāvadāna	ed. E.B. Cowell-R.A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886.
- tr. Zimmer	H. Zimmer, *Karman, ein buddh. Legendenkranz*, München, 1925.
Dutt, *Mahāyāna*	N. Dutt, *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism* (COS No. 23), London, 1930.
EA	Études Asiatiques published on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of l'École francaise díExtrème-Orient.
Ecke-Demiéville, *Twin Pagodas*	G. Ecke-P. Demiéville, *The Twin Pagodas of Zayton*, Cambridge M., 1935.
EI	Epigraphia Indica, Calcutta, since 1892.
Eliot	C. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, 3 vol., London, 1921.
ERE	*Encyclopedoia of Religion and Ethics* ed. by J. hasrtings, 12 vol., Edinburgh, 1908-1921.
EZ	Epigraphia Zeylanica, Oxford, since 1904.
Fa hien, tr. Legge	J. Legge, *A Record of buddhistic Kingdoms*, Oxford, 1886.
Feer, *Extraits*	L. Feer, *Fragments extraits du Kandjour* (AMG No. V0, Paris, 1883.
Ferguson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*	J. Ferguson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, London, 1873.
FHRI	Fontes histoiriae religionum indicarum, coll. B. Breloer and F. Bömer, Bonnae, 1939.
Foucher, *Art Gréco-bouddhique*	A. Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-bouddhique de Gandhāra,* 2 vol. Paris, 1905-1922.
Foucher, *Beginnings of B. Art*	A. Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, Paris-London, 1917.
Foucher, *Iconographie*	A. Foucher, *Études sur l'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, 2 vol., Paris, 1900-1905.
Ganḍavyūha	ed. D.T. Suzuki-H. Idzumi, 4 fasc., Kyoto, 1934-1936.
Geiger	M. u. W. Geiger, *Pāli Dhamma* (ABayA No.XXXI, 1), München, 1920.
Glasenapp, *Buddhismus*	H. v. Glasenapp, *Der Buddhismus in Indien und im Fernes Osten*, Berlin-Zürich, 1936.
Glasenapp, *Buddh. Mysterien*	H. v. Glasenapp, *Buddhistischen Mysterien*, Stuttgart, 1940.
Goloubew, *Ajaṅtā*	V. Goloubew, *Ajaṅtā. les peintures de la premiere grotte* (Ars Asiatica No. X), Paris, 1927.
Grousset, *Asie Orientale*	R. Grousset, *L'Asie Orientale des origins au XVe siècle* (Histoire Générale. - Moyen Age X), Paris, 1941.
Grousset, *Histoire de l'E.-O*	R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Extrème-Orient,* 2 vol., Paris, 1929.
Grousset, *L'Inde*	R. Grousset, *Les Civilisations de l'Orient,* Vol II: *L'Inde*, Paris, 1930.
Grousset, *Philos. Indiennes*	R. Grousset, *Les Philosophes indiennes*, 2 vol., Paris, 1931.

Grünwedel, *Buddh. Kultstätten*	A. Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan*, Berlin, 1912.
Grünwedel, *Myth. d. Buddh.*	A. Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*, Leipzig, 1900.
Guhyasamāja	ed. B. Bhattacharyya (GOS No. LIII), Baroda, 1931.
Hallade, *Composition plastique*	M.M. Hallade, *La composition plastique dans les Reliefs de l'Inde*, Paris, 1942.
Hardy, *Manual*	S. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, London, 1860.
Hiuan tsang, tr. Beal	S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World,* 2 vol., London, 1884.
Hiuan tsang, tr. Watters	T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, 2 vol., London, 1904-1905.
HJAS	Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Harvard University, since 1936.
Hobogirin	Encyclopedic Dictionary of Buddhism according to Chinese and Japanese sources (Ed.-in-chief, P. Demiéville), Paris, 1929 seq.
Hoernle, Remains	R. Hoernle, Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan, Vol. I, Oxford, 1916.
Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*	E.W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology* (Grundriss d. IA Phil.), Strassburg, 1915.
Hultasch, *Inscr. Of Aśoka*	E. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka* (CII, vol. I), Oxford, 1915.
IA	Indian Antiquary, Bombay, since 1872.
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta, since 1925.
Itivuttaka	ed. E.Windisch (PTS), London, 1890.
- tr. Seidenstücker	K. Seidenstücker, *Itivuttaka*, Leipzig, 1921.
JA	Journal Asiatique, Paris, since 1822.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society, New York, since 1849.
Jātaka	ed. V. Fausböll, 6 vol., London, 1877-1896.
- tr. Cowell	*The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, tr. under the editorship of E.B. Cowell, 6 vol.,Cambridge, 1895-1907.
Jātakalamālā	ed. H. Kern (HOS No. I), Boston, 1891.
- tr. Speyer	J.S. Speyer, *Garland of Birth Stories* (SBB No. I), London, 1895.
Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*	J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte* (Grundriss d. IA Phil.), Strassburg, 1896.
Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Archéologie*	G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Archéologie du Sud de l'Inde*. 2 vol., (AMG No. XXV!-XXVII), Paris, 1914.
JPTS	Journal of the Pāli Text Society, London, since 1882.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, since 1834.
Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā	*Bruchstücke der K.*, ed. H. Luders (Klein. Sanskrit-Texte No. II), Leipzig, 1926.
Kāraṇḍavyūha	ed. S.Y.Samasrami, Calcutta, 1871.
Karmaśhataka	ed.-tr. É. Lamotte, *Le Traité de l'Acte de Vasubandhu* (Extrait des MCB, IV, 1935-1936).

Karmavibhaṅga	Mahākarmavibhaṅga and Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa, ed. S. Lévi, Paris, 1932.
Karūṇāpuṇḍarika	ed. S.C. Das-S.C. Śastri, Calcutta, 1898.
Kaśyapaparivarta	ed. A. v. Stael-Holstein, Commercial Press, 1926.
Kathāvatthu	ed. A.C. Taylor, 2 vol. (PTS), London, 1894-1897.
- tr. Aung	S. Z. Aung, *Points of Controversy* (PTS), London, 1915.
Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*	A.B. Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1923.
Kern*, Histoire*	H. Kern, *Histoire du Bouddhisme dans l'Inde*, 2 vol. (tr. Huet; AMG No. X-XI), Paris, 1901-1903.
Kern*, Manual*	H. Kern*, Manual of Indian Buddhism* (Grundriss d. IA Phil.), Strassburg, 1896.
Kirfel, *Kosmographie*	W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, Bonn-Leipzig, 1920.
Kośa	Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu, tr. and ann. By L. de La Vallée Poussin, 6 vols., Paris, 1923-1931.
Kośavyākhyā	Sphutārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1932-1936.
Lalitavistara	ed. S. Lefmann, Halle a. S., 1902.
- tr, Foucaux	P. Foucaux, *Le Lalitavistara* (AMG No. VI and XIX), Paris, 1884-1892.
Lalou, *Répertoire*	M. Lalou, *Répertoire du Tanjur*, Paris, 1933.
Laṅkāvatāra	Laṅkāvatārasūtra, ed. B. Nanjio, Kyoto, 1923.
- tr. Suzuki	D.T. Suzuki*, The Laṅkāvatāra*, London, 1932.
Lav., *Cosmologie*	L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Vasubandhu et Yaśomitra. Troisième chapitre de l'Abhidharmakośa avec analyse de la Lokaprajñapti et de la Kāraṇaprajñapti*, London, 1914-1918.
Lav., *Dogme et Philosophie*	L de La Vallée Poussin*, Le Dogme et la Philosophie du Bouddhisme*, Paris, 1930.
Lav., *Douze causes*	L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Théorie des douze causes* (Univ. Ghent. – Recueil, Fasc. No. 40), Ghent, 1913.
Lav.*, Histoire I*	L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Indo-européens st Indo-iraniens: l'Inde jusque vers 300 av*. J.-C. (Histoire du Monde III), Paris, 1924.
Lav. *Histoire II*	L. de La Vallée Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas* (Histoire du Monde, VI, 1), Paris, 1930.
Lav., *Histoire III*	L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Dynasties et Histoire de l'Inde* (Histoire du Monde VI, 2), Paris, 1935.
Lav.*, Madhyamaka*	L. de La Vallée Poussin*, Madhyamaka* (Extract of MCB, II, 19932-1933, p. 1-146).
Lav., *Morale boudhhique*	L. de La Vallée Poussin, *La Morale bouddhique*, Paris, 1927.
Lav., *Nirvāṇa*	L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Nirvāṇa*, Paris, 1925.

Lav., *Opinions*	L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme; Opinions sur l'Histoire de la Dogmatique*, 3rf ed., Paris, 1925.
Law, *Geography*	B.C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, London, 1932.
Law, *Literature*	B.C. Law, *History of Pāli Literature*, 2 vol., London, 1933.
Le Coq, *Bilderatlas*	A. v. Le Coq, *Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens*, Berlin, 1925.
Le Coq-Waldenschmidt, *Spätantike*	A. v. Le Coq-E. Waldenschmidt, *Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, 7 vol., Berlin, 1922 seq.
Lüders, *Bhārhut und buddh. Literatur*	H. Lüders, *Bharhut und die buddhistische* Literatur (AKM, XXVI, 5), Leipzig, 1941.
M. Arch. Surv.	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survery of India, since 1919.
Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*	A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology* (Grundriss d. IA Phil.), Strassburg, 1897.
Madh. Avatāra	Madhyamakāvatāra, ed. Tib. L. de La Vallée Poussin (Bibl. Buddh. No. IX), St. Petersburg, 1912.
Madh. Kārikā Madh. Vṛtti	Mūlamadhyamakakārikās of Nāgārjuna with the Prasannapadā comm. by Candrakīrti, ed. L de La Vallée Poussin, (Bibl. Buddh., No. IV), St. Petersburg, 1913.
- tr. Schayer	S. Schayer, *Ausgewählte Kapitel aus der Prasannapdā* (Mem. Comm. Orientaliste No. 14), Cracovie, 1931.
Madhyāntavibhaṅga	ed. S. Yamaguchi, 2 vol., Nagoya, 1934.
- tr. Stcherbatsky	Th. Stcherbatsky, *Madhyāntavibhaṅga* (Bibl. Buddh No. XXX), Leningrad, 1936.
Mahāvaṃsa	ed. W. Geiger (PTS), London, 1908.
- tr. Geiger	W. Geiger, *The Mahāvaṃsa* (PTS), London, 1912.
Mahāvastu	ed. É.Senart, 3 vol., Paris, 1882-1897.
Mahāvyutpatti	ed. Sakaki, 2 vol., Kyoto, 1916-1925.
Maitreyasamiti	ed. E. Leumann, 2 vol., Strassburg, 1919.
Majjhima	Majjhimanikāya, ed. V. Trenckner-R. Chalmers, 3 vol. (PTS), London, 1888-1889.
- tr. Chalmers	R. Chalmers, *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, 2 vol. (SBB No. V-VI), London, 1926.
Malalasekera	G.P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, 2 vol., London, 1937-1938.
Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa	ed. T. Ganapati Śāstri, 3 vol. (TSS No. 70, 76, 84), Trivandrum, 1920-1922.
Manoratha	Manorathapūraṇī, ed. M. Walleser-H. Kopp, 4 vol. (PTS), London, 1924-1930.
Marshall, *Sānchī*	J.H. Marshall, *A Guide to Sānchī*, Calcutta, 1918.

Masson-Oursel, *Esquisse*	P. Masson-Oursel, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la Philosophie indienne*, Paris, 1923.
Masson-Oursel, *Inde antique*	P. Masson-Oursel, *L'Inde antique et la civilization indienne* (L'Évolution de l'Humanité, 1st section, No. 26), Paris 1933.
Matsumoto, *Die P. P. Literatur*	T. Matsumoto, *Die Prajñāpāramitā Literatur* (Bonner Or. Studium No. I), Stuttgart, 1932.
MCB	Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, Brussels, since 1931.
Milinda	Milindapañha, ed. V. Trenckner, London, 1889.
- tr. Rh. D.	T.W. Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, 2 vol. (SBE No. XXXV-XXXVI), Oxford, 1890.
- tr. Finot	L. Finot, *Les Questions de Milinda* (Classiques de l'Oreint No. VIII), Paris, 1923.
Mitra, *Nep. Buddh. Lit*.	R. Mitra, *The Sanskriy Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Calcutta, 1882.
ML	Études d'Orientalisme pubished by the Musée Guimet in memory of Raymonde Linossier, 2 vol., Paris, 1932.
Mppś	Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra (Taisho No. 1509).
MSL	Memorial Sylvain Lévi, Paris, 1937.
Mus, *Barabuḍur*	P. Mus, Barabuḍur. *Esquisse d'une histoire du bouddhisme fondée sur la critique archéologique des textes*, 2 vol., Hanoi, 1935.
Mus, Budha paré	P. Mus, *Études indiennes et indochinoises*. II. *Le Buddha paré* (Extract of BEFEO, XXVIII, 1928).
Mus, *Six Voies*	P. Mus, *La lumière sur les Six Voies*. I. *Introduction et critique des textes* (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Insitut d'Ethnologie No. XXXV), Paris, 1939.
Myth. As.	Mythologoe Asiatique illustrée, Paris, 1928.
Nairātmyaparipṛcchā	ed.-tr. S. Lévi (JA Oct.-Dec. 1928, p. 209-215).
Nettipakaraṇa	ed. E. Hardy (PTS), London, 1902.
NGGW	Nachrichten von der Kgl. Gesellschaft derWissenschaften zu Göttingen.
Nidānakathā	Introd. To the Pali Jātaka, ed. V. Fausböll, I. London, 1877.
- tr. Rh. D.	T.W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, London, 1880.
Niddesa I	Mahāniddesa, ed. L. de La Vallée Poussin-E.J. Thomas (PTS), London, 1916-1917.
Niddesa II	Cullaniddesa, ed. W. Stede (PTS), London, 1918.
Obermiller, *Analysis*	E. Obermiller, *Analysis of the Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, 3 fasc. (COS No. 27), Calcutta, 1933-1939.
Obermiller, *Doctrine of P. P.*	E Obermiller, *The Doctrine of Prajñāpāramitā as explained in the Abhisamayālaṃkāra of Maitreya* (Extract of Acta Orientalia, XI, 1932, p.1-133).

OKC	A comparative analytical Catalogue of the Kanjur Division of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Kyoto, 1930-1932.
Oldenberg, *Bouddh*a	H. Oldenberg, *Le Bouddha, sa Vie, sa Doctrine et sa Communauté*, tr. by A Foucher, 4th ed. Paris, 1934.
Oltramare, *Théosophie*	P. Oltramare, *L'Histoire des idées théosophiques dans l'Inde*, II. *La Théosophie bouddhique* (AMG No. XXXI), Paris, 1923.
Pañcaviṃśati	Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñapāramitā, ed. N. Dutt (COS No. 28), London, 1934.
Pañjikā	Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā, ed. L. de La Vallée Poussin (Bibl. Ind.), Calcutta, 1901-1914.
Papañca	Papañcasūdanī, ed. J.H. Woods-D. Kosambi-I.B. Horner, 3 vol. (PTS), London, 1922-1938.
Paṭisaṃbhidā	Paṭisaṃbhidāmagga, ed. A.C. Taylor, 2 vol. (PTS), London, 1905-1907.
Pischel*, Buddha*	R. Pischel, *Leben und Lehre des Buddha* (Aus Natur und Geisteswelt No. 109), 4th ed., Leipzig-Berlin, !926.
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Przyluski*, Concile*	J. Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, Paris, 1926.
Przyluski, *Le N,-O. de l'Inde*	J. Przyluski, *Le Nord-Ouest de l'Inde dans le Vinaya des Mūla-Sarvāstivādin et les texts apparentés (Extract of Journal Asiatique*, Nov.-Dec. 1914).
Przyluski*, Le Parinirvāṇa*	J. Przyluski, *Le parinirvāṇa et les funérailles du Buddha* (Extract of Journal Asiatique, 1918-1920).
Puggalapaññatti	ed. R Morris (PTS), London, 1883.
- tr. Law	B.C. Law, *Designation of HumanTypes* (PTS), London, 1922.
RAA	Revue des Arts Asiatiques, Paris, since 1924.
Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā	ed. L. Finot (Bibl. Buddh. No. II), St. Petersburg, 1901.
RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, Paris, since 1880.
Rh. D, *Buddhist India*	T.W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India* (The Story of the Nations), London, 1903
Rhys Davids-Stede	Pāli-English Dictionary ed. By T.W. Rhys Davids-W. Stede (PTS), Chipstead, 1925.
RO	Rocznik Orjentalistyczeny, Krakow-Lwow, ince 1915.
Rockhill, *Life*	W.W. Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, London, 1884.
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Ṣaḍdarśana	Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya, ed. L. Suali, Calcutta, 1905.

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka	ed. H. Kern-B. Nanjio (Bibl. Buddh. No. X), St. Petersburg, 1908-1912.
- tr. Burnouf	E. Burnouf, *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, 2 vol. Paris, 1852.
- tr, Kern	H. Kern, *The Lotus of the True Law* (SBE No. XXI), Oxford, 1884.
Sādhanamālā	ed. B. Bhattacharyya, 2 vol. (GOS No. XXVI, XLI), Baroda, 1925-1928.
Samādhirāja	ed.tr. K. Régamey (Warsaw Publications No. I), Warsaw, 1938.
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Saṃdhinirmocana	ed.-tr. É. Lamotte (Université de Louvain.-Recueil No. XXXIV), Louvain, 1935.
Saṃgraha	Mahāyānasaṃgraha. – *La Somme du Grand Vehicule d'Asaṅga.* II. *Traduction* by É. Lamotte (Bibliothèque du Muséon No. VII), Louvain, 1938-1939.
Saṃyutta	Saṃyuttanikḥaya, ed. L. Feer, 5 vol. (PTS), London, 1884-1898.
- tr. Geiger	W. Geiger, Saṃyutta Nikāya, 2 vol., München, 1925-1930.
- tr. Rh .D.-Woodward	C. Rhys Davids-F.L. Woodward, *Kindred Sayings*, 5 vol. (PTS), London, 1917-1930.
Sārattha	Sāratthappakāsini, ed. F.L. Woodward, 3 vol. (PTS), London, 1929-1937.
Sarvadarśana	Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha, ed. ĀnSS No. 51, 906
- tr. Cowell-Gough	E.B. Cowell-A.F. Gough, *The Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*, 4th ed., London, 1904.
Śatasāhasrikā	Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, ed. P. Ghosa (Bibl. Ind.), Calcutta, 1914.
Saundarānanda	ed. E.H. Johnston (Panjab Univ. Publications), London, 1928.
- tr. Johnston	E.H. Johnston*, Nanda the Fair* (Panjab Univ. Publications No. XIV), London, 1932.
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Senart*, Piyadasi*	É. Senart, *Les inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2 vol., Paris, 1881-1886.
Siddhi	Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi. – *La Siddhi de Hiuan Tsang*, tr. and ann. by L. de La Vallée Poussin, 2 vol., Paris, 1928.
Śikṣāsamuccaya	ed. C. Bendall (Bibl. Buddh. No. I), St. Petersburg, 1902.
- tr. Bendall-Rouse	C. Bendall-W.H.D. Rouse, *Compendium of Buddh. Doctrine*, London, 1922.

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Soothill-Hodous	A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms comp. By W.E. Soothill-L. Hodous, London, 1937.
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philos.-hist. Klasse. Berlin, since 1882.
Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Nirvāṇa*	Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa,* Leningrad, 1927.
Stcherbatsky*, Central Conception*	Th. Stcherbatsky*, The central Conception of Buddhism and the meaning of the word Dharma* (Prize Publication Fund No. VII), London, 1923.
Sukhāvatīvyūha	ed. M. Müller (An. Ox.-Aryan Series, vol I, Part II), Oxforf, 1883.
- tr. Müller	M. Müller, *Buddhist Mhāyāna Texts* (SBE No. XLIX), Oxford, 1894.
Sumaṅgala	Sumaṅagalavilāsinī, ed. T.W. Rhys Davids-E. Carpenter-W. Strede, 3 vol. (PTS), London, 1886-1932.
Sūtrālaṃkāra, tr. Huber	E. Huber, *Aśvaghoṣa. Sūtrālaṃkāra*, Paris, 1908.
Sūtrālaṃkāra	Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra, ed. S. Lévi (BEHE No. 150), paris, 1907.
- tr. Lévi	S. Lévy, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (BEHE No. 190), Paris, 1911.
Suttanipāta	ed. D. Andersen-H. Smith (PTS), London, 1913.
- tr. Fausböll	V. Fausböll, *The Suttanipāta* (SBE No. X), Oxford, 1881.
Suttanipāta Comm.	ed. H. Smith, 2 vol. (PTS), London, 1916.
Suvarṇaprabhāsa	Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra, ed. J. Nobel. {eipzig,, 1937.
T	Taisho Issaikyo, ed. J. Takakusu-K. Watanabe, 2,184 works in 55 vol., Tokyo, 1924-1929. Cited in the following way: T = Taisho, followed by the number of the work; - k. = kiuan, followed by the number of the 'roll'; - p = page followed by the number of the page, the indication of the column and, possibly, the indication of the line. Note that there are three columns per page: upper column a, middle column b, lower column c. Example: T 1509, k. 2, p. 80b14 means: Work no. 1509, second 'roll', page 20 middle column, line 14.
Tāranātha	Tāranātha, *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, tr. A. Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1869.
Tattvasaṃgraha	ed. E. Krishnamacharya, 2 vol. (GOS No. XXX-XXXI), Baroda, 1926.
- tr. Jha	G. Jha*, The Tattvasaṃgraha of Śantarakṣita*, 2 vol. (GOS No. LXXX, LXXXIII), Baroda, 1937-1939.
Theragāthā	ed. H Oldenbuerg (PTS), London, 1883.
- tr. Rh. D.	C. Rhys Davids, *Psalms of the Brethren* (PTS), London, 1913.
Therīgāthā	ed. R, Pischel (PTS), London, 1883.
- tr. Rh. D.	C. Rhys Davids, *Psalms of the Sisters* (PTS), London, 1909.

Thomas, *Buddhist Thought*	E.J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought* (Hist. of Civilization), London, 1933.
Thomas, *Life of Buddha*	E.J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha as legend and History* (Hist. of Civilization), London, 1931.
Toch. Sprachreste	ed. E. Sieg-W. Siegling, T. I, Berlin-Leipzig, 1921.
TP	Y'oung Pao, Leyden, since 1890.
Triṃśikā	ed. S.Lévi (BEHE No. 245), Paris, 1925.
- tr. S. Lévi	S. Lévi, *Matériaux pour l'étude du système Vijñaptimātra* (BEHE No. 260), Paris, 1932.
TSP	E. Beneveniste, *Textes sogdiens* (Mission Pelliot No. III), Paris, 1940.
Tucci, Pre-Diṅnāga	G. Tucci, *Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources* (GOS No. XLIX), Baroda, 1929.
Udāna	ed. P. Steinthal (PTS), London, 1885.
- tr. Seidenstücker	K. Seidenstücker, Das Udana, Leipzig, 1920.
Udana Comm.	ed. F.L. Woodwars (PTS), London, 1926.
Udānavarga Sanskrit	ed. N.P. Charavarti (Mission Pelliot No. IV), Paris, 930.
Udānavarga Tibetan	ed. H. Becker, berlin, 1911.
Uttaratantra	tr. E. Obermiller, *The Sublime Science of the Great Vehicle to Salvation* (extract of Acta Orientalia, IX, 1931).
Vajracchedikā	ed. M Müller (An. Ox. Aryan Series, Vol. I-Part I), Oxford, 1881.
- tr. Walleser	tr. in M. Walleser, *Prajñā Pāramitā,* p. 140-158 (Quellen d. Religions-Geschichte), Göttingen-Leipzig, 1914.
Vajrasūcī	ed. A. Weber (AKAW), Berlin, 1860.
Vasumitra	Origin and Doctrines of early IndianBuddhist Schools… of Vasumitra's Treatise, tr. J. Masuda (Extract of Asia Major, II, 1925).
Vibhaṅga	ed. C. Rhys Davids (PTS), London, 1904.
Vigrahavyāvartanī	ed. K.P. Jayaswal-R. Sāṅkrtyāyana (Appendix to Jour. of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, vol. XXIII, 1937).
- tr. S. Yamaguchi	S. Yamaguchi, *Traité de Nāgārjuna: Pour écarter les vaines Discussions* (Extract of Journal Asiatique, July-Sept. 1929).
Viṃśikā (= Viṃśatikā)	ed. S. Lévi (BEHE No. 245, 260), Paris, 1925-32.
Vinaya	Vinayapiṭaka, ed. H. Oldenberg, 5 vol., London, 1879-1883.
- tr. Horner	I.B. Horner, *The Book of the Discipline*, vol. I. *Suttavibhaṅga* (SBB No. X), London, 1938.
-tr. Rh. D.-Oldenberg	T.W. Rhys Davids-D. Oldenberg, *Vinaya Texts*, 3 vol. (SBE No.XIII, XVII, XX), Oxford, 1881-1885.
Visuddhimagga	ed. C. Rhys Davids, 2 vol. (PTS), London, 1920-1921.
- tr. Nyanatiloka	Nyanatiloka, *Der Weg zur Reinheit,* 2 vol., München, 1931.
Vogel, *Mathurā*	J.Ph. Vogel, *La sculpture de Mathurā* (Ars Asiatica No. XV), Paris, 1930

Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke*	E. Waldscmidt, *Bruchstücke buddh. Sòtras aus dem Zentralasiatischen Sanskritkanon* (Klein. Sanskrit-Texte no. IV), Leipzig, 1932.
Waldschmidt*, Gandhāra*	E. Waldschmidt, *Gandhāra Kutscha Turfan*, Leipzig, 1925.
Waldschmidt, *Legende*	E. Waldschmidt, *Die Legende vom Leben des Buddha*, Berlin, 1929.
Winternitz, *Literature* II	M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, II. *Buddhist Lit. and Jaina Lit*., Calcutta, 1933.
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlands, Vieena, since 1887
Yi tsing, tr. Takakusu	J. Takakusu, *A record of Buddhist religion* by I-tsing, Oxford, 1896.
ZB	Zeitschrift für Buddhismus, München from 1920 to 1931.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Berlin, since 1847.
ZII	Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, Lepzig, from 1922 to 1935.

CHAPTER I: EXPLANATION OF ARGUMENTS

[**k. 1, p. 57c**] The prajñāpāramitā is a great path which the Buddha has travelled,

The prajñāpāramitā is a great sea which the Buddha has drained,

The true meaning of the prajñāpāramitās is not closed to the Buddha:

I prostrate to the prajñāpāramitā and the unequalled Buddha.[36]

Ceaseless destruction of the two views of existence and non-existence,[37]

The true nature of the things preached by the Buddha,

Eternal, stable, immutable, purifying the passions:

I prostrate to the venerable Dharma of the Buddha,

The noble Assembly - a great sea - cultivates the field of merits[38]

Śaikṣas and aśaikṣas serve as its ornament,

It has destroyed the thirst that produces rebirths,[39]

Suppressed the feeling of 'mine' and destroyed its root.[40]

Having renounced the things of the world,

It is the seat of all the qualities.

It is foremost among all the assemblies:

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36 The first four stanzas are a homage to the Three Jewels (*triratna*): the Buddha, the Dharma and the Community (*saṃgha*). In the first, the Prajñāpāramitā is closely associated with the praise of the Buddha, for it is the Mother of the Buddhas (cf. Mppś, T 1509, k. 4, p. 93a; k. 34, p. 314a; k. 70, p. 550a. - Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra, T 220, k. 441; p. 224c. - Pañcaviṃśati, T 223, k. 14, p. 323b)

37 The view of existence and non-existence (*bhavavibhavadṛṣṭi)* also called view of belief in the extremes (*antagrāhadṛṣṭi*) consists of believing in eternity (*śāśvata*) or extinction (*uccheda)*. It has been formally condemned many times by the Buddha and by Nāgārjuna. Cf. Saṃyutta, II, p. 17: *Sabbam atthīti ayam eko anto, sabbaṃ natthīti ayaṃ dutiyo anto*. *Ete te ubho ante anupagamma majjhena Tathagato dhammam deseti* - Madh. kārikā, XV, 10, p. 272-273:

astīti śāśvatagrāho nāstīty ucchedadarśanam /
tasmād astitvanāstitve nāśrīyeta vicakṣaṇaḥ //

38 I.e., the Buddha who is the *puṇyakṣetra* par excellence.

39 The *tṛṣṇā paunarbhaikī* that 'leads from rebirth to rebirth, accompanied by pleasure and envy, which finds its pleasure here and there: the thirst for pleasure, the thirst for existence, the thirst for impermanence' (Vinaya, I, p. 10).

40 The belief in 'me' and 'mine' (*ātmātmīyagrāha*) which makes up the satkāyadṛṣṭi.

I prostrate to this Assembly that is pure and full of merits.

Having venerated the Three Jewels whole-heartedly,

I also supplicate the saviors of the world, Maitreya, etc.,

Śāriputra, foremost among sages,

Subhūti, who practices the *araṇāsamādhi.*[41]

Now, according to my skill, I wish to explain

The true meaning of Mahāprajñaparamitā.

I would wish that all people of great merit and noble wisdom

Give their full attention to my words.

Question. - For what reasons (*hetupratyaya*) did the Buddha preach the *Mo ho pan jo po lo mi king* (Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra)?[42] The Buddhas do not preach the Dharma (*dharmaṃ deśayati)* without a reason (*nidāna*) or for a futile motive (*kārya*). It is like the *Siu mi* (Sumeru), king of mountains (*parvatarāja*), which does not tremble without a reason or for a futile cause. What then are these solemn reasons that determined the Buddha to preach the Prajñāpāramitāsūtra?

[**p. 58a**] Answer. - In the Tripiṭaka, the Buddha developed many kinds of comparisons (*dṛṣṭānta*), but when he preached to the śrāvakas, he did not speak about the bodhisattva path (*bodhisattvamārga*). It is only in the *Tchong a han pen mo king* (Pūrvāparāntakasūtra of the Madhyamāgama)[43] that the Buddha

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[41] The *araṇāsamādhi* is the power to prevent the arising of passion in others. The bibliography for this subject is in Saṃgraha, p. 53. - Subhūti is the foremost of the *araṇavihārins* (Aṅguttara, I, p. 24); see M. Walleser, *Die Streitlosigkeit des Subhūti*, Heidelberg, 1917.

[42] By Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra, the author probably means the collection of the Prajñā literature and particularly the Pañcaviṃśati of which the Mppś is the commentary.

[43] The *Pen mo king* 'Sūtra of the beginning and the end' is known in three Chinese recensions:

1) The *Chouo pen king* of Tchong a han, T 26 (no. 66), k. 13, p. 508c-511c; 2) the *Kou lai che che king*, T 44, p. 829b-830c; 3) the *Po p'o li king* of Hien yu king, T 202 (no. 57), k. 12, p. 432b-436c. - The Sanskrit title, *Pūrvāparāntakasūtra*, has two citations as evidence from the Karmavibhaṅga, p. 39 and 67; the Tibetan title, *Sṅon daṅ phyi mthaḥi mdo*, is known by a citation from the Maitreyavyākaraṇa, v. 2 - For this sūtra, see also S. Lévi, *Maitreya le consolateur*, ML, II, p. 362-363.

The literature on Maitreya is considerable, but of rather late date:

Pāli sources: Dīgha, III. p. 75 seq.; Suttanipāta, *Ajitasāṇavapucchā*, v. 1932-2039, and *Tissameyyamāṇavapucchā*, v. 1040-1042; Milinda, p. 159; Atthasālini, p. 361, 415, 431; Visuddhimagga, II, p. 434; Mahāvaṃsa, XXXII, v. 81 seq; Anāgatavaṃsa, JPTS, 1886.

Sanskrit and Chinese sources; Mahāvastu, I, p. 51; III, p. 246; P'i p'o cha, T 1545, k. 135, p. 135, p. 698b; Chouen tcheng li louen, T1562, k. 38, p. 559a; Kośa III, p. 193; VII, p. 129; IX, p. 269; Koṣavyākhyā, p. 21, 293; Siddhi, p. 176, 418, 622, 737, 772; Maitreyavyākaraṇa, ed. S. Lévi, ML, II, p. 381-402; T 348, 349, 1143, 1525.

predicted (*vyākaraṇa*) to bodhisattva *Mi lo* (Maitreya): "Later you will become the Buddha with the name of Maitreya."[44] But even there, he said nothing about the various bodhisattva practices (*bodhisattvacaryā*). Here the Buddha wishes to explain the bodhisattva practices to Maitreya, etc., and this is why he preaches the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra.

2. Moreover, there are bodhisattvas who cultivate (*bhāvayanti)* the concentration of recollection of the Buddhas (*buddhānusmṛtisamādhi*).[45] In order that they progress in this samādhi, the Buddha preached the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra to them. Thus, in the first chapter of the Prajñāpāramitā, it is said: "Manifesting the basis of his miraculous power (*ṛddhipāda)*, the Buddha emits golden (*suvaṇarūpa*) rays (*raśmi)* that light up in the ten directions (*daśadiś*) universes as numerous as the sands of the Ganges (*gaṅgānadīvālukopama lokadhātu*). Showing his great body (*mahākāya*) of pure light (*viṣuddhāvabhāsa*) and of various colors (*nānāvudharūpa*), he fills all of space (*ākāśa*). In the middle of the assembly (*parṣad*), the Buddha is upright (*ṛiju*), beautiful (*abhirūpa*), peerless (*asama)*, like Sumeru, king of the mountains, in the center of the great ocean."[46] The bodhisattvas, seeing this miracle (*prātihārya*) of the Buddha, progress ever further in the recollection of the Buddha. It is for this reason that the Buddha preaches the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra.

3. Furthermore, at the moment of his birth (*janman*), the Bodhisattva[47] emits great rays of light (*raśmi*) that fill the ten directions (*daśadiś*), takes seven steps (*saptapāda*) and contemplates the four directions (*caturdiṣaḥ parīkṣate*); proclaiming the lion's roar (*siṃhanāda*), he utters this stanza:

> I have been born, my births are ended:
>
> This is my last existence.

Central Asian sources: In eastern Iranian, the Maitreyasamiti; in Tokharian, fragments of the Maitreyasamitināṭaka (*Toch. Sprachreste*, p.254, n.); in Sogdian, the TSP of Benveniste, p. 29, 115.

Modern works: N. Péri, BEFEO, XI, 1911, p. 439-457; P. Demiéville, BEFEO, 1920, XX, p. 158; XXIV, 1924, p. 240-241; Przyluski, *Le N.-O. de l'Inde*, p. 58; *Le Parinirvāṇa*, p. 161, 178, 205, 332; *La croyance au Messie dans l'Inde at dans l'Iran*, RHR, vol. C, no. 1, Jul.-Aug. 1920, p. 1-12; *Un dieu iranien dans l'inde*, RO, VII, 1931, p. 1-9; S. Lévi, *Les seize Arhat*, Extract from JA 1028, p. 14, 53; *Le sūtra du sage et du fou*, JA Oct.-Dec. 1025, p. 320-326; *Maitreya le consolateur*, ML, II, p. 355-492; R. Abegg, *Der Messias-glaube in Indien und Iran*, Berlin, 1928.

44 Pūrvāparānatakasūtra, T 26, k. 13, p. 511a: Later, a long time from now, when the duration of human life will be 80,000 years, you will be Buddha with the name Maitreya Tathāgata, arhat .... - Dīgha, III, p. 75: *asītivassasahassāyukesu bhikkhave manussesu Metteyyo nāma bhagavā loke uppajjissati, arahaṃ* ....; Tch'ang a han, T 1 (no. 6), k. 6, p. 41c.

45 For buddhānusmṛitisamādhi, see below, k. 7, p. 108c-109b.

46 The miracle of the Buddha is described in k. 7, p. 111a.

47 This paragraph contains a biography of the Buddha. Short and hackneyed though it is, it contains some revealing details that allow it to be placed in the evolution of the Buddha legend. It is later than the sparse biographical fragments in the Nikāya-Āgama, of which the Nidānakathā is but the development. On the other hand, it presents several points of contact with the following biographies of the Buddha: sections of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara, Buddhacarita, Chinese Lives (T 184-192). - Modern works: Becke, *Buddhismus*, I; Kern *Histoire*, I, p. 19-291; Kern, *Manual*, p. 12-46; Oldenberg, *Bouddha*, p. 83-225; Fischel, *Leben*, p. 21-49; Senart, *Légende*; Thomas, *Life of the Buddha*; Waldenschmidt, *Legende*.

I have attained liberation,

Henceforth I will save beings.[48]

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[48] Mus, *Barabudur*, p. 475-576, has a study on the 'seven steps of the Buddha and the doctrine of the pure lands' in which, with his usual skill, he attempts to untangle the symbolism of this legendary act. I [Lamotte] add some information drawn from the Chinese sources. In sequence, the Nikāya-āgamas, the Vinayas and finally the Lives of the Buddha are examined in turn.

1) Majjima, III, p. 123: *Sampatijāto, Ānanda, bodhisatto .... dāni punabbhavo ti*. - Tr.: As soon as he was born, the Bodhisattva, placing his feet flat upon the earth, turned to the north, took seven strides (double steps), and with a white parasol behind him, pronounced: "I am the foremost in the world, I am the best in the world, I am the eldest in the world; this is my last birth; there will be no further need for a new existence for me."

2) In Dīgha, II, p. 15, the same actions and the same words are attributed to all future Buddhas. By contrast, the corresponding passages of the Chinese Āgamas show significant differences.

3) Tchong a han, T 26 (no. 32), k. 8, p. 470b: I have heard it said that the Bhagavat, at the moment of his birth, took seven steps without any fear, terror or dread.

4) Tch'ang a han, T 1 (no. 1), k. 1, p. 4b-c: The Bodhisattva Vipaśyin, at birth, came out of his mother's right side with untroubled mind. Having come out of her right side, he came down to the ground and took seven steps, without the support of anyone. He looked around in the four directions, raised his hand and said: "Alone, I am the eldest (*jyeṣṭha*) in heaven and on earth. I will enable beings to pass beyond birth (*jāti*), old age (*jāra*), sickness (*vyādhi*) and death (*maraṇa*)."

- ‘To pass beyond' here means 'to escape from', 'to save from'.

In the Vinayas, we include not only the Mūlasarvāstivāsdin Vinaya but also the Mahāvastu which appears to be the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṃghika Lokottaravada.

5) Ken pen chouo...p'o seng che, T 1450, k. 2, p. 108a: According to the usual rule, after his birth, the Bodhisattva stood on the earth and without anyone's support, took seven steps. Gazing in the four directions, he spoke these words: "I am the first (*agra*) of all beings; this is the southern region: I am worthy of the offerings (*pūjā*) of beings; this is the region of the east: I am one of the elect (*niyata*); I will undergo no rebirth (*punarbhava)*: this is the region of the north: I have now left the great ocean of saṃsāra." - Cf. Rockhill, *Life*, p. 16.

6) Mahāvastu, II, p. 20: *Bodhisattvo smṛto .... sapta padāni kramati/ jātammatro ca .... ca ūhati //*

Tr.: The Bodhisattva, aware and thoughtful, without hurting his mother, appeared from her right side. Weary of abiding within his mother's womb, he took seven steps. As soon as he was born, he took seven steps on the earth, looked in the directions and uttered a great laugh.

7) Two biographies of the Buddha, the Sieou hing pen k'i king, T 184, k. 1, p. 463, translated in 207 by Ta li, and the T'ai tseu jouei ying pen k'i king, T 185, k. 1, p. 473c, translated between 222-229 by Tche k'ien, tell the birth of the Buddha in almost the same words: He is born from the right side and comes down to the earth. He takes seven steps and, raising his hand, says: "I am the eldest in heaven and on earth. The threefold world (*traidhātuka*) is completely suffering. I will pacify it."

By contrast, the various recensions of the Lalitavistara show notable differences. The oldest, that of Dharmarakṣa (T 186) dates from 308, the most recent, that of Divākara (T187) dates from 683 and is closest to the Sanskrit text.

8) P'ou yao king, T 186, k. 2, p. 494a: Then the Bodhisattva was born from the right side and at once came to life on a precious lotus (*ratnapadma*). He came down to earth and took seven steps. Making the sounds of Brahmā (*brahmasvara*) heard, he spoke in an extraordinary tone: "I will save heaven and earth. I am the eldest (*jyeṣṭha*) of gods and men. I will

bring the sufferings of saṃsāra to an end. Without superior (*anuttara*) in the threefold world, I will bring the everlasting peace of the Unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta* = *nirvāṇa*) to all beings."

9) Fang kouang ta tchouang yen king, T 187, k. 3, p. 553 compared with the Sanskrit text of the Lalitavistara, p. 84 (tr. Foucault, p. 78): At the end of ten months, the Bodhisattva came out of his mother's right side, aware and thoughtful, without any stain from his mother's womb. He looked at the universe and saw no-one like himself.

Sanskrit text: *Atha tasmin samaye ... bhaviṣyāmi sarvasattvānām*.

T 187*:* Then the Bodhisattva, endowed with awareness, judgment and right mind, without support, took seven steps to the north by himself. Beneath his feet, lotuses sprang up. Then the Bodhisattva, fearless and without terror, spoke these words: "I have obtained all the good dharmas. I will preach them to beings." Then facing the south, he took seven steps and said: "I am worthy of receiving the offerings of gods and men." Then facing the west, he took seven steps and said: "I am the eldest in the world, I am the best. This is my last birth. I will put an end to birth and old age, to sickness and death." Then facing the north, he took seven steps and said: "Among all beings, I will be without superior." Then facing the lower regions, he took seven steps and said: " I will triumph over the hordes of Māra and, in order to destroy the sufferings of the hells, fire, etc., I will send the great cloud of the Dharma, I will make the great rain of the Dharma to fall, and thus beings will enjoy complete happiness." Then facing the higher regions, he took seven steps and said: "I will be visible to all beings."

10) Yi tch'ou p'ou sa pen k'i king, T 188, p. 618a: The prince was born on the eighth day of the fourth month at midnight. He came out of his mother's right side and came down to earth. He took seven steps, his feet, four inches above the ground, did not tread upon the earth. Raising his right hand, he said: "I am the eldest in heaven and on earth; no-one can surpass me."

11) Kouo k'iu hien tsai yin kouo king, T 189, k. 1, p. 627a: The royal prince was born from the right side, came down onto a lotus made of the seven jewels (s*aptaratnapadma*) and took seven steps. Raising his right hand, he uttered the lion's roar (*siṃhanāda)*: "Among gods and men, I am the eldest, the best (*śreṣtha*). Endless transmigration is henceforth ended [for me]. My [last] existence will be of use to all, gods and men."

12) Fo pen hing tsi king T 190, k. 8, p. 687b: After his birth and without the support of anyone, the Bodhisattva took seven steps in each of the four directions. At each step, under his feet there arose a great lotus. When he had taken these seven steps, he looked in the four directions: his eyes did not blink, his mouth uttered words. First looking in the east, he expressed himself in a way completely unlike that of a child, in correct language based on regular stanzas: "In the world, I am the conqueror par excellence. From today on, my births are ended." - Beal, *Romantic Legend*, p. 44.

13) Buddhacarita, I, v. 14-15: *anākulānyubjasamudgatāni niṣpeṣavad .... bhayārthakarīm uvāca* //

Tr. Johnston, p. 4: He who was like the constellation of the Seven Stars walked seven steps with such firmness that his feet were lifted up unwavering and straight, and the strides were long and set down firmly. And looking to the four quarters with the bearing of a lion, he uttered a speech proclaiming the truth: "I am born for enlightenment for the good of the world; this is my last birth in the world of phenomena". - Cf. Fo so hing tsan, T 192, k. 1. p. 1b.

14) The legend of Aśoka relates the birth of the Bodhisattva quite briefly: cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 389: *jātamātreka sa muniḥ ... garbhāvāsaś ca paścimaḥ* // Tr.: As soon as he was born, he took seven steps on the earth, looked in the four directions and uttered this speech: "This is my last birth and my last sojourn in the womb." The identical passage in A yu wang tchouan, T 2042, k. 1, p. 103a; A yu wang king, T 2043, k. 2. p. 136c-137a. Cf. Przyluski, *Aśoka*, p. 251.

Later in appearance, the portion of the legend of Aśoka incorporated in the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama, Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 604), k. 23, p. 166b-c: The Tathāgata was born here. At his birth, he took seven steps. Looking in the four directions, he raised his hand and pointed to the sky: "This is my last existence. I will obtain the unexcelled path. Among gods and men, I am without superior and the eldest."

After this oath, he grew up. He decided to leave his parents and left home (*pravrajita*) in order to cultivate the unsurpassed path (*anuttaramārga*). In the middle of the night, he woke up and considered the ladies of honor and the courtesans (*veśyā*) of his harem (*antaḥpura*): their bodies appeared like rotting corpses.[49] He ordered *Tch'ß ni* (Chaṇḍaka) to saddle (*kalpayati*) his white horse.[50] At midnight he passed through the ramparts, traveled twelve miles (*yojana*) and came to the hermitage (*āśrama*) where the ṛṣi *Po k'ie p'o* (Bhārgava)[51] lived. With a knife, he cut his hair (*asipaṭṭena cūḍāṃ chinnati*)[52] and exchanged his

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15) The Nidānakathā, p. 53, follows the canonical version: *Evaṃ catasso disā ... nicchārento sīhanādaṃ nadi*.

16) References to the more recent sources in Kern, *Manual*, p. 13-14.

Examination of these sources makes it clear that the Buddha's first words are intimately linked to the walk of seven steps and the examination of the cardinal directions. The group constitutes a legendary theme the symbolism of which, I [Lamotte] am afraid, is closed to us, but the successive transformations of which may be seen at a glance.

The Bodhisattva took seven steps in one single direction, probably the north, (no. 1-4, 6-8), or in four directions (no. 5), or in six (no. 9), or in ten (no. 15). - He took these steps with his feet set flat on the ground (no. 1-8, 13-15), or resting on a lotus (no. 9, 11, 12), or raised above the ground to a height of four inches (no. 10). According to whether he directed himself in one or several directions, the Bodhisattva made a single declaration (no. 1-4, 7-8, 10-15), or four (no. 5), or six (no. 9). In only one text, he was content with laughing (no. 6). - The meaning of these words varies considerably: sometimes he proclaims himself to be the foremost in the world, the conqueror of transmigration (no. 1, 2, 5, 10, 12-15), sometimes he presents himself as the savior of the world (no. 7), sometimes he calls himself both master and savior at the same time (no. 8, 9, 11). These variations are very likely to be attributed to the influence of the schools, rationalist sects (Sthavira, Sarvāstivādin) on the one hand, suprarationalist (Mahāsāṃgika, Mahāyāna) on the other hand. But the representative moments have likewise had a repercussion on the settling of the legend of the Buddha. Cf. Foucher, *Art Gréco-bouddhique*, I, p. 305-308.

49 Sleep of the women: Ken pen chouo...p'o seng che, T 1450, k. 4, p. 115b (Rockhill, *Life*, p. 24); Mahāvastu, II, p. 159; Lalitavistara, p. 205-208 (tr. Foucaux, p. 180-183); Buddhacarita, V, v. 43-66 (tr. Johnston, p. 69-74); Lieou tou tsi king, T 152 (no. 78), k. 7, p. 41b-42a (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, I, T 184-194, tr. Beal, *Romantic Legends*, p. 130.

50 Kaṇṭhaka, his famous steed.

51 The Bodhisattva's halt at twelve *yojanas* from Kapilavastu in the hermitage of the ṛṣi Bārgava (or Vaśiṣta) is mentioned in Ken pen chouo...p'o seng che, T 1450, k. 4, p. 117b; Buddhacharita, VI, v.1. - According to the Nidānakathā, p. 64, the Bodhisattva traveled thirty *yojanas* directly as far as the river Anomā; in the Lalitavistara, p. 225, he traversed the land of the Śakyas, the Koḍyas and the Mallas and arrived at daybreak at the city of Anuvaineya of the Maineyas.

52 Cutting of the hair; e.g., in Nidānakathā, p. 64-65, tr. Kern, *Histoire*, p. 55-56: He thought: "This rich head-dress is not suitable for a monk; nor would it be suitable for the Bodhisattva to have his hair cut by another; that is why I will cut my hair myself with my sword." Upon which he took his sword in his right hand, his hair in his left hand and, in this way, cut his hair so short that it was a mere two inches long and covered his head, curling to the right. During his whole life, his hair kept this length; his mustache had a corresponding length. From that day on, he never needed to cut his hair or his beard. The Bodhisattva took the hair with the jewel at the top-knot and threw it into the air saying: "If I am destined to become a Buddha, may my hair remain suspended in space; if not, may it fall down to the ground (*sac' āhaṃ Buddho bhavissāmi ākmaśe tiṭṭhatu, no ce bhūmiyaṃ patatu*)." The hair rose up into the air to the height of a *yojana* and remained suspended there. Indra, the king of heaven, seeing that, caught it in a golden box and, within his paradise, established the shrine of the Top-knot Jewel (*cūlāmaṇicettiya*). This is what is expressed in the verse:

beautiful garments (*vastra*) for a rough cloak (*saṃghātī*).[53].He practiced asceticism (*duṣkaracaryā*) for six years (*ṣaḍvarṣa*) on the banks of the *Ni lien chan* (Nairañjanā) river; he ate only one sesame (*tila*) seed or one rice (*taṇḍula*) grain each day.[54] Nevertheless, he said to himself: "This way of life (*vihāra*) is not the good way (*mārga*)." Then the Bodhisattva gave up the practice of asceticism (*duṣkaracaryāvihāra*), went to the foot of the tree of enlightenment *(bodhidruma*) and sat down on the diamond seat (*vajrāsana*). King

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His hair, perfumed with scented ointment,
The most sublime of beings cut and threw up into the air
Where Indra of the thousand eyes took it respectfully
And placed it in a golden jeweled box.

For once, the corresponding story in Lalitavistara, p. 225 (tr. Foucaux, p. 197) is more sober in its details: Then the Bodhisattva thought: " Why should I keep my top-knot after becoming a wandering monk?" And cutting his topknot with his sword, he threw it to the wind. It was gathered up by Trāyastriṃśa gods and honored; and still today, among the Trāyastriṃśa gods, the festival of the Topknot is held. A caitya was also built there; it is still known today by the name of Cūḍāpratigrahaṇa. - Similar stories in Wou ten liu, T 1421, k. 15, p. 102b; Fo pen hing tsi king, T 190, k. 18, p. 737c.

[53] Exchange of clothing: Nidānakathā, p. 65 (tr. Kern, *Histoire*, I, p. 56): Then the Bodhisattva thought: "These garments of fine Benares muslin are not suitable for a monk". However he did not have any other clothes to wear. One of his former companions from the time of Buddhakāśyapa understood this. His name was Ghaṭīkāra and he felt a friendship for his former comrade (Jyotipāla, cf. Mahāvastu, I, p. 319] that had not weakened during the thousands of years that had elapsed between the appearance of the two Buddhas. Seeing that his friend had gonwe forth from home and left his belongings to become a monk, he resolved to go to find and bring him whatever a monk had need of:

Three robes and a begging bowl,
A knife, a needle, a belt.
Also a water filter, those are the eight
Objects necessary for a mendicant monk.

But the Mppś comes rather closer to the story told in the Lalitavistara, p. 225-226 (tr. Foucaux, p. 197). It came into the Bodhisattva's mind: "Why keep these garments from Benares after becoming a wandering monk? If I had ochre robes (*kāṣāya*) suitable to live in the forest, that would be good." Then it came to the mind of the Śuddhāvāsakāyika gods: "The Bodhisattva needs some ochre robes." Then a son of the gods, making his divine shape disappear, stood before the Bodhisattva in the form of a hunter clothed in an ochre robe. Then the Bodhisattva said to him: "Friend, if you give me some ochre robes, I myself will give you some garments from Benares..." Then the son of a god gave the Bodhisattva the ochre robes and took the Benares garments and, full of reverence, put these garments on the top of his head with his two hands in order to honor them and returned to the world of the gods... There also a caitya was built and still today this caitya is known as Kāṣāyagrahaṇa. - The same main details in the story in Mahāvastu II, p. 195; Buddhacarita, VI, v. 60-63.

[54] Fast of the Bodhisattva at Uruvilvā on the Nairañjanā. According to the canonical tradition, Majjhima, I, p. 245 (no corresponding sūtras in the Chinese Āgama), the food of the Buddha consisted of a little soup (*yūsa*) made of beans (*mugga*), vetches (*kulattha*) chickpeas (*kaḷāya*) or peas (*hareṇuka*). - On the other hand, in the Sanskrit tradition, the Buddha successively reduced his food to one kola, to one grain of rice (*taṇdula*), then to one sesame (*tila*) seed daily; cf. Lalitavistara, P. 254, l. 3; p. 255, l. 8; p. 255, l. 15; Mahāvastu, II, p. 125, l. 10, p. 126, l. 16; p. 128, l. 4. The Mppś and, even more curiously, the Nidānakathā adhere apparently to this tradition, p. 67: *Bodhisatto pi kho koṭippattaṃ .... paṭikkhipi*. - On the ascetic life of the Buddha, a good study of the sources in J. Dutoit, *Die duṣkaracaryā des Bodhisattva in der buddhistischen Tradition*, Strassburg, 1905. See especially p. 11, 21, 23, 36, for the Buddha's food.

Māra with his troupe of eighteen *nayutas* of warriors, came to overcome him, but the Bodhisattva defeated Māra's army (*mārasenā*)[55] by the power of his wisdom (*prajñā*) and his qualities (*guṇa*). Then he attained supreme perfect enlightenment (*anuttarasaṃyaksaṃbodhi*). The lords of the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhatu, i.e., the Brahmakāyikadevas and their king *Che k'i* (Mahābrahmāśikhin), the gods of Rupadhātu, *Che y'i jouan yin* (Śakradevendra), the gods of Kāmadhātu with the Cāturmahārajikas, went to the Buddha and invited (*adhyeṣayanti)* the Bhagavat to turn the wheel of Dharma (*dharmacakra*). Remembering his former vow (*pūrvapraṇidhāna*) of great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*), the Bodhisattva accepted their invitation [**58b**] (*adhyeṣaṇā*) and proclaimed the Dharma, i.e., the profound dharmas (*gambhīradharma*) and the Prajñāpāramitā. This is why the Buddha preaches the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra.[56]

4. Furthermore, there are people who think that the Buddha is not omniscient (*sarvajñā*).[57] Why? They say: "The dharmas are infinite (*apramāṇa*) and innumerable (*asaṃkhyeya*); how could a single person know them all?"[58] The Buddha abides in the true (*bhūtalakṣaṇa*) Prajñāpāramitā pure as space (*ākāśaśuddha*); in infinite (*apramāṇa*) and innumerable (*asaṃkhyeya*) texts, he himself has given the assurance: "I am omniscient (*sarvajñā*); I wish to destroy the doubts of all beings (*sarvasattvasaṃśayacchedaka*)".[59] This is why he preaches the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra.

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55 Thomas, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 68, comments that in the canonical story (Majjima, I, p. 237) there is no mention either of the bodhi tree or of Māra's temptations. The Mppś thus depends here on more recent sources such as the Padhānasutta (Suttanipāta, v. 425-449); Nidānakathā, p. 70-75; Buddhacarita, chap. XII, v. 112-118; XIII, XIV; Lalitavistara, chap. XX-XXII; Mahāvastu (II, p. 267-270, 276-283, 304-349. See E. Windisch, *Māra und Buddha,* Leipzig, 1895, p. 229, 332-335.

56 According to the interpretation of the Mppś, when Brahmā invited the Buddha to preach the Dharma (below, k. 1, p. 63a-b), it was a matter of the entire Buddhist doctrine without distinction as to Vehicle. In response to this invitation, the Buddha preached not only the Four Noble Truths, the central point of the Hīnayāna, but also the 'very profound dharmas and the Prajñāpāramitā', the basis of the Mahāyāna dogma. For a long time it has been acknowledged that both Vehicles, referring to one and the same teacher, the Buddha Śākyamuni, tell his life and his propagation of the Dharma in almost the same terms and affirm that their main texts were given by him

57 Below, K. 2, p. 73b, 74b.

58 Same objection, k. 3, p. 74b27.

59 The question of the Buddha's omniscience (*sarvajñatā*) is quite complex. At the time of the Buddha, some individuals claimed to know everything, to understand everything, to have nothing further to know or to understand. They said: "Whether I walk or stand still, whether I sleep or am awake, I have always knowledge and awareness at my disposition" (*sabbaññū sabbadassāvī ....paccupaṭṭhitan ti*). Such were, e.g., the claims of Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta, Pūraṇa Kassapa, etc. (Majjhima, I, p. 92; II, p. 31; Aṅguttara, IV, p. 428). The Buddha is more modest: "Those who affirm", he says to Vacchagotta, "that the monk Gotama is omniscient (*sabbaññū*), clairvoyant (*sabbadassāvī*), do not speak the truth about me... They would be correct to say that the monk Gotama possesses the three knowledges" (*tevijjo samano Gotamo).* These three knowledges are the knowledge of past existences, the knowledge of the death and birth of beings and the knowledge of the destruction of the impurities (Majjhima, I, p. 482).

The Sarvāstivādin-Vaibhāṣika doctrine is based on the canonical line. The Mahāniddesa, p. 178-178, says that the Buddha is omniscient, not by virtue of his knowing everything but by virtue of the fact that he is able to know whatever he

5. Furthermore, there are beings who could be saved. Nevertheless, since the great qualities (*guṇa*) and the great wisdom (*prajñā*) of the Buddha are immense (*apramāṇa*), hard to understand (*durjñeya*) and hard to fathom (*durvigāhya*), these beings are deceived by evil masters. Lapsing into false doctrines (*mithyādharma*), they do not enter into the right path. Towards them, the Buddha produces a mind of great loving-kindness (*mahāmaitricitta*); he grasps them with the hand of his great compassion (*mahākaruṇāhasta*) and introduces them into the buddha-destiny (*buddhagati*). This is why he manifests his marvelous qualities (*guṇa)* and exhibits his great miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*), as is said in the first chapter of the Prajñāpāramitā: "The Buddha enters into the concentration called 'King of Concentrations' (*samādhirājasamādhi*). Coming out of that concentration and considering the universes of the ten directions with his divine eye, he smiles from all the pores of his skin. Wheels with a thousand spokes mark the soles of his feet; he sends forth six hundred *nayutas* of multicolored rays. From all parts of his body, from the toes of his feet to his cranial protuberance, he sends out six hundred *nayutas* of multicolored rays that, in the ten directions, light up innumerable and incalculable buddha-universes as numerous as the sands of the Ganges. And they were all illuminated."[60] Coming out of this concentration,

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wishes. Describing the perfection of wisdom belonging to the Buddha, Koṣa, VII, p. 83*2,* identifies a fourfold knowledge: 1) untaught knowledge (*anupadiṣṭa jñāna*), 2) universal knowledge (*sarvatra jñāna*), i.e., knowledge of all natures, 3) omniform knowledge (*sarvathā jñāna*), i.e., knowledge of every way of being, 4) spontaneous knowledge (*ayatnajñāna*) knowledge by the simple wish to know.

On the other hand, the Greater Vehicle attributes to the Buddha pure and simple omniscience. The Mppś asserts below, k. 2, p. 74c, that the Buddha knows all the sciences and that, if he does not teach them, it is because nobody asks him. The explanatory literature on the Prajñās, such as the Abhisamayālaṃkāra, p. 1-2, and its commentary, the Āloka, p. 5, attribute a threefold knowledge to the Buddha: 1) *sarvākārajñatā*. omniscience peculiar to the Buddha, ultimate and direct knowledge in one singlr moment of all aspects of existence, absolute and empirical; 2) *mārgajñatā*, omniscience relating to the paths of salvation, Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna; it belongs to the Buddha and the bodhisattvas on the bhūmis; 3) *sarvajñatā*, omniscience relating to things of the empirical world; it represents the knowledge of all the elements from the non-ego point of view; it belongs to the Buddhas and bodhisattvas and is accessible to the Hīnayāna saints. (cf. E. Obermiller, *Doctrine of PP*, p. 62; *Analysis*, 3-6).

The Bodh. bhūmi, p. 404-405, defines the *sarvākārajñāna*, the omniform knowledge, as follows: *tatra yat tathāgatasyānarthopasaṃhiteṣu....ity ucyate*. The *sarvākārajñatā* allows the Buddha to cut through the doubts of all beings. - This comes from a stanza of the Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra, XXI, 58, p. 188.

tribhiḥ kāyair....namo 'stu te //

"By means of the trikāya thou hast attained the great omniform enlightenment. Thou cuttest through the doubts of all beings! Homage to thee!" This stanza is repeated and commented upon in the Saṃgraha, p. 303; the commentary proposes four interpretations of the epithet *sarvākāra* applied to the Buddha's knowledge; it concludes by saying: "As for myself, I see the suppression of all obstacles (*sarvāvaraṇaprahāṇa)* in this omniform knowledge: it cuts through all the obstacles to knowledge (j*ñeyāvaraṇa*) and suppresses all the impregnations (*vāsanā*). It is a precise knowledge bearing on all the doubts of others." - The question of omniscience is linked with that of knowledge which, in turn, has some complications; see J. Rahder in Hßbßgirin, *Chi*, p. 283-297.

[60] Free quotation of the Pañcaviṃśati, p. 5-7, that can easily be restored into Sanskrit: *Atha khalu Bhagavān....'vabhāsitāḥ sphuṭāśh chābhūvan*. - This passage will be commented on in k. 7, p. 111-114.

the Buddha wishes to teach the true nature (*bhūtalakṣaṇa*) of all dharmas and cut through the bonds of doubt (*saṃśayabandhana*) of all beings. This is why he preached the Mahāprajñāpāramitā.

6. Furthermore, there are evil people, given up to feelings of envy (*īrṣyā*), who slander the Buddha by saying: "The wisdom (*prajñā*) of the Buddha does not surpass that of men; it is just his magic (*māyā*) that deceives the world."[61] In order to destroy this scornful arrogance and false pride (*mithyāmāna*), the Buddha manifests the immense power *(apramānabala*) of his miraculous power (*ṛddhi*) and wisdom (*prajñā*). About the Prajñāpāramitā he says: "My miraculous power has immense qualities (*apramāṇaguṇa*) and surpasses the threefold world (*traidhātukaviśiṣṭa*), it is meant for the welfare of all (*sarvaparitrāṇa*). To form a bad opinion of it is to commit an immense sin (*āpatti)*; to give pure faith to it (*viśuddaśraddhā*) is to be assured of the happiness of gods and men (*devamanuṣyasukha*) and to reach the fruit of nirvāṇa (*nirvāṇaphala*) definitively."[62]

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[61] Heretics have often treated the Buddha as a magician. *Upālisutta*, Majjhima. I, p. 375 = Tchong a han, T 26 (no. 133), k. 32, p. 629a26: *Samaṇo hi bhante....sāvake āvaṭṭeti*: "The monk Gotama is a magician; he knows the hidden magic that seduces others' disciples." Sanskrit fragments of this sūtra may be found in Hoernle, *Remains*, p. 27-35; S. Lévi, *Notes indiennes*, JA, Jan.-Mar. 1925, p. 26-35; Viṃśatikā, p. 10, l. 15. - *Pāṭalisatta*, Saṃyutta IV, p. 340 = Tchong a han, T 26 (n0. 20), k. 4, p. 445b: *Sutaṃ me taṃ....māyaṃ jānāti*: "I have heard that the monk Gotama knows magic." - An allusion to this same Pāṭali occurs in Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 119), k. 5, p. 37b, and in P'i p'o cha, T 1545, k. 27, p. 139a: "The tirthika Pāṭali says: Gautama, do you know magic? If you do not, you are not omniscient; if you do, you are a magician." - P'i p'o cha, T 1545, k. 8, p. 38b: "The tīrthikas slander the Buddha saying: The śramaṇa Gautama is a great magician who deceives the world." - Kośa, III, p. 30; Kośavākhyā, p. 206: *Yathānyatīrthya....lokaṃ bhakṣhayatīti*: "The heretics criticize the Buddha. These are Maskari, etc. A treatise of the Nirgranthas says: Who does miracles? Gautama is a magician. - And elsewhere it has been said of the Buddha: After a hundred periods there appeared in the world a magician of this kind who will destroy (exploit) the world by his magic."

If most of Buddhist texts consider the word 'magician' applied by heretics to the Buddha as harmful, some late sources, like the Ratnakūta, describe the Buddha as the greatest of magicians and victor of all magic tournaments. Cf. Bhadrammayākāra, p. 62: "Furthermore, Maudgalyāyana, the magic of the juggler Bhadra, being incomplete, is not the right magic, whereas the magic of the Tathāgata is the right magic, since he has fully realized that all of reality is but magic. If all the beings in the world who are attached to nominal reality each possessed as powerful a magic as the juggler Bhadra, even all of their magic would not reach a hundredth, or a thousandth, or a billionth, or even an incalculably and incomparably small part of the magic of a Tathāgata."

[62] Buddhists love to mention this disproportion between the error and the punishment on the one hand and the merit and the reward on the other hand, Cf. Bodhicaryāvatāra, I, v. 34-35:

iti santrapatau jinasya...śubhaṃ iv ayatnataḥ //

Tr. Lav., p. 7: "Such is the son of the Buddha, master of a veritable feast. The Buddha has declared: Whosoever sins against him in his heart remains in hell for as many centuries as the evil thought has lasted in seconds. But when the heart is calm and takes delight in the Bodhisattva, this is a merit so great that it destroys old sins. And is violence not necessary to occur to harm the bodhisattvas? Is it not natural to love them?"

- Similarly the Praśāntaviniṣcayaprātihāryasūtra, cited in Pañjikā, p. 39 and Śikṣāsamucchaya, p. 85: *Yāvanti Mañjuśrīr....mayā mahānarakeṣu*.

7. Furthermore, in order that people accept his doctrine, the Buddha says to them: "I am the great teacher (*mahāśāstṛi*), I possess the ten strengths (*bala*) and the four fearlessesses (*vaiśāradya*); I am established in the abodes of the saints (*āryavihāra*); my mind enjoys the masteries (*vaśitā*). Uttering the lion's roar, I turn the wheel of the Dharma (*dharmacakra*); in all the universes I am the supreme being."

8. Moreover, it is for the joy (*pramuditā*) of beings that the Buddha preaches the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra. He says to them: "You should experience great joy. [**58c**] Why? Because all beings enter into the net of false views (*mithyādṛṣṭijāla*): they are all deceived by bad heretical teachers (*pāṣaṇḍamithyāśāstṛi*). I have escaped from the deceptive net of all bad teachers. The great teacher who possesses the ten strengths (*bala*) is difficult to find. Today you have found him. I will reveal to you the basket of the profound dharmas (*gambhīradharmapiṭaka*), i.e., the thirty-seven wings of enlightenment (*bodhipakṣya*), etc.; you will gather them as you wish."

9. Furthermore, all beings are afflicted (*kliṣṭa*) by the sicknesses (*vyādhi*) of the fetters (*saṃyojana*). In the course of beginningless transmigration (*anādikālikasaṃsāra*), never has anyone been able to cure these sicknesses that are misunderstood by the bad heretical teachers. Today I have appeared in the world as the great king of physicians (*mahāvaidhyarāja*);[63] I have compounded the medicine of the Dharma (*dharmabhaiṣajya*)[64] and you should take it." This is why the Buddha preaches the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra.

10. Furthermore, there are people who think: "The Buddha is just like ordinary people; like them, he is subject to transmigration (*saṃsāra*); he really experiences the pains of hunger (*bubhukṣā*), thirst (*pipāsā*), cold (*śīta*) and heat (*uṣṇa*), old age (*jarā*) and sickness (*vyādhi*)."[65] In order to suppress such concepts, the Buddha preaches the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra and says: "My body (*kāya*) is inconceivable (*acintya*) [66].

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[63] On the Buddha, king of physicians (*vaidyarāja*), master of medicines (*bhaiṣajyaguru*), see below, k. 22, p. 224a; k. 85, p. 657b. For details, see P. Demiéville in Hßbßgirin, *Byß* p. 228, 230-231.- The 'Sūtra of the good physician' or the 'Sūtra on the comparison of the physician' are important, the Sanskrit texts of which may be found in Kośa, VI, p. 121, n. 4; Kośavyākhyā, p. 514; and the Chinese version in Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 389), k. 15, p. 105a-b. - Other sources mentioned by Demiéville: T 276, p. 384c; T 159, k. 8, p. 328c, 330b; T 375, k. 5, p. 631c; T 26, k. 4, p. 442-443; k. 60, p. 804-805, etc. Further references to Pāli and Sanskrit texts: Aṅguttara, III, p. 238: *seyyathā pi bho....abbhatthaṃ gacchanti.* - In a list of epithets applied to the Buddha, (Aṅguttara, IV, p. 340), there is that of *bhisakha*, 'physician'. The Milinda compares the Buddha to a *vejja*, p. 74, and to a *bhisakha*, p. 112, 169, 172. 173. - The Lalitavistara invokes him as *vaiyarāj* or *vaidyarāja*, p. 46, 97, 283, 351, 358. - The Bodhicaryāvatāra calls him the omniscient physician, skilled in curing all suffering (*sarvajñavaidya sarvaśalyāpahārin*, II, v. 37), the best of physicians (*varavaidya*, VII, v. 24). - Similarly, Śikṣyāsamucchaya, p. 148.5, 243.4, 295.1.

[64] Religious preaching plays an important part in Buddhist therapy; cf. Hßbßgirin, *Byß*, p. 257.

[65] Like many Mahāyāna sūtras, the Mppś attributes two bodies to the Buddha, one human, the other superhuman. The latter is in question here. Cf. Siddhi, p. 776, 788; Hßbßgirin, p. 178-182.

[66] Marvellous though his powers may be, the Buddha is considered as an ordinary human, not only by his enemies the heretics but also by his first disciples, the Theras, who compiled canonical scriptures and elaborated the Sarvāstivādin scholasticism: see Siddhi, p. 764-772; Hßbßgirin, p. 174-177. It is exclusively on these sources, which represent only a part of Buddhism, that H. Oldenburg has based his well-known work, *Le Buddha, sa vie, sa doctrine et sa communauté.*

Brahmā king of the gods, etc., the gods and the ancients, for periods (*kalpa*) as numerous as the sands of the Ganges (*gaṅgānadīvālukopama*) have tried to measure my body and find the range of my voice (*vāc*); they were unable to test it and still less, my wisdom (*prajña*) and my *samādhi*." Some stanzas say:

The true nature of dharmas,

Brahmā devarāja,

All the gods and princes of the earth,

Misunderstand it, are unable to understand it.

The profound marvelous Dharma,

No-one can test it.

The Buddha has come to reveal it.

Its light is like the brilliance of the sun.

Moreover, when the Buddha turned the wheel of the Dharma (*dharmacakra*), bodhisattvas from foreign regions (*deśantara*) came to examine the Buddha's body[67] which surpasses space (*ākāśha*) and the immense buddha-fields (*buddhakṣetra*). Having come from the universe of the Buddha *Houa chang* (Padmottara),[68] they saw the body of the Buddha and exclaimed:

Space is infinite,

So are the qualities of the Buddha.

To want to measure his body

Would be an endless task.

He surpasses the world of space

And the immense buddha-fields.

To see the body of the Lion of the Śākyas

Is just that and none other.

The body of the Buddha is like a mountain of gold,

He sends out great rays,

[**59a**] He is adorned with the major and the minor marks

Like a garland of lotuses in springtime.

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67 In the Mahāvastu, III, p. 343-345, and the Lalitavistara, p. 438, these are the devas or devaputras who come to praise the Buddha.

68 The Buddha residing at the limits of the nadir (Pañcaviṃśati, p. 17).

If the Buddha's body is immense (*apramāṇa*), so also are his rays (*raśmi*), his voice (*vac*), his morality (*śīla*), his *samādhis,* his wisdom (*prajñā*) and his other buddha qualities (*buddhadharma).* Refer to the three mysteries *(guhya)* explained in the *Mi tsi king* (Guhyakasūtra)[69] on which it will be necessary to enlarge.

11. Furthermore, at the time of his birth, the Buddha came down to the earth, took seven steps (*saptapada*) and spoke some words, then was silent.[70] Like all infants, he does not walk and does not talk; he suckles milk for three years; nurses feed him and he grows slowly. However the body (*kāya*) of the Buddha is incalculable (*asaṃkhyeya*) and surpasses all the worlds (*sarvalokātikrānta*). But he appears to beings as an ordinary man (*pṛthagjana*). Ordinarily, in a new-born baby, the limbs (*kāyabhāga*), the faculties (*indriya*) and the mental consciousness (*manovijñāna*) are undeveloped (*siddha, pariniṣpanna*) and thus, the four bodily positions (*īryāpatha*) - sitting (*niṣadana*), lying down (*śayyā*), walking (*gamana*) standing (*sthāna*) - going from speech to silence, and all the other human behaviors (*manuṣyadharma*) are incompletely manifested. With the passing of the days, months and years, the child practices little by little and takes on

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[69] The three mysteries (*guhya*) of the Tathāgata, the mystery of the body (*kāya*), of the speech (*vāc*) and of the mind (*manas*), are explained in the section of the Ratnakūta entitled Assembly of Guhyaka-Vajrapāṇi, *Ta pao tsi king*, T 310, k. 10, p. 53b. - Dharmarakṣa has given a different version in the *Jou lai pou sseu yi py mi ta tch'eng king* (Tathāgatācintyaguhyanirdeśa), T 312, k. 6, p. 716c.- The Tibetan version is called *De b€in gśegs paḥi gsaṅ ba bsam gyis mi khyab pa bstan* = Tathāgatācintyaguhyanirdeśa, Dkon brtsegs no, 3 (OKC no. 760.3, p. 231; Csoma-Feer, p. 214). - Below, k. 10, p. 127c, the Mppś refers back to the same text under the name Mi tsi kin kang king (Guhyakavakrapāṇi)

[70] This paragraph contains a short summary of the life of the Buddha, already sketched in paragraph 8. The terrestrial and human existence of Śākyamuni, although real, is not only miraculous but also, in a certain sense, artificial: the Buddha conforms to the world (*lokānuvartana*); he takes on worldly dharmas which in reality are foreign to him. There are several varieries of Lokottaravādas: sometimes the Bodhisattva Śākyamuni is a fictitious body (*nirmāṇakāya*), a phantom (Docetism), sometimes it is a body of birth which, at the time of enlightenment, is paired with a glorious body, a body of dharmadhātu (See Siddhi, p. 773-776; Hßbßgirin, p. 177-185). The Lokottaravāda of the Mppś is largely that of the Mahāvastu, summarized by A. Barth, Jour. des Savants, 1890, p. 467-458 (= Oeuvres, V, p. 16): "The Buddhas have absolutely nothing in common with the world (*lokena samam*); everything in them is supernatural (*lokottara*), I, p. 159. If they appear to think, speak, act, suffer like us, it is out of pure compassion, in order to conform externally to our weakness *(lokānuvartana*); they themselves are above all of that and remain strangers to it, I, p. 167-172. To maintain the opposite is heresy, I, p. 96. It goes without saying that our text tells all the miracles of the conception, gestation, birth at great length, but not without adding to it its own note, which is that that all takes place without any natural cause, or rather, as there is no divine cause, it is itself its own cause. In no way are the Buddhas engendered by their father and mother; they are produced by their own energy, they are *svaguṇanirvṛtta*, which is just a simple variant of the brāhmanical *svayambhū*, I, p. 145. Their mothers are virgin (see, however, Lav., *Dogma et philosophie*, p. 57, 186-188; Thomas, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 36); in those existences in which they are to give birth to a Bodhisattva of the last level, the mothers of the Bodhisattva live in complete chastity; not even in mind do they have any connection with their spouses, I, p. 147. They live as virgins for seven days after having given birth, I, p. 199. Their ladies are also virgins; for, in their last two existences, the Bodhisattvas did not give themselves up to sense pleasures. Thus it is directly from heaven that Rahūla entered the womb of his mother Yaśodharā... As for the Bodhisattvas who have reached their last birth, we know that they come into the world leaving their mothers' right side without injuring them; that is because, adds the Mahāvastu, their form (*rūpa)*, i.e., their body, is completely spiritual (*manomaya*), I, p. 218."

human behaviors. But why was the Buddha born, if before birth he was already able to talk and walk, and afterwards he could not? This seems strange; but the single purpose of the Buddha is to use his power of skillful means (*upāyabala*): the Buddha manifests human behaviors (*manuṣyadharma*) and adopts the human positions (*īryāpatha*) so that beings will believe in his profound Dharma. If the Bodhisattva were able to walk and talk as soon as he was born, people would say: "This man that we see is extraordinary (*adbhuta*), he must be a god (*deva*), a nāga or a demon (*asura*). The doctrine which he professes is certainly not within our reach. Transmigrating (*saṃsārin*) and fleshly (*māṃsakāya*) beings as we are, in the grasp (*ākṣipta*) of the activities of the fetters (*saṃyojana*), we do not have the capacity (*vaśitā*) for it; who among us could attain such a profound Dharma?"[71] Victims of their own modesty, these people cannot become firm adepts of the holy Dharma (*āryadharmabhājana*). It is for them that the Buddha is born in the *Lan p'i ni yuan* (Lumbinīvana).[72] - Although he might have gone directly to the tree of enlightenment (*bodhidruma*) and become Buddha there, he pretended by skillful means (*upāya*) to act as a child (*kumāra*), as an adolescent (*bāla*), as a youg man (*dāraka*) and as a grown man. At every age, he successively fulfilled the appropriate rôle: childish play (*kumārakrīda*), study of the arts (*kāla*), householder's duty (*sevanā*), enjoyment of the five objects of desire (*pañca kāmaguṇa*).[73] - Endowed with human faculties, he contemplates the painful spectacle of old age *(jatā*), sickness (*vyādhi*) and death (*maraṇa*) and experiences revulsion (*saṃvega*)[74] for them. - In the middle of the night, he passed outside the ramparts, left home (*pravrajati*) and went to the ṛṣis *Yu t'o ie* (Udraka) and *A lo lo* (Ārāḍa). He

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71 The same idea expressed in almost identical words in the Lalitavistara, p. 87-88: *garbhāvasthitah ca....paripūrayitum iti*. - Tr. Foucaux, p. 81-82: It is out of compassion for beings that a Bodhisattva is born in the world of men, because if he were a god, he would not turn the wheel of Dharma. And because of that, Ānanda, how could beings not fall into discouragement? (They would say): The Bhagavat Tathāgata Arhat is truly the perfect and accomplished Buddha; but we, being only humans, are incapable of fulfilling the conditions.

Indeed, if the canonical scriptures are to be believed, Śākyamuni's contemporaries did not know how to characterize him and perplexedly wondered: Is he a man, a god, a gandharva or a yakṣa? Cf. Aṅguttara, II, p. 38 (corresponding passage in Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 101), k. 4, p. 28a-b; Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 31, p. 717b-c); Majjhima, I, p. 386; Jātaka, I, p. 66.

72 The Lumbinīvana, the birthplace of the Buddha, is rarely mentioned in the canonical sources. See, however, Suttanipāta, v. 683 (*Lumbineyya janapada*); Kathāvatthu, p. 97, 559. - But all the biographies of the Buddha, Sanskrit and Chinese, as well as the Pāli exegetical literature, agree in having the Buddha be born at Lumbinī: Mahāvastu, II, p. 18, 145; Lalitavistara, p. 82, 96, 234, 411; Buddhacarita, I, v. 6; Nidānakathā, p. 53, 54; Manoratha, I, p. 16; Cullavaṃsa, LI, v. 10; Ken pen chouo...p'o sang che, T 1450, k. 2, p. 107c, etc. - At Lumbini, actually Rumindei, near the Nepalese village of Paderia, two miles north of Bhagavanpura, there is a column erected by Aśoka on the spot where the Buddha was born bearing the following inscription: "Here the Buddha was born, sage of the Śākyas... He has erected a stone column which makes it known: 'Here the Blessed One was born.' " (Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 110-111).

73 For the miracles of childhood and youth, Thomas, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 38-50.

74 The Mppś mentions only three encounters (the old man, the sick man and the dead man), like the Buddhacarita, III, v. 25-62; the Lieou tsi king, T 152 (no. 77), k. 7, p. 41a-b (Chavannes, *Contes*, I, p. 267-270) and the Tch'ou yao king (Tokyo Tripiṭaka, XXIV, 6, p. 43). - But most sources add a fourth, the meeting with a monk: cf. Mahāpadānasutta, Dīgha, II, p. 21-28; Nidānakathā, p. 59; Mahāvastu, II, p. 150-157; Lalitavistara, p. 187-191; Ken pen chouo...p'o seng che, T1350, k. 3, p. 112c-114a; Chinese biographies: T 184, p. 3466-467; T 185, p. 474-475; T 186, p. 502-503; T 187, p. 570-571; T 188, p. 618; T 189, p. 629-631; T 190, p. 719-724.

pretended to be their disciple, but did not follow their teaching. Having always had the superknowledges (*abhijñā*), he recalled his former existence (*pūrvajanma*) when, at the time of the Buddha *Kia cho* (Kāśyapa), he followed the path of discipline (*śīlacaryamārga*);[75] nevertheless, for the moment, he pretended to practice asceticism (*duṣkaracarya*) and searched for the path (*mārga*) for six years. - Although he reigns over the trisāhasramahāsāhasra-lokadhātu, the Bodhisattva pretended to destroy Māra's army (*mārasenā*) and attain the supreme path (*anuttaramārga*).

It is in order to conform to the human condition (*lokadharmānuvartana*) that he manifested all these transformations (*pariṇāma*). But here in the Prajñāpāramitā he manifested the great power of his superknowledges (*abhijñā*) and wisdom (*prajñā*); in that way, people will know that the Buddha's body (*kāya*) is incalculable (*asaṃkhyeya*) and surpasses all the worlds (*sarvalokātikrānta*).

12. Moreover, there are people who could be saved, but who sometimes fall into [59b] the two extremes (*antadvaya*), whether, out of ignorance (*avidyā*), they seek only bodily pleasures (*kāyasukha*), or whether, by the path of activity (*saṃskāramārga*), they give themselves up to asceticism (*duṣkaracarya*).[76] From the absolute point of view (*paramārtha*), these people lose the right path of nirvāṇa. In order to extirpate these twofold extremes (*antadvaya*) and introduce people into the middle path (*madhyamā pratipad*), the Buddha preaches the Mahāprajñāpāramitā.

13. Furthermore, he preaches the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra to mark the difference in retribution (*vipāka*) between worship (*pūjā*) of the body of birth (*janmakāya*) and the worship of the body of the Dharma (*dharmakāya*). Refer to the chapter of the Cho li 'ta (Śarīrastuti).[77]

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75 These two individuals are called Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta in Pāli; in Sanskrit, Ārāḍa Kālāma and Udraka Ramaputra (the readings of the Lalitavistara in Lehmann's edition and Foucaux's translation are in error). - Contrary to what the Mppś says here, the Buddha followed the teachings of Ārāḍa before those of Udraka: cf. Majjhima, I, p. 163-167, 249; Dhammapadatta, I, p. 70-71; Nidānakathā, p. 66; Mahāvastu, II, p. 119-120; Divya, p. 392; Lalitavistara, p. 238-239, 243-245; Buddhacarita ch. 12; Tchong a han, T 26 (no. 204), k. 56, p. 776b-c; Ken pen chouo...p'o seng che, T 1450, k. 4, p. 119.

76 These are the two extremes of laxism (*kāmasukhallikānuyoga*) and rigorism (*ātmaklamathānuyoga*), condemned by the Buddha who preaches a middle way (*madhyamā pratipād*) in the sermon at Benares. Vinaya, I, p. 10: *dve 'me bhikkhave antā....nibbaānāya saṃvattati*. Mahāvastu, III, p. 331: *dvāv imau bhikṣavaḥpravrajitasya....saṃbodhāye nirvāṇāye saṃvartate*. Lalitavistara, p. 416: *dvāv imau bhikṣavaḥ pravrajitasāntāv....pratipadā tathāgato dharmaaṃ deśayati*.

See also Dīgha, III, p. 113, Majjhima, III, p. 230; Saṃyutta, IV, p. 330; V, p. 421; Nettipakaraṇa, p. 110; Visuddhimagga, p. 5. 32; Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra, p. 53; Saṃgraha, p. 2; Bodh. bhūmi, p. 185, 187. In reality, the literature of the Prajñās understands the middle way not in as moral or disciplinary sense as does the Lesser Vehicle, but rather in a philosphical sense. The two extremes which it attacks are not only laxism and rigorism but also, and particularly, the extreme views of being and non-being, of eternalism and nihilism, etc. Cf. Madh. vṛtti, p. 269; Madh. avatāra, p. 22 (tr. Lav., Muséon, VIII, 1907, p. 271); Vaidya, *Étude sur Āryadeva*, p. 35-37; Lav., *Madhyamaka*, p. 10; Dutt, *Mahāyāna*, p. 46, 54.

77 Śārīrastuti is the title of a chapter (p'in) in the Pañcaviṃśati: T 220, k. 430, p. 151c-166a (chap. 35: *Cho li p'in*); T 221, K. 7, p. 51b-54a (chap. 38: *Cho li p'in*); T 223, k. 10, p. 290b-293c (chap. 37: *Fa tch'eng p'in*). - It is commented on in the Ta tche tou louen, T 1509, k. 59, p. 475b-481b(chap. 35: *Kiao liang cho li p'in*).

14. Furthermore, he preaches the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra in order to teach about the bodhisattva's irreversibility (*avaivartika*) and about the characteristics (*liṇga*) of this *avaivartika.*[78] He also preaches in order to thwart the tricks and works of Māra.

15. Furthermore, he preaches the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra so that future centuries will honor (*pūjati*) the Prajñāpāramitā and in order to predict (*vyākaraṇa*) the Three Vehicles (*yānatraya*). Thus the Buddha said to *A nan* (Ānanda): After my nirvāṇa, this Prajñāpāramitā will go to the south (*dakṣhiṇāpatha*); from the south, it will go to the west (*paścimadeśa*); in five hundred years, it will go to the north (*uttarapatha*).[79]

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[78] The Bodhisattva becomes irreversible (*avaivartika*) or predestined to bodhi *(niyata)* when he acquires the body born of the dharmadhātu. Cf. below, k. 4, p. 86b-c; k. 29, p. 273a; k. 74, p. 579c; Siddhi, p. 736-739.

[79] Quotation from the Pañcaviṃśati according to Kumārajīva's translation, T 223, k. 13, p. 317b: "Śāriputra, after the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha, this profound Prajñāpāramitā will go to the lands in the southern region; there the bhikṣus, bhikṣuṇīs, upāsakas and upāsikās will write this profound Prajñāpāramitā; they will want to keep it, study it, think about it, teach it, meditate on it amd practice it. As a result of these roots of good (*kuśalamūla*), they will not fall into the bad destinies (*durgati*) but they will enjoy the happiness of gods and men; they will make progress in the six virtues (*pāramitā*); they will venerate, respect and celebrate the Buddhas. Gradually, by the vehicles of the śrāvakas, pratyekabuddhas and buddhas, they will attain nirvāṇa. - Śāriputra, from the region of the south, this profound Prajñāpāramitā will go to the west; there the bhikṣus, etc. - From the region of the west, it will go to the north; there the bhikṣus, etc. - Śāriputra, at this time this profound Prajñāpāramitā will do the work of the Buddha in the region of the north."

The same itinerary of the Prajñā, south, west, north, occurs in three versions of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā due to the Tche tch'an (T 224, k. 4, p. 446b), to Kumārajīva (T 227, k. 5, p. 555a) and to Dānapāla (T228, k. 10, p. 623b).

Some writers call upon this so-called itinerary to assign a southern origin to the Prajñā: these are mainly G. Tucci, *Il Buddhismo*, Foligno, 1926, p. 116; N. Dutt, *Mahāyāna*, p. 41, L. de La Vallée Poussin, in Siddhi, p. 752; S. Paranavitana, *Mahāyānism in Ceylon*, Ceylon Jour. of Science, Section G, II, 1928, p. 35; T. Matsumoto, *Die P.P. Literatur*, p. 31.

But if there are good reasons to think that the Mahāyānasūtras in general and the Prajñās in particular originate in the south (land of Andhra), it is doubtful that the argument can be based on the cited itinerary. Three comments actually present themselves.

Before going to the south, the Prajñāpāramitā left the east, more precisely the region of Magadha, where it had been preached by the Buddha on Gṛdhrakūtaparvata (Mppś, k. 67, p. 531b): "The Buddha appeared in the region of the west; there he preached the Prajñāpāramitā, destroyed Māra and his people, the heretics (*tīrthika*), and saved innumerable beings. Following that, between two sāla trees at Kuśhinagara, he entered into nirvāṇa. Then the Prajñāpāramitā went from the region of the east to the south." Secondly, the spread of the Prajñā in the four cardinal directions is but an allegory meant to symbolize its success. In the same place (k. 67, p. 531b), the Mppś makes this quite clear: "Then the Prajñāpāramitā went from the region of the west to the region of the south. It is like the sun, the moon, the five stars and the twenty-eight constellations (*nakṣatra*) which consistently go from west to south. From the region of the south, the Prajñāpāramitā will go to the region of the west and, from the west, to the region of the north: thus it makes a circuit around Mount Sumeru. According to the usual customs of pūjā, it makes circumambulation towards the right (*pradakṣiṇa*) around the inhabitants of Jambudvīpa; that is why it goes from east to south and from south to west. Just as the Buddha, out of detachment (*asaktachittatā*), did not stay in one fixed abode, so the Prajñā does not stay definitively in one single place." - What is said here about the Prajñā is true in general about the Buddhadharma. The journey of the Prajñā recalls that of the wheel of king Sudarśana which, establishing the Buddhist pentalogue wherever it rolled, rolled

There will be many believers there. The sons and daughters of good family will offer flowers (*puṣpa*), incense (*dhūpa*), garlands (*mālya*), standards (*dhvaja*), banners (*patāka*), music (*tūrya*), lamps (*dīpa*), jewels (*maṇiratna*) and other riches (*vasu*). They will write it, preach it, study it, listen to it, reflect on it, meditate on it, and worship it in the usual ways. For this reason, these people will enjoy all kinds of worldly happiness (*lokasukha*), will obtain the three vehicles (*yānatraya*) without delay and enter into nirvāṇa-without-residue (*nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa*). This will be seen in following chapters. It is for these reasons and these motivations that the Buddha preaches the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra.

16. Furthermore, the Buddha preaches the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra to explain the absolute point of view (*pāramārthika siddhāntalakṣaṇa*). There are four points of view (*siddhānta)*: 1) the mundane point of view (*laukika siddhānta*), 2) the individual point of view (*prātipauruṣika siddhānta*), 3) the therapeutic[80] point of view (*prātipākṣika siddhānta*), 4) the absolute point of view (*pāramārthika siddhānta*).[81] In these four

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to the east, dove into the sea, emerged, rolled to the south, to the west andto the north. Cf. *Mahāsudassananasutta*, Dīgha, II, p. 172-173 (tr. Rh. D., II, p. 202-203); Tch'ang a han, T 1 (no. 2), k. 3, p. 21c-22a; Tchong a han, T 26 (no. 68), k. 14, p. 515; Ta tcheng kiu wang king, T 45.

Lastly, we may note that the itinerary south-west-north is not the only one attributed to the Prajñā. Others are also mentioned in the sources:

a. South-north itinerary, in the oldest version of the Pañcaviṃśati due to Mokṣala, T 221, k. 10, p. 72a.

b. South (*dakṣiṇāapatha*) - east (*vartani* = pūrvadeśa) - north (*uttarapatha*) itinerary in the original Sanskrit of the AÔtasāhasrikā, ed. R. Mitra, p. 225. Here is this text: *ime khalu punaḥ Śāriputra ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃyuktāḥ....tathāgatena buddhacakṣuṣā*.

c. Itinerary of the land of the Śākya clan (*Che che*:165 and 13; 83) - east (*Houei to ni*: 73 and 9; 36 and 3; 44 and 2 = vartani) - north (*Yu tan yue*: 75 and 22; 30 and 9; 73 = uttaravatī), according to the version of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā due to the Tche k'ien, T 225, k. 3, p. 490a.

d. Itinerary southeast-south-southeast-northwest-north-northeast, in the latest Pañcaviṃśati and the Aṣṭasāhasrikā by Hiuan tsang, T 220, k. 439, p. 212c-213c; k. 326, p. 808b-c.

It is very likely that the authentic and earliest of these passages has been modified in the course of time.

For the success of the Prajñā in the north, a passage of the Mppś (k. 67, p. 531b) is of interest for the following reason. When the Buddha was in the world, he was able to cut through the doubts of the saṃgha: the Buddha's doctrine was prospering and there could be no fear of its disappearance. But five centuries passed after the Buddha's nirvāṇa; the good law was disappearing little by little, the work of the Buddha was threatened. Then beings of sharp faculties (*tīkṣnendriya*) will study and meditate [on the Prajñāpāramitā]; they will make offerings of flowers and perfumes. Beings of weak faculties (*mṛdvindriya*) will transcribe it and also make offerings of flowers and perfumes. These two classes of beings will, in the long run, find salvation.... This profound Prajñāpāramitā will spread through the region of the north. Indeed, of all the regions of Jambudvīpa, that of the north is the most vast. Moreover, there are the Snowy Mountains (Himālaya) and, since it is cold there, its plants are able to detroy the poisons [of desire, hatred and delusion]. Because of the grains eaten there, the three poisons do not have such great strength. For this reason, the number of those who practice the Prajñāpāramitā in the north are many."]

80 This is the literal translation of Lamotte's French. Monier-Williams gives 'hostile, adverse, contrary' for *prātipākṣa*.

81 The theory of the four *siddhāntas* appears as a development of the theory of the two truths, relative truth (*saṃvṛtisatya*) and absolute truth (*paramārthasatya*) which is explained in Kathāvatthu Comm. p. 22; P'i p'o cha, T 1545, k. 77, p. 399b-400c (tr. Lav, MCB, V, 1937, p. 161-169; Kośa, VII, p. 130; Madh. vṛtti, p. 492; Madh. avatāra, p. 70 (tr.

points of view are contained, in its entirety, the twelve-membered scriptures (*dvādaśāṅga*) and the eighty-four thousand baskets of the doctrine (*caturaśīti-dharmapiṭakasahasra*). All four points of view are true (*satya*) and do not contradict one another (*ananyonyavyapakṛṣṭa*): in the Buddhadharma, there are realities of mundane order, realities of individual order, realities of antidotal order and realities of absolute order.

a. What is the mundane point of view (*laukika siddhānta*)? Real dharmas resulting from causes and conditions (*hetupratyayasāmagrī*) exist, but do not have a nature distinct (*bhinnasvabhāva*) [from these causes and conditions].[82] Thus the chariot (*ratha*) exists by the coming together of the pole, the axles, the spokes and the rim of the wheel, but there is no chariot distinct from its constituent parts.[83] In the same way, the individual exists by the coming together of the five aggregates (*skandha*), but there is no individual distinct from the skandhas. If there were no mundane point of view, the Buddha would be a liar. Why did he actually say: "With my very pure divine eye (*divyacakśus*), I see that, according to their good or bad actions (*kuśalākuśaladharma*), beings die here and are reborn there in order to undergo retribution (*vipāka*). Those who have done good actions are reborn among the gods (*deva*) and among men (*manuṣya*); those who have committed [**59c**] bad actions fall into the three unfortunate destinies (*durgati*).[84] Moreover, a sūtra says: "A person has been born into this world for the joy, happiness and

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Lav, Muséon, VIII, p. 313); Bodhicaryāvataāra, IX, v. 2. It is also discussed in the Mppś, k. 38, p. 336b. See Oltramare, *Théosophie*, p. 300-303; Lav., *Documents d'Abhidharma. Les deux, les quatre, les troi vérités*, MCB, V, p. 159-187. - The first three siddhāntas correspond to the relative truth, the fourth to the absolute truth. *Saṃvṛttisatya* = 1) *laukika saiddhānta* + 2) *prātipauruṣhika siddhānta* + 3) *prātipākṣika siddhānta*.

Paramārthasatya = 4) *pāramārthika siddhānta*.

To my [Lamotte's] knowledge, the theory of the four siddhāntas appears only in the Mppś. However, the Bodh. bhūmi, p. 37, mentions four *tattvas* or realities and four degrees of knowledge:

1) *lokaprasiddhatattva*, common reality, known to the whole world; 2) *yuktiprasiddhatattva*, reality established on proofs, 3) *kleśāvaraṇaviśuddhijñānagocara*, the sphere of knowledge free of any obstacle consistently consisting of passion; 4) *jñeyāvaraṇaviśuddhijñānagocara*, the sphere of knowledge free of any obstacle to consciousness. For the expressions *kleśa*- and *jñeyāvaraṇa*, frequently found in the Vijñānavādin texts, see Triṃśikā, p. 15, Saṃgraha, p. 6; Madhyāntavibhaṅga, index; Siddhi, p. 366. - It is clear that, under these different names, the four *tattvas* of the Bodh. bhūmi correspond exactly to the four *siddhāntas* of the Mppś.

[82] When the Buddha speaks of the person, the individual, it is from the mundane point of view for, from the absolute view, the individual is not different from the five *skandhas* that constitute him. Most of the texts mentioned here are taken from chap. IX of the Kośa, dedicated to the refutation of the *pudgala*.

[83] An allusion to the reply of the nun Vajirā (Śilā in the Kośh) to Māra. Cf. Saṃyutta, I, p. 135; Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 1202), k. 45, p. 327a; T 100 (no. 218), p. 454: *Kinnu satto ti paccesi.... hoti satto to sammuti //*

These stanzas are cited in Kathāvatthu, p. 66, Kośa, IX, p. 249, and Madh. avatāra, p. 257, of which here is the Tibetan version: *bdag ces bya bdud kyi sems....kun rdzob sems can €es byaḥo* The comparison of the chariot is repeated and developed in Milinda, p. 27: *Kim pana mahārāja....tho ti - Na hi bhante ti*.

[84] This vision of the Buddha arises from the knowledge of the death and birth of beings which he acquired on the second watch of the night of enlightenment. This discovery is described in the same terms in the Sanskrit tradition (e.g., Lalitavistara, p. 344; Mahāvastu, II, p. 283; Daśabalasūtra in Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke*, p. 221; Bimbasārasūtra, ibid., p. 129-130) and in the Pāli tradition (e.g., Dīgha, I, p. 82; Majjhima, I, p. 23, 348; II, p. 21, etc.):

Sanskrit: *Atha bodhisattvo divyena cakṣuṣā....bhedāt svargalokeṣūpapadyante*.

usefulness of many people. This is the Buddha Bhagavat."[85] In the same way, the *Fa kiu* (Dharmapada) says: "A mind is able to save a mind; another man is able to save a mind; the practice of good and wisdom is the best savior."[86] Also, the Buddha has said in the *P'ing cha wang ying king* (Bimbasārarājapratyudgamanasūtra): "The ordinary person (*pṛthagjana*) does not listen to the Dharma, the ordinary person is attached to the Ātman."[87] However, in the *Fa eul ye* king (Sūtra of the two nights of the Dharma, or Dharmarātridvyayasūtra), it is said: "From the night when he acquired the Path to the night of the parinirvāṇa, every teaching given by the Buddha is true and not false."[88] Now if the individual did not

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Pāli: *So dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena....sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ upapannā ti*.

85 Aṅguttara, I, p. 22: *ekapuggalo bhokkhave loke....arahaṃ sammāsambuddho*; Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 3, p. 561a9; Kośha, IX, p. 259.

86 I [Lamotte] am unable to locate this citation either in the Dhammapada or in the Udānavarga.

87 T 26 (no. 62), k. 11, p. 498b10: These *bālapṛthagjana*s who have understood (*aśrutavat*) nothing see the self as their self and become attached to the self. But there is no 'me' (*ātman*) and there is no 'mine' (*ātmiya*). The 'me' is empty, the 'mine' is empty. - A parallel passage in T41, p. 826a19: Those who call what is not a self a self are fools (*bāla*) who have understood little.

The *Bimbasārasūtra* or *Bimbasārarājapratyudgamanasūtra* is well known:

1) A portion of the Sanskrit original, entitled *Bimbasārasūtra*, has been recovered from central Asia by the Turfan expedition and published in Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke*, p. 114-148.

2) It is quoted in Kośa, III, p. 84, IX, p. 249 and Kośavyākhyā, p. 299: *bālaḥ pṛthijanaḥ saṃskāramātram....karma ārabhate.*

3) It has been translated twice into Chinese: *a*. *P'in pi so lo wang ying fo king* (Bimbisārarāja-pratyudgamanasūtra) in Tchong a han, T 26 (no. 62), k. 11, p. 497b. - *b*. *Fo chouo p'in p'o so lo wang king* (Bimbasārasūtra), translation of Fa hien, T 41, p. 825.

4) There is a Tibetan version entitled: *Mdo chen po gzugs can sñiṅ pos bsu ba €es bya ba* (Bimbasārapratyudgamanāmahāsūtra), Mdo XXV, 2) Csoma-Feer, p. 275; OKC, no. 955). It has been analyzed by Waldschmidt in *Bruchstücke*, p. 144-148.

5) The Sarvāstivādin Vinaya (Che song liu, T 1435, k. 24, p. 174b) considers the *P'in po cha lo po lo che k'ie mo nan* (Bimibasārapratyudgamana) as one of the 'great sūtras' known concerning a very learned upāsaka.

Bimbasāra met Śākyamuni twice. A first meeting occurred before the Buddha's enlightenment, at Rājagṛha near Paṇḍavapabbata. The Mppś will allude to it below, k. 3, p. 77a. The second meeting was after the enlightenment; Bimbasāra with a numerous retinue went to the Buddha whom he found at the Supatiṭṭhacetiya of Laṭṭhivanuyyāna. The Bimbasārarājapratyudgamanasūtra refers to this second meeting and it was then that the king was converted along with all his people. This conversion is related in the Vinaya and the Lives of the Buddha: Vinaya, I, p. 35-39 (tr. Rh. D. - Oldenberg, I, p. 136-144) to be compared with Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 1074), k. 38, p. 279a-c, and T100 (n0. 13), k. 1, p. 377a-c. - Mahāvastu, III, p. 443-449. - Wou fen liu, T 1421, k. 16, p. 110a. - Sseu feu liu, T 1428, k. 33, p. 707c. - Ken pen chouo...p'o seng che, T 1450, k. 7, p. 135 seq. - Dhammapadaṭṭha, I, p. 88 (tr. Burlingame, *Legends*, I, p. 197). - Nidānakathā, p. 83.

88 This so-called "Sūtra of the two nights" is a well-known aphorism found in Dīgha, III, p. 135; Aṅguttara, II, p. 24; Itivuttaka, p. 121; Sumaṅgala. I, p. 66; Tchong a han, T 26 (no. 137), k. 34, p. 645b18: *yañ ca rattim tathāgato....eva hoti mo aññathā*.

truly exist, why would the Buddha say [without lying]: "With my divine eye I consider beings"? It must be concluded that the individual does exist, but only from the mundane point of view and not from the absolute pount of view.

Question. - The absolute point of view is true (*bhūtam satya*) and, because it is true, it is called absolute; the other points of view cannot be true.

Answer. - That is not correct. Taken separately, the four points of view are true. The true nature (*tathatā*), the nature of phenomena (*dharmatā*), the summit of existence (*bhūtakoṭi*), do not exist from the mundane point of view, but they do exist from the absolute point of view. In the same way, individuals exist from the mundane point of view, but do not exist from the absolute point of view. Why? When the five aggregates (*skandha*) that are the causes and conditions (*hetupratyaya*) for the individual exist, the individual exists. Just as when the color (*rūpa*), odor (*gandha*), taste (*rasa*) and tangible (*spraṣṭavya*) that are the causes and conditions for milk (*kṣīra*) exist, the milk exists. If milk did not really exist, the [**60a**] causes and conditions for milk would not exist either. But since the causes and conditions for milk really do exist, it too must exist.[89] Since the causes and conditions for a second head (*dvitīya śīrṣa*) or a third hand (*tṛitīya hasta*) do not exist in humans, it is out of the question (*prajñapti*) for them. Such characterizations (*nimittanāman*) consitute the mundane point of view

b. What is the individual point of view (*prātipauruṣika siddhānta*)? It is to preach the doctrine taking into consideration (*apekṣya*) the state of mind (*cittapravṛtti*) of the individual. The latter understands or does not understand the given subject. Thus a sūtra says: "As a result of actions of different retribution (*saṃbhinnavipākakarma*), one is reborn in different universes (*saṃbhinnalokadhātu*), one experiences different contacts (*saṃbhinnasparśa*) and different feelings (*saṃbhinnavedanā*).[90] On the other hand, the *P'o k'iun na king* (Phālgunasūtra) says: "There is no-one who undergoes contact; there is no-one who experiences sensation.[91]

Question. - How do these two sūtras agree?

Answer. - There are people who doubt the here-after (*amutra*), who do not believe in sin (*pāpa*) or merit (*puṇya*), who commit evil acts (*akuśalacaryā*) and who fall into the wrong view of annihilation (*ucchedadṛṣṭi*). In order to cut these doubts (*saṃśaya*), to suppress these bad practices and uproot this

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Later it was accepted that the Bhagavat teaches by an instaneous emission of voice (*ekakṣaṇagudāhārena*), or even that he does not speak at all (cf. Vasumitra, p. 20; Fo houa yen king, T 279, k. 80, p. 443c; Wei mo kie so chouo king, T 475, k. 1, p. 538a; Niraupamyastava by Nāgārjuna, v. 7, in JRAS, 1932, p. 314: *nodāhṛtaṃ tvayā....dharmavarṣeṇa tarpitaḥ*; Hobogirin, p. 215-217; Siddhi, p. 796). The "Sūtra of the two nights" was modified consequently: Madh. vṛtti, p. 366, 539: *yāṃ ca śantamaterātriṃ....nāpi pravyāhariṣyati*. - Pañjikā, p. 419: *yasyāṃ rātrau tathāgato....niścarantaṃśṛiṇvanti*. - Laṅkāvatāra, p. 142-143: *yāṃ ca rātriṃ tathāgato.... avacanaṃ buddhavacanam*.

89 The exanple of milk is repeated in Kośa, IX, p. 239.

90 Cf.Aṇguttara, I, p. 134: *Yatth' assa attabhāvo....vā aoare vā pariyāye*. - Tr. When a person is reborn, his action ripens and, when this action is ripe, he undergoes its retribution in this lifetime or another.

91 Saṃyutta, II, p. 13; Tsa a han, T99 (no. 372), k. 13, p. 102a: *phusatīti ahaṃ na vadāmi....vediyatīti ahaṃ na vadāmi*. - Sanskrit fragments of the Phālgunasūtra in Kośa, IX, p. 260; Kośavyākhyā, p. 707.

wrong view of nihilism, the Buddha asserts that a person is reborn in different universes, with different contacts (*sparśa*) and different sensations (*vedanā*). But Phālguna himself believed in the existence of a soul (*ātman*), the existence of the *purusa* , and had fallen into the wrong view of eternalism (*śāśvatadṛṣṭi*). He asked the Buddha: "Venerable One (*bhadanta*), who is it that experiences sensation?" If the Buddha had replied: "It is such and such (*amuka*) a one who experiences sensation", Phālguna would have fallen more deeply into the wrong view of eternalism, his belief in the pudgala (individual) and the ātman (soul) would have grown and been irremediably strengthened. That is why the Buddha, when talking to him, denied that there is a being who feels (*vedaka*) or a being who touches (*sparśaka*). Characteristics such as these are called the individual point of view.[92]

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[92] It is a well-known fact that in his teaching, the Buddha takes into account the intention and state of mind of his questioner. See the interview of the Buddha with Vacchagotta: Saṃyutta, IV, p. 400; Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 961)., k. 34, p. 245b; T 100 (no. 195), k. 10, p. 444c.

The Buddha refuses to say to Vacchagotta whether the self exists or whether it does not exist. Ānanda asks him the reason. Ths Buddha explains himself by saying: If, Ānanda, when the wandering monk Vacchagotta asked me: " Does the self exist?", I had answered him: "The self exists", that would have confirmed, Ānanda, the doctrine of the Samanas and the Brāhmanas who believe in eternalism. If, Ānanda, when the wandering monk Vacchagotta asked me: "Does the self not exist?", I had answered: "The self does not exist", that would have confirmed the doctrine of the Samanas and the Brāhmanas who believe in nihilism. If, Ānanda, when the wandering monk Vacchagotta asked me: "Does the self exist", I had answered: "The self exists", would that have been useful in making the knowledge arise in him that all dharmas are non-self?" - "That would not have been so, O Lord." - "If, on the other hand, Ānanda, when the wandering monk Vacchagotta asked me: "Does the self not exist", I had answered: "The self does not exist", would that not have had the result of precipitating the wandering monk Vacchagotta from one misconception into another greater misconception: "My self did not exist previously. And now it does not exist at all." (Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 309-310). - Similarly Kośa, IX, p. 262-4: Why has the Bhagavat not declared that the vital principle (*jīva*) is the body? Because the Bhagavat takes into consideration the intention (*āśaya*) of the person who is questioning him. The latter understands by *jīva*, not an imaginary being, the simple designation of the elements, but an individual, a real living entity; and on thinking of this individual, he asks if the *jīva* is identical with or different from the body. This *jīva* does not exist in an absolute manner: it bears no relationship either of identity or difference with what is: the Bhagavat therefore condemns both answers. In the same way, one cannot say that the hairs of the tortoise are hard or soft... Why does the Bhagavat not answer that the *jīva* does not exist in an absolute way? Again because he takes into account the intention of the questioner. The latter perhaps is asking about the j*īva* with the idea that the *jīva* is the series of elements (*skandha*). If the Bhagavat answered that the *jīva* does not exist absolutely, the questioner would fall into wrong view. Besides, as the questioner is incapable of understanding dependent arising (*pratītyasamutpāda*), he is not a suitable receptacle for the holy Dharma: the Bhagavat therefore does not tell him that the *jīva* exists only as a designation. - Lav. *Nirvāṇa*, p. 118-119: " The scholastic likes to say that the Buddha varied his teaching according to the dispositions of his listeners: that some sūtras, of clear meaning (*nītārtha*), must be undertood literally; that other sūtras, of implicit and non-inferential meaning (*neyārtha*) must be interpreted: a convenient hypothesis for the exegetists and legitimate in many cases. The Canon sees in the Buddha a physician, the great physician; the scholastic represents him as an empiricist. The Buddha was afraid lest the common man, reassured on the side of hell, should not commit sin; he wants the wise to learn to divest themselves of all egotism: thus to some he teaches the existence of a self and to others the non-existence of a self. In the same way the tigress carries her young ones in her jaw: she locks her teeth just enough so that they don't fall - into the heresy of nihilism of the empirical self - but

c. The antidotal point of view (*prātipakṣika siddhānta*). - There are dharmas that exist as counteragents (*pratipakṣa*) but do not exist as true natures (*bhūtasvabhāva*). Thus hot (*uṣṇa*), fatty (*medasvin*), acidic (*kaṭuka*), salty (*lavaṇa*) plants and foods (*oṣadhyākahāra*) are a counteragent in illnesses of wind (*vāyuvyādhi*), but are not not a remedy in other sicknesses.[93] Cold (*śīta*), sweet (*madhura*), bitter (*tikta*), acrid (*karkaśa*) plants and foods are a counteragent in illnesses of fire (*tejovyādhi*) but are not a remedy in other illnesses. Acidic (*kaṭuka*), bitter (*tikta*), acrid (*karkaśa*) and hot (*uṣṇa*) plants and foods are a countergent for chills (*śītavyādhi*) but are not a remedy in other illnesses. It is the same in the Buddhadharma, to remedy sickness of the mind (*cetovyādhi*). Contemplation of the disgusting (*aśubhabhāvana*)[94] is a good counteragent (*kuśala pratipakṣadharma*) in the sickness of attachment (*rāgavyādhi*); it is not good (*kuśala*) in the sickness of hatred (*dveṣavyādhi*) and is not a remedy (*pratipakṣadharma*). Why? *Aśubhabhāvana* is the contemplation of bodily defects (*kāyadoṣaparīkṣā*); if a hateful man contemplates the faults of his enemy, he increases the flame of his hatred. - Meditation on loving-kindness (*maitrīcittamaniskāra*) is a good remedy in the sickness of hatred (*dveṣavyādhi*); it is not good, not a remedy, in the sickness of attachment (*rāgavyādhi*). Why? Loving-kindness (*maitrīcitta*) consists of seeking reasons for love for others and contemplating their qualities (*guṇa*). If a person full of attachment seeks the reasons for love and contemplates the qualities [of the person whom he loves], he increases his attachment (*rāga*). - The contemplation of causes and conditions (*hetupratyayaparīkṣā*) is a good counteragent in the sickness of delusion (*mohavyādhi*); it is not good, not a remedy, in the sicknesses of hatred [60b] and attachment (*rāgadveṣavyādhi*). Why? Because it is as a result of previous wrong contemplation (*pūrvamithyāparīkṣā*) that wrong view (*mithyadṛṣṭi*) arises. Wrong view is delusion (*moha*).[95]

Question. - In the Buddadharma it is said that the twelve causes and conditions (*hetuprayaya)* are profound (*gambhīra*). Thus the Buddha said to Ānanda: "This dependent arising (*pratītyasamutpāda*) is profound (*gambhīra*), difficult to see (*duṛidṛṣa)*, difficult to understand (*duravabodha*), difficult to discover (*duranubodha*), difficult to penetrate (*duradhigamana*), knowable only by a sage of subtle and skillful

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avoids hurting them - with the teeth of the heresy of self as a real thing." The comparison of the tigress is from Kumāralābha, in Kośa, IX, p. 265.

[93] For pathogenesis and medical practices, see Hobogirin, Bhß, p. 249-262.

[94] *Aśubhabhāvana*, contemplation of the decomposing corpse, will be studied below, k. 19, p. 198c-199a. - Scriptural sources are not very numerous, e.g.,Vinaya, III, p. 68; Dīgha, II, p. 296; Majjhima, III, p. 82; Aṅguttara, III, p. 323. - Pāli scholasticism: Dhammasaṅgaṇi, p.55: *asubhajhāna* (tr. Rh. D., p. 63, n. 2); Visuddhimagga, p. 178; Rh. D., *Brethren*, p. 123; Warren, *Buddhism*, p. 353; Aung, *Compendium*, p. 121, n. 6; Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 247. - Sanskrit sources: Śikṣāsamucchaya, p. 209 (tr. Bendall-Rouse, p. 202; Bodhicaryāvatāra, VIII, v. 63; Huber, Sūtrālaṃkāra, p. 190-191; Kośa, VI, p. 149; Kern, *Manual*, p. 54; Przyluski, Aśoka. p. 386.

[95] The ideas expressed in this line are repeated and developed by Śantideva in his Śikṣasamucchaya, chap. XII: Contemplation of the horrible (*aśubhabhāvana*) is the antidote (*pratipakṣa*) for rāga (p. 206-212); loving-kindness (*maitrī*) is the remedy for hatred (p. 212-219); the analysis of dependent-arising (*pratītyasamutpādadarśana)* is the antidote for mahānuśaya (p. 219-228). Cf. Tr. Bendall-Rouse, p. 196-215.

mind (*sūkṣma nipuṇapaṇditavijñāvedanīya*).[96] If a fool (*mūḍha*) can barely understand superficial phenomena, how could he understand profound causes and conditions? Then why do you say that the fool should contemplate the law of causes and conditions?

Answer. - The word 'fool' does not mean stupid in the manner of an ox (*go*) or sheep (*eḍaka*). The fool is a person who is seeking the true path, but who, as a result of wrong thoughts and contemplations, produces all kinds of wrong views (*mithyādṛṣṭi*). For him, contemplation of causes and conditions (*hetupratītyaparīkṣā*) is a good counteragent. But for people prey to hatred or passion (*dveṣarāgacarita*) who voluntarily seek pleasure or are angry with their neighbor, such a contemplation is not good, is not a remedy; it is contemplation of the disgusting (*aśubabhāvana*) or contemplation of loving-kindness (*maitrīchttamanasikāra*) which would be a good remedy for them. Why? Because these two contemplations are able to uproot the poisonous thorn (*viṣakaṇtaka*) of hatred and attachment (*rāga*).

Furthermore, there are beings attached (*abhiniviṣṭa*) to the erroneous thesis of eternalism (*nityaviparyāsa*), who are ignorant of the series of similar moments (*sadṛśasaṃtāna*) [that constitute a phenomenon].[97] For such people, contemplation of the transitory nature of the dharmas (lit. *anityaparīkṣā*) is of therapeutic order (*prātipākṣika*) and not of absolute (*pāramārthika*) order. Why? Because all dharmas are empty of self nature (*svabhāvaśūnya*). Thus a stanza says:

To see the permanent in the transitory,

That is a mistake.

In emptiness, in the point of the transitory,

How could permanence be seen there?[98]

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[96] The words addressed by the Buddha to Ānanda are, rather: *gambhīra cāyaṃ Ānanda paṭiccasamuppādo gambhīrāvabhāso ca*: cf. Saṃyutta, II, p. 92; Dīgha, II, p. 55; Tch'ang a han, T 1 (no. 13), k. 10, p. 60b10; Jen pen yu cheng, T 14, p. 242a; Tchong a han, T 16 (no. 97), k. 24, p. 578b; Ta cen yi, T 52, p. 844b. - The more developed formula, given by the Mppś, was pronounced by the Tathāgata at the foot of the Ajapālanigrodha tree, after his enlightnement: Vinaya, I, p. 4; Dīgha, II, p. 36; Majjhima, I, p. 167; Saṃyutta, I, p. 136, etc.: *adhigato kho me ayaṃ dhammo gambhīro duddaso duranubodho santo paṇito atakhāvacaro nipuṇo paṇḍitavedanīyo*. - The Sanskrit phrase is longer and shows less uniformity; it occurs in Mahāvastu, III, p. 314, l. 15; Mahāvyutpatti, no. 2914-2927; Lalitavistara, p. 392; Divya, p. 492 (which is very close to the Pāli): *gambhīro me dharmo gambhīrāvabhāso durdṛśo duranubodho 'tarko 'tarkāvacaro sūkṣmo nipuṇapaṇḍitavijñāvedanīyaḥ*.

[97] In other words, they ignore the momentary nature of the dharmas (*dharmakṣaṇikatva*). According to the Buddhism of the Lesser Vehicle, the phenomenon perishes from instant to instant and is reborn, similar to itself, from moment to moment. It thus appears as a series (*saṃtāna*, *prabhandha*) of similar moments (*sadṛśakṣaṇa*). The Sarvāstivāda-Vaibhāṣika and the Sautrāntika schools debate on the duration of the *kṣaṇa* and on the evolution of the *saṃtāna* (Karmasiddhi-prakaraṇa, Introduction, p. 1-30).

[98] Madh. kārikā, XXIII, 13, p. 460; Tchong louen, T 1564, k. 4, p. 31c10; Pan jo teng louen che, T 1566, k. 14, p. 123a6:

anitya nityam ity evaṃ grāho viparyayaḥ /

nānityaṃ vidyate śūte grāho viparayayaḥ //

Question. - All conditioned phenomena (*saṃskṛta)* have a transitory (*anitya*) nature: that is an absolute mark. Why do you say that the transitory is unreal (*asatya*)? Conditioned dharmas (*saṃskṛta*), by virtue of the marks of arising (*utpāda*), duration (*sthiti*) and cessation (*bhaṅga*)[99], first arise, then last, and finally perish; why do you say that the trasitory is unreal?

Answer. - Conditioned dharmas cannot have these three marks (*lakhaṇa*). Why? Because these three marks are not real. If birth, duration and cessation were marks of the conditioned, these three marks would equally have to be present at the arising of the conditioned, for arising is a mark of the conditioned. In the same way, these three marks each would equally have to be present separately everywhere, which would be absurd. It would be the same for duration and cessation. Since birth, duration and cessation, taken separately, do not each [and *per modum unius*] have birth-duration-cessation, they cannot be called marks of the conditioned (*saṃskṛtalakṣaṇa*).[100] Why? Because the marks of conditioned dharmas do not exist. Consequently, the transitory nature of dharmas is not of the absolute order.

Furthermore, if every real entity (*bhūtasvabhāva*) were transitory (*anitya*), retribution of actions (*karmavipāka*) could not take place. Why? Because transitoriness is the cessation after arising. Just as as a rotten seed (*pūtika bīja*) [**60c**] cannot produce a fruit (*phala*), thus there would be no action (*karman*) and, the act not existing, how could there be retribution (*vipāka*)? Now every good doctrine (*āryadharma*)

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[99] The marks of the conditioned dharma (*saṃkṛtadharmalakṣaṇa*) have already been mentioned in the canonical scriptures: (1) two marks, arising (*utpāda*) and cessation (*vyaya*), in Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 49); (2) three marks, arising (*utpāda*) cessation (*vaya*) and change of that which lasts (*ṭhitassa* or *ṭhitānaṃ aññathatta*), in the corresponding Pāli Nikāyas: Saṃyutta, III, p. 37; Aṅguttara, I, p. 152: *katamesam dvuso....paññnāyati*; (3) the third mark, *ṭhitassa aññāthattam* ,is corrected to *sthity-anyathātva* in the corresponding Sanskrit Āgama (*Documents sanskrits de la seconde collection*. A. Stein, JRAS, 1913, p. 573; Madh. vṛtti, p. 145): *trīṇīmāni bhikṣavaḥ saṃskṛtasya....prajñāyate*; - (4) the Abhidharma allows only three marks: Kathāvatthu, I, p. 61; Visuddhimagga, p. 431, 473; Aung, Compendium, p. 25. - Some scholars omit even duration or *sthiti* (cf. Aung, *Points of Controversy*, p. 374-375).

In general, the scholarly treatises speak of four marks: birth (*utpāda*), old age (*jarā)*, duration (*stithi*) and impermanence (*anityatā*): P'i p'o cha, T 1545, k. 38, p. 198c9; Kośha, II, p. 222. The marks of the conditioned occur in the definition of *kṣhaṇa*, the instantaneous duration of phenomenon. See the study by Lav., *Notes sur le moment des Vaiibhāṣika et des Sautrāntika*, MCB, V, 1937, p. 134-158. As real entities, they are rejected by the Sautrāntikas (Kośa, II, p. 226-228), the Madhyamikas (Madh. vṛtti, chap. VII: *Saṃskṛtaparīkṣā*, p. 145-179) and the Vijñānavādins (Siddhi, p. 64-68). In its refutation, the Mppś takes its inspiration especially from the Madh. vṛtti.

[100] The argument is taken up in Madh. kārikā, VIII, 2, p. 146: *utpādādyās trsyo....katham ekadā*.

Tr.: The three marks, arising, etc., taken separately, are incapable of filling the rôle of marks of the conditioned. Taken together, how could they occur in one single category at the same time? - The commentary (p. 146-147) explains: At the time of duration, birth and cessation do not exist. Thus duration belongs to something which lacks arising and cessation. But a category that lacks arising and cessation does not exist. Consequently, duration cannot be applied to a category as nonexistent as a sky-flower... On the other hand, the three marks cannot occur in one single category at the same time, for they are opposite to one another like desire and renunciation or light and shadow. Who could reasonably claim that one and the same category lasts and perishes at the very moment that it is born?

accepts retribution.[101] That which should be believed by a person of good knowledge (*kuśhalajñāna*) should not be denied. Therefore the dharmas are not transitory. For innumerable reasons of this kind, we say that the transitoriness of the dharmas cannot be affirmed. [What is said here about the alleged transitory characteristic of the dharmas] is also true for their nature of suffering (*duḥkhe*), of non-self (anātmaka), etc.[102] Characteristics of this kind are called the therapeutic point of view.

d. The absolute point of view (*pāramārthikasaddhānta*). - Every essence (*dharmatā*), every category of speech (*upadeśhābhidhāna*), every dharma and adharma, may be subdivided (*vibhakta*), broken into pieces (*bhinna*) and scattered (*prakīrṇa*), one after the other; but the true Dharma (*bhūtadharma*), the domain (*gocara*) of the buddhas, pratyekabuddhas and arhats can neither be broken apart nor scattered. That which has not been understood (t'ong) in the preceding points of view is completely understood here. What is meant by 'understood'? By 'understood' is meant the absence of any defect (*sarvadoṣavisaṃyoga*), unchangeability (*apariṇāmatva)*, invincibility (*ajeyatva*).[103] Why? Because if one deviates from the absolute point of view, the other teachings (*upadeśa*), the other points of view (*suddhānta*) are all destroyed. Some stanzas in the *Tchong yi king* (Arthavargīya sūtra)[104] say:

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101 For Buddhists, belief in the after-life and the retribution of actions is the corner-stone of morality. Negation of good and evil is the wrong view (*mithyādṛṣṭi)* par excellence (Kośa, IV, p. 36, 137, 167). - On the other hand, the Buddha recognized the Jaṭilas, worshippers of fire, and admitted them without noviciate (*parivāsa*) "because they believe in karma" (Vinaya, I, p. 71).

102 All dharmas are transitory (*anicca*), perishable (*vayadhamma*), non-self (*anattā*) and of suffering (*dukkha*). Cf. Saṃyutta, III, p. 44 (the corresponding Sanskrit of which may be found in JRAS, 1913, p. 573, and the Chinese version in Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 84), k. 3, p. 21c): *rūpaṃ bhikkhave aniccam....anupādāya āsavehi*. - Other references in Rhys Davids - Stede, s. v. *saṅkhāra*, in fine.

103 Expressions to designate the absolute are not lacking in Buddhist texts. Lav. in Siddhi, p. 748-750 cites some lists which are given here:

1) Ta pan jo lo mi to king T 220, k. 360, p. 853c10: *tathatā, dharmatā, avitathatā, avikāratathatā, niyāmatā, dharmaniyama, dharmasthiti, ākāśadhātu, bhūtakoṭi, acintyadhātu*.

2) Pañjikā, p. 421: *bodhir buddhatvam ekānekasvabhāvaiviktam.....saṃvṛtim upādāyābhidhīyate*.

3) Long list of synonyms in the Vijñānavādin sūtras. Cf. Saṃdhinirmocana, p. 28: *paramārtha, tathatā, dharmatā, dharmadhmatu, bhūtakoṭi, vijñaptimātra, viśuddhālambana, svabhāvabiḥsvabhāvatā, dharmanairātmya, śūnyatā*. - Laṅkāvatāra, p. 192-193: *anirodha, anutpāda, śūnyatā, tathatā, satyatā, bhūtakoṭi,dharmadhātu, nirvāṇa, nitya, samatā, advaya*.

4) All these words are repeated and defined in the Vijñānavādin treatises. Madhyāntavibhaṅga, p. 49-51: *tathatā bhūakoṭiś cānimittaṃ....sāsataḥ*; - Saṃgraha, p. 121: *prakṛtivyavasāna, tathatā, śūnyatā, bhūtakoṭi, animitta, paramārtha, dharmadhātu*; - Tsa tsi louen, T 1606, k. 2, p. 702b: *tathatā, nairātmya, śūnyatā, ānimitta, bhūtakoṭi, paramārtha, dharmadhātu*; - Fo ti king louen, T 1530, k. 7, p. 323a24: *tathatā, dharmadhātu, tattva* and *bhāva, śūnyatā* and *abhāva, bhūtakoĪi, paramārtha*.

104 These *Arthavargiyaṇi sutrāṇi*, *Aṭṭhakavagga* in Pāli, constitute one of the earliest of the primitive Buddhist documents.

In Pāli, the Aṭṭhakavagga "Section of the Eight" is a group of sixteen sūtras forming the fourth chapter of the Suttanipāta, which itself is the fifteenth work of the Khuddhakanikāya, fourth and last collection of the Suttapiṭaka (cf. Winternitz,

Being based on wrong views (*dṛṣṭi*)

And on futile nonsense (*prapañca*), each one gives rise to quarrels (*vivāda*).

Seeing the arising of all that

Is the correct view of knowledge.

If the refusal to accept the system of another (*paradharma*)

Is the action of a fool (*bāla*),

Then all the teachers (*upadeśin*)

Are, in truth, fools.

[**61a**] If being based on personal views

In order to produce futile nonsense

Constituted pure knowledge,

Literature, II, p. 92-98; Law, *Pāli Literature*, I, p. 232-260). Under the name *Aṭṭhakavaggika* or *Aṭṭhakavaggikāni,* this book is cited in Vinaya, I, p. 196; Saṃyutta, III, 12; Udāna, p. 59.

There exists in Sanskrit an *Arthavarga*, or rather *Arthavargīyāṇi sūtrāṇi*, "Section on Meaning", of which fragments have been found in eastern Turkestan (cf. M. Anesaki, JPTS, 1906-1907, p. 50 seq.: R. Hoernle, JRAS, 1916, p. 709 seq.; 1917, p. 134). These Arthvargīyāṇi sūtrāṇi are cited in Divyāvadāṇa, p. 20, 35; in Bodh. bhūmi, p. 48, and according to Kośavyākhyā, p. 33, they are part of the Kṣudrakāgama (*arthavargīyāṇi sūtrāṇi Kṣudrake paṭhyante*). Under the title *Arthavargīyasūtra*, in Tibetan *Don gyi tshoms kyi mdo*, it is cited in the Dulva.

It has been translated into Chinese by Tche k'ien, between 223 and 253, under the name *Yi tsou king* (123 and 7; 157; 120 and 7), literally, "Sūtra of the Feet of Meaning". T 198, IV, p. 174-188.

The work is often quoted in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, unfortunately under very different titles that often do not permit immediate identification. Here are some references:

(1) Transliterated titles: *A t'o p'o king* (Arthavargīya sūtra) in Mppś, T 1509, k. 1, p. 63c. - *A t'o po k'i sieou tou lou* (Arthavargīya sūtra) in the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya, T 1435, k. 24, p. 174b.

(2) Translated titles: *Yi p'in* (Section on meaning or *Arthavarga*) in Saṃyuktāgama, T 99 (no. 551), k. 20, p. 144b and c: Vibhāṣā, T 1545, k. 34, p. 176a; Hiuan tsang's translation of the Kośh, T 1558, k. 1, p. 3b; Yogacaryābhūmiśāstra, T 1579, k. 36, p. 489a.

Yi pou (Section on Meaning or *Arthavarga*) in Paramārtha's translation of the Kośa, T 1559, k. 1, p. 164a.

Tchong yi king (Sūtra of all Meanings) in Mppś, T 1509, k. 1, p. 60c.

Tchong yi p'in (Section of all meanings) in Vibhāṣā, T 1545, k. 4, p. 17a; k. 137, p. 706a.

Chouo yi (Explanation of Meaning) in the P'i ni mou king, T 1463, k. 3, p. 818a.

Che lieou yi p'in king (Sūtra of the Sixteen Sections of Meaning) in the Mahīśāsaka Vinaya, T 1421, k. 21, p. 144b.

Pa po k'i king (Sūtra of the Eight Sections or *Aṣṭavargīyasūtra*) in the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya, T 1425, k. 23, p. 416a.

Che lieou yi kiu (Sūtra of the Sixteen Phrases of Meaning) in the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya, T 1428, k. 39, p. 845c.

There would be no-one of impure knowledge.[105]

In these three stanzas, the Buddha is concerned with the absolute point of view.

[First stanza]. - It is said that ordinary people depend on wrong views (*dṛṣṭi*), on systems (*dharma*), on theories (*updeśa*) and therefore stir up quarrels (*vivāda*). Futile nonsense (*prapañca*) is the origin of quarrels and futile nonsense gives birth to wrong views (*dṛṣṭi*). A stanza says:

Because one adopts systems, there are quarrels.

If no-one accepted anything, what could they discuss?

By accepting or rejecting 'views'

People are all divided.

The yogin who knows this does not accept any system (*dharma*), does not accept any nonsense (*prapañca*), adheres to nothing and believes in nothing.[106] Not really taking part in any discussion

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[105] These stanzas probably mean: (1) The real truth consists of not adhering to any system, in not entering into any acholastic quarrel. - (2) Indeed, all the teachers are fools: they treat as fools those who do not accept their ideas and themselves are treated as fools by their adversaries. -

(3) All claim to have found the truth and, if they were to be believed, in the world there would be only impeccable philosophical systems.

These three stanzas roughly correspond to the first five strophes of the *Cūlaviyūhasutta*, the twelfth sutta of the *Aṭṭhakavagga* (Suttanipāta,, v. 878-882; tr. Fausböll, p. 167-168; tr. R. Chalmers, *Buddha's Teachings*, Cambridge M, 1932, p. 211). The Pāli text differs considerably from the citation of the Mppś given here, as well as the Chinese translation of Tche k'ien in T 198, k. 2, p. 182a-b).

(1) *Sahaṃ sahaṃ....ahevait do.*

(2) *Evam pi viggayha....kuśhala vadānā.*

(3) *Parassa ce dhammaṃ....ime diṭṭhiparibbasānā.*

(4) *Sandiṭṭhiyāce pana....pi tathḥa samattā.*

(5) *Na vāham etaṃ....ti paraṃ dahanti.*

Transl. *The Disciple*. - (1) Fixed in personal views, many [masters], quareling amongst themselves, affirm that they are [the only] wise ones [and say]: "Those who accept that understand the [true] doctrine; those who reject that are imperfect." - (2) Quarreling thus, they debate and say: "My adversary is a fool, an ignoramus." Then what is the true doctrine among all of these, because all these [masters] claim to be [the only] wise ones?

The Buddha. - (3) If he who does not recognize the doctrine of his adversary is a fool, an inferior being of little intelligence, then all of these [masters] are fools of little intelligence, [for] all hold to their own [personal] views. (4) Or, if they are truly purified by their own views, if they are of pure intellect, wise and mindful, no-one among them is of little intelligence for their views are equally perfect. - (5) But I do not call 'reality' that which these fools say to one another. They make the truth of their own view; that is why they treat their adversary as a fool.

[106] The horror of the Buddha and his disciples for any argument, more pretended than real, is well known:

Suttanipāta, v. 897: *yā kāc' imā sammutiyo....khantim akubbamāno*. - Sanskrit text in Bodh. bhūmi, p.48-49: *yāḥ kāścana saṃvṛtayo....kāntim asaṃorakurvan*. - Tr.: The Muni does not take up the opinions that are current in the world, for he is independent. How could the person who feels no attraction to what he sees and hears submit himself?

(*vivāda*), he knows the taste of the ambrosia (*amṛitarasa*) of the Buddhadharma. To act otherwise is to reject the doctrine.

[Second stanza]. - If all of those who do not accept the systems of others (*paradharma)*, who do not know them and who do not adopt them, were ignoramuses, then all the masters (*upadeśin*) would be ignoramuses. Why? Because, taken individually, each one reject the systems of his neighbors [to adhere to his own]. Actually, a system that affirms itself to be absolutely pure (*paramārthaśuddha*) is denigrated by others as being impure. Such, for example, are the mundane penal laws (*daṇḍadharma*), by virtue of which executioners carry out punishments (*daṇḍa*), executions (*vadha*) and impurities (*aśubha*) of all kinds.[107] Worldly people accept them and hold them to be absolutely pure, whereas others, pravrajitas and āryas, consider them to be impure. According to the ccustoms of the tīrthikas and the pravrajitas, one stays between five fires, one stands on one leg, one tears out one's hair, etc.[108] - What the *Ni k'ien tseu* (Nirgranthaputras) hold as reasonable, other people call foolishness. In the various systems of the tīrthikas, pravrajitas, śvetābaras, brāhmanas, etc., each considers good what his neighbor denigrates. - In the Buddhist system as well, there are *Tou tseu* (Vatsiputrīya) bhikṣus who say: "Just as there is a dharma 'eye' (*cakṣus*) by the coming together of the four great elements (*caturmahābhūtasaṃyoga*), so there is a dharma 'individual' (*pudgala*)[109] from the coming together of the five aggregates (*pañcaskandhasaṃyoga*).

In the *Tou tseu a pi t'an* (Vātsīputrīyābhidharma) it is said: "The five aggregates (*skandha*) are not separate from the pudgala and the pudgala is not separate from the five aggregates. It cannot be said that the five aggregates are the pudgala nor that there is a pudgala apart from the five aggregates. The pudgala is a fifth

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Saṃyutta, III, p. 138: *nāham bhikkhave lokena....tam atthiīti vadaÎi*. - Sanskrit text in Madh. vṛtti, p. 370: *loko mayā sārdhaṃ....tan nāsti saṃātam*. Tr.: It is the world that argues with me, it is not I who argue with the world. That which is accepted in the world is also accepted by me, that which is rejected by the world is also rejected by me. - Chinese translation in Tsa a han, T99 (no. 37), k. 2, p. 8b.

Madh. vṛtti, p. 57: The silence of the āryas is the abslute (*paramārtha hy āryāṇāṃ tūṣṇīṃbhāvaḥ*).

Saṃdhinirmocana, II, par. 4: Cognizable by intuition, neutral domain, ineffable, destroyer of ordinary experience: that is the absolute. Its nature transcends all speculation.

[107] For penal punishments, see Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 129-131.

[108] Compare Āryadeva's Po louen, T 1569, k. 1, p.168b. - Several sūtras inform us about the ascetic practices at the time of the Buddha, e.g., Majjhima (no. 12), I, p.68-83; (no. 14), I, p. 91-95. Lav. *Histoire*, I, p.290-314, has an important chapter on Hindu ascetiscism, mendicant and monastic life and the sects of the Buddhist epoch.

[109] Belief in the personality or Pudgalavāda, defended by several Buddhist sects (Lav., *Nirvāṇa*, p. 34), is generally attributed to the Vatsīputrīya-Sāṃmitīyas (see Kośavyākhyā, p. 699). The only text of the school that has come down to us, the San mi ti pou louen, T 1649, has not yet been studied (cf. Przyluski, *Concile*, p. 73; Lav., Introduction to the Kośa, p. LX-LXII). The Pudgalavāda is especially known by the texts that oppose it and the general works on the Buddhist sects. See Vasumitra, p. 53-57; Bhavya in Walleser, *Sekten*, p. 87; Katthāvatthu, p. 1 (tr. Aung, *Points of Controversy*, p. 8-14); L. de La Vallée Poussin, *La controverse du temps at du Pudgala dans le Vijñānakmaya*, EA, p.358-376; Kośa, chap. IX, p. 227-302 (important document from which later treatises have drawn widely); Sūtrālaṃkāra, ed Lévi, p. 154-160 (tr. Lévi, p. 259-265); Bodhicaryāvatāra, IX, v. 73, and Pannjikā, p.471-484; Madh. vṛitti, p. 340-481; Madh. avatāra, p. 233-287 (tr. Lav., Muséon, 1911, p. 282-328); Tattvasaṃgraha, I, p. 125-130 (tr. S. Schayer, *Karmalaśīlas Kritik des Pudgalavāda*, RO, VIII, 1932, p. 68-93; tr. Jha, I, p. 217-226; Siddhi, p. 14-15.

category, an ineffable (*avaktavya*) dharma, contained in the *piṭaka*."[110] The adepts of the *Chouo yi ts'ie yeou* (Sarvāstivāda)[111] say: "The pudgala is not established in any way, in any time, in any text (*dharmaparyāya*). It is non-existent like the horns of a hare (*śaśaviṣaṇa*) or the hairs of a tortoise (*kūrmaroman*). Furthermore, the eighteen elements (*dhātu*), the twelve bases of consciousness (*āyatana*) and the five aggregates (*skandha*) truly exist, but the pudgala is not found among them."[112] On the other hand, in the Buddhist system, the adepts of the *Fang kouang* (Vaipulya) say: "All dharmas are unborn (*anutpanna*), non-destroyed (*aniruddha*), empty (*śūnya*) and non-existent (*akiṃcana*)[113]. They are non-existent like the horns of [61b] a hare (*śaśaviṣāṇa*) or the hair of a tortoise (*kūrmaroman*)."[114] All these

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[110] The Vātsīputrīyābhidharma has been lost, if the Mppś is to be believed (below, k. 2, p. 70a), at least ionsofar as it here concerns the Śāriputrābhidharma, T 1548, particularly respected by theVātsīputrīyas,. - But the text cited here is found in the San mi ti pou louen, T 1649, k. 1, p. 465b29: It cannot be said that the skandhas and the ātman are different or non-different... The ātman also is ineffable (*avaktavya*). - Kośa, IX, p. 232: The Vātsīputrīyas accept a pudgala that is neither identical with the elements nor other than the elements: ibid. p. 237. The Vāsīputrīya maintains that the pudgala is ineffable (*avaktavya*) concerning its relationship, identity or non-identity, with the elements... He distinguishes five categories of phenomena capable of being cognized (*pañcavidhaṃ jñeyam*): (1-3) conditioned phenomena (*saṃskṛta*) or, in other words, past, present and future phenomena; (4) non-caused phenomena (*asaṃskṛta*), and (5) the ineffable or pudgala. - Madh. avatāra, p. 268: Some maintain the real existence of a pudgala of which one cannot say that it is identical with the *skandha*s or different from the *skandha*s, permanent or impermanent; it is cognized by the six *vijñāna*s; it is the object of the concept of self.

[111] The Sarvāstivādin doctrine is that the self is merely a designation of the series of elements and a self does not exist in it. No proof, no proof of evidence, no proof of induction, establishes the existence of a self independent of these elements. That which in common language is called soul, self, vital principle, person, is merely a series (*saṃtāna, saṃtati*), of which the elements are in the relationship of cause and effect, subject to the law of causality (*pratītyasamutpāda*). This solution, outlined in the Canon, Dīgha, III, p. 105 (*viññānasota*), Saṃyutta, III, p. 143 (*saṃtāna*), was adopted and developed by all the schools of the Lesser Vehicle which reject belief in a pudgala and profess *nairātmya*. For the school of the Pāli language and its doctrine of *bhavaṅga*, an explanation and some references will be found in Saṃgraha, p. 8-10. For the Sarvāstivādin-Vaibhāṣika 'series' on the one hand and the Sautrāntika 'series' on the other hand, consult Kośa, II, p. 185: good resumé in Lav., *Morals*, p. 196-200: Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa, Introd., p. 15, 23-27.

[112] Cf. Kośa, IX, p. 247: The Bhagavat said to a brāhman: "If I say that everything exists, it is a matter of the twelve bases of consciousness (*āyatana*)." The pudgala not being included in these twelve *āyatana*s, it does not exist. - The sūtra to which the Kośa alludes here is in Tsa a han, T 99 (n0. 319), k. 13, p. 91a: Everything, i.e., the twelve *āyatana*s, eye, etc. - Compare Saṃyutta, IV, p. 15, *sabbaṃ* is defined by the enumeration of the twelve *āyatana*s, from the eye up to dharmas; Mahāniddesa, p. 133: *sabbaṃ vuccati dvādasāyatanāni*; Kośa, V, p. 64.

[113] Nihilistic statements of this type abound in the sūtras of the Greater Vehicle, e.g., Saṃdhinirmocana, VII, v. 1: *niḥsvabhāvāḥ sarvadharmā....prakṛtiparinirvṛtāḥ*. - Tr. All dharmas are without self nature, unborn, non-destroyed, calm from the beginning and essentially nirvāṇic. - Identical phrases in Ratnameghasūtra, cited in Madh. vṛtti, p. 225, and Subhāṣitasaṃgraha, Muséon, Iv, 1903, p. 394; Sūtrālaṃkāra, ed. Lévi, XI, v. 51, p. 67; Saṃgraha, p. 128; Gauḍapādakmarikā, IV, 93.

[114] The horn of a hare (*śaśaviṣeṇa*) or the hair of a tortoise (*kūrmaroman*) - also the sky-flower (*khapuṣpa*) or the son of a barren woman (*vandhyāputra*) - are comparisons often used to designate impossibilities. Cf. Jātaka, III, p. 477; Laṅkāvatāra, p. 41, 51, 52, 53, 61, 104, 188, 291, 341; Kośa, IX, p. 263.

teachers boast about their own system but reject that of others: they say: "This is true, the rest is false (*idam eva saccaṃ mogham aññaṃ)."*[115] It is their own system that they accept, it is their own system that they respect (*pūjayanti)*, it their own system that they practice (*bhāvayanti*). As for the system of another, they do not accept it, they do not respect it: they criticize it.

[Third stanza]. - If by the sole fact [of having a system of their own] these teachers were pure and attained the absolute good, then there would not be any impure teachers, for they are all of them attached to a system.

Question. - If the views (*dṛṣṭi*) are all false, what is the absolute point of view (*pāramārthika siddhānta*)?

Answer. - It is the path that transcends all discourse (*sarvadeśanātikrāntamārga*), the arrest and destruction of the functioning of the mind (*cittapravṛttisthitinirodha*), the absence of any support (*anāśraya*), the non-declaration of the dharmas (*dharmāṇāṃ anidarśanam*), the true nature of the dharmas (*dharmāṇāṃ satyalakṣaṇam)*, the absence of beginning, middle and end (*anādimadhyānta*), indestructibility (*akṣayatva*), inalterability (*avipariṇāmatva*). That is what is called the absolute point of view.[116] It is said in the *Mo ho yen yi kie* (Mahāyānārthagāthā?):

The end of discourse,

The arrest of the functioning of the mind,

Non-arising and non-destruction,

Dharmas similar to nirvāṇa.

Speaking about subjects promoting action (*abhisaṃskārasthāna*):

Those are mundane systems.

Speaking about subjects promoting non-action (*anabhisaṃskārasthāna*):

That is the absolute system.

Everything is true, everything is false,

Everything is both true and false at the same time,

Everything is both false and true at the same time:

That is the true nature of the dharmas.[117]

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[115] An old phrase used in arguments as conclusion to a thesis, cf. Majjhima, II, p. 169: *aham etaṃ jānāmi....mogham aññnan ti*.

[116] For the names of the absolute, see above.

[117] Cf. Madh. vṛtti, p. 369: *sarvaṃ tathyaṃ na vā tathyaṃ....etad buddhānuśāsanam*.

In various sūtras of this kind, it is said that the absolute point of view (*pāramārtika siddhānta*) has a profound (*gambhīra*) meaning, difficult to see (*durdṛśa*), difficult to understand (*duravabodha*). The Buddha preaches the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra to explain [this meaning].

17. Furthermore, the Buddha has preached the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra because he wanted the brahmacārin *Tch'ang tchao* (Dīrghanakha)[118] and other great masters (*upadeśācārya*), e.g., *Sien ni p'o ts'o k'iu to lo* (Śreṇika Vatsagotra)[119] and *Sa tchö kia mo k'ien t'i* (Satyaka Nirgranthīputra)[120] to have faith (*śraddhā*) in the Buddhadharma. These great masters of *Yen feou t'i* (Jambudvīpa) said that all the treatises can be refuted, all the confused affirmations (*vāda*) and all the twisted beliefs (*grāha*), and consequently, there is no true religion deserving of belief (*śraddhā*) or respect (*arcana, satkāra*).

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118 See below for Dīrghanakha, the monk 'Long Nails'.

119 Vatsagotra, Vacchagotta in Pāli, was a *parivrājaka* who became arhat after being converted. He had various conversations with the Buddha, notably on the fourteen unanswerable points (*avyākṛtavastu*, below, k. 2, p. 74c). Pāli canon: *Tevijjhavacchagotta*, Majjhima, no. 71, I, p. 481-483; *Aggivacchagotta*, ibid., no. 72, I, p. 483-489; *Mahāvacchagotta*, ibid. no. 73,, I, p. 489-497; *Vacchagotta*, Aṅguttara, I, p. 160-162; *Vacchagottasaṃyutta*, Saṃyutta, III, p. 257-263. - It is odd that among the Chinese Āgamas, it is only in the Tsa a han that the above cited Pāli texts have their parallels. Thus T 99 (no. 95), k. 4, p. 26a-b, identical with T 100 (no. 261), k. 12, p. 465c, corresponds to the Vacchagotta of the Aṅguttara, I, p. 160-162. - T 99 (no. 962), k. 34, p. 245b-246a, identical with T 100, (no. 196), k. 10, 444c-445c, corresponds to the Aggivacchagotta of the Majjhima, I, 483. - T 99 (no. 963), k. 34, p. 246a-b, identical with T 100 (no. 197), k. 10, p. 445c-446a, corresponds with Vacchagottasaṃyutta of the Saṃyutta, III, p. 237. - T 99 (no. 964), k. 34, p. 246b-247c, identical with T 100 (no. 198), k. 10, p. 446a-447b, corresponds with Mahāvacchagotta of the Majjhima, I, p. 489. Thus it is established that the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama has combined into a single section all the passages relating to Vatsagotra found scattered in the Pāli Nikāyas.

It may be noted that the Pāli texts mention only the family name of Vatsagotra: he belonged to a wealthy brahmanical family of the Vaccha clan (comm. of the Theragāthā, I, p. 221; tr. Rh. Davids, *Brethren*, p. 101). The Mppś informs us that his personal name was Śreṇika, like that of Bimbasāra

120 *Sa tchö kia mo k'ien t'i* should be corrected to *Sa tchö kia ni k'ien t'i tseu*, the proper reading attested by T 99, k. 5, p. 35a, and T 125, k. 30, p. 715b. The equivalents proposed by Soothill-Hodous, p. 488b, are fanciful; they concern Saccaka Nigaṇṭhīputta. He was the son of a Nigaṇṭha and a well-known Nigaṇṭhī who, unable to win over one another in a discussion, finally were married under the advice of the Licchāvis of Vesālī (Papañca, II, p. 268). He had four sisters, Saccā, Lolā, Paṭācāra and Sivāvatikā whom Sāriputta had converted. Saccaka himself was a a great debater *(bhassappavādika*) and did not lack claims to pretension: "I do not see any śhramaṇa or brāhamaṇa, founder of a community, at the head of a group of disciples, who, even if he passes as perfectly enlightened, would not tremble in all his limbs, would not be agitated and would not sweat in the arm-pits if he engaged in debate with me ", he said to the people of Vesālī. "Even if I engaged in debate with a post devoid of intelligence, it would tremble and be agitated. What then of a human being?" (Majjhima, p. 227; cf. Mppś, k. 26, p. 251c). That did not prevent him from being shamefully defeated by the Buddha. Reduced to *quia* "like a crab, the claws of which have been broken", he acknowledged his defeat and followed the Buddha. Saccaka appears in two sūtras:

(1) *Cūḷasaccaka sutta*: Majjhima, no. 35, I p. 227-237 (tr. Chalmers, I, p. 162-169); Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 110), k. 5, p. 35a-37b; Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 30, p. 715a-717b.

(2) *Mahāsaccakasutta*: Majjhima no. 36, I p. 237-251 (tr. Chalmers, I, p. 170-179.

Thus the *Chö li fou pen mo king* (Śāriputrāvadānasūtra) says: Śāriputa's uncle (*mātula*), called *Mo ho kiu tch'e lo*[121] (Mahākauṣṭhila), in a [learned] discussion with his sister *Chö li* (Śāri), reflected thus: "My sister is not very strong; she may become pregnant with a sage (*jñānin*) who would borrow his mother's mouth in order to speak.[122] If he is wise before he is even born, what will he be like after birth when he is grown up?" This thought hurt his pride (*abhmāna*) and, in order to increase his knowledge, he left home and became a brahmacārin. He went to southern India (*dakṣiṇāpatha*) and began to study the great treatises (*śāstra*).[123] People asked him:

[**61c**] "Brahmacārin, what are you looking for, what are you studying?" Dīrghanakha (Kauṣṭhila's surname) replied: "I want to study the eighteen great treatises in depth." They replied: " If you would dedicate your whole life to understand a single one, then how would you ever come to the end of all of them?" Dīrghanakha said to himself: "Previously, I acted out of [injured] pride because I was outshone by my sister; again today these men are covering me with shame (*gurulajjā)*. For two reasons, I take an oath henceforth not to cut my nails (*nakha*) before I have exhausted the eighteen treatises."[124] Seeing his long

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[121] Mahākauṣṭhila (in Tibetan, *Gsus po che*, 'Big Belly'; in Chinese, *Ta si,* 'Big Knees': cf. Mahāvyutpatti, no. 1063), later surnamed the monk 'Long Nails' (Dīrghanakha, brahmacārin) was the son of the brāhmin Māṭhara, the brother of Śārī and the uncle of Śāriputra. He is therefore different from the Mahākoṭṭhita of the Pāli sources whose father was Assalāyana and mother, Candavatī, but who was himself also especially linked with Śāriputra (cf. Theragāthā, v.1006-8). The documents on Dīrghanakha may be arranged in three categories:

(1) The Dīrghanakhasūtra. - Pāli text in Majjhima, no. 74, I. p. 497-501 (tr. Chalmers, p. 351-353). - Fragments of the Sanskrit text discovered in Chinese Turkestan, published by R. Pischel, *Bruchstücke des Sanskritkanons der Buddhisten aus Idykutsari*, SPAW, 1904, text p. 814, l. 21-816 l. 7, explanations, p. 822-923. - Chinese transl., Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 969), k. 34, p. 249a-250a; T 100 (no, 203), k. 11, p. 449a-b. - This sūtra is sometimes designated as *Dīrghanakhasūtra* (e.g., Mahāvastu, III,p. 76), sometimes as *Vedanāpariggaha* (Dhammapasaṭṭha, I, p. 79; Sumaṅgala, III, p. 882; Papñca, IV, p. 87).

(2) The *Dīrghanakhavadāna*, telling the story of Dīrghanakha's voyage in southern India, his discussion with the Buddha and his conversion. - Sanskrit text in Avadānaśataka (no. 99), II, p. 186-196 (tr. Feer, p. 418-430). Chinese transl., Siuan tsi po yuan king, T 200 (no. 99), k. 10, p. 255a-157a). Same story in Ken pen chouo...tch'ou kia cha, T 1444, k. 1, p. 1023a (voyage of D. in southern India to study the Lokāyata system); k. 2, p. 1028c (conversation of D. and Gautama). See Csoma-Feer, p. 152, 155. - P'i p'o cha, T 1545, k. 98, p. 509b-c. Ta tche tou louen, T 1509, k. 1, p. 61b-62a (full story); k. 11, p. 137c (voyage of D.; tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, III, p. 293-294).

(3) The *Dīrghanakhaparivrājaparipṛcchā*, of which there exists a Tibetan translation entitled *Kun tu rgyu ba sen eiṅs kyis €us pa*, Mdo XXVIII, 2 (OKC no. 1009; Csoma-feer, p. 283); a Chinese translation by Yi tsing, entitled *Tch'ang tchao fan tche ts'ing wen king*, T 584, vol XIV, p. 968; a Sogdian translation entitled *Brz n'y'n syns'ry wp'rs*, re-edited by E. Benviste in TSP, p. 74-81. It concerns the meritorous actions of the Buddha which merited his physical marks.

[122] The same idea in the Lieou tou tsi king, T 152 (no. 66), k. 6, p. 35b-36a, tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, I, p. 240-244: " A young child is killed at the moment when he was about to hear the holy book of Prajñāpāramitā recited; he was reborn in the belly of a woman who, while she was pregnant, was able to recite the Prajñāpāramitā; when she was delivered, she lost her knowledge, but the son whom she brought into the world recited the Prajñāpāramitā as soon as he was born."

[123] According to T 1444, k. 1, p. 1023a, Kauṣṭhila went to southern India to study the Lokāyata system.

[124] Cf. P'i p'o cha, T 1545, k. 98, p. 509b: Why did he keep his nails long? Thirsting for practice, he was not in the habit of cutting them. According to others, he followed the custom of the highlanders who never cut their nails and hair. Others

nails, people called him the brahmacārin 'Long Nails' (*dīrghanakha*). By the wisdom that he derived from treatises of all kinds, this man refuted (*nigṛhṇāti*) by every means Dharma and Adharma, compulsory and optional, true and false, being and non-being. He confounded the knowledge of his neighbors (*paropadeśa*). Like an enraged mighty elephant (*gaja*) whose raging trampling cannot be directed, the brahmacārin Dīrghanakha, having triumphed (*abhibhavati*) over all the teachers by the power of his knowledge, returned to *Mo k'ie t'o* (Magadha), to *Wang chö* (Rājagṛha) in the public square (*naranigama*). Having come to his birthplace, he asked people: “Where is my nephew *(bhāgineya)* now?” They said to him: "From the age of eight years, your nephew has exhausted the study of all the treatises (*śāstra*).[125] When he was sixteen, his learning triumphed (*abhibhavati*) over everybody. But a monk of the *Che* clan (Śākya), called *Kiu t'an* (Gautama) made him his disciple." At this news, filled with scorn (*abhimāna*) and disbelief (*āśraddhya*), Dīrghanakha exclaimed: "If my nephew is so intelligent (*medhāvin*), by what trick (*vañcana*) has this Gautama succeeded in shaving his head for him and in making him his disciple?" Having said this, he went at once to the Buddha.

At that moment, having been ordained a fortnight ago (*ardhamā-sopasaṃpanna*), *Chö li fou* (Śāriputra) was standing behind the Buddha, fan in hand (*vyajanavyagrahasta*), fanning the Buddha. The brahmacārin Dīrghanakha saw the Buddha and having exchanged salutations with him (*kathāṃ vyatisārya*), sat down to the side. He thought: "All treatises can be refuted, all refutation can be confounded and all beliefs can be overcome. Then what is the true nature (*satyalakṣaṇa*) of the dharmas? What is the absolute (*paramārtha*)? What is self nature (*svabhāva*)? What is the specific nature (*lakṣaṇa*), the absence of error (*aviparyāsa*)? Such questions are tantamount to wanting to empty the depths of the ocean. He who attempts them will be a long time without discovering a single reality capable [**62a**] of affecting the intellect. By what teaching (*upadeśa*) was this Gautama able to win over my nephew?" Having reflected thus, he said to the Buddha: "Gautama, no thesis is acceptable to me (*sarvaṃ me na kṣamate*)." The Buddha said to Dīrghanakha: "No thesis is acceptable to you; then even this view is not acceptable to you?" The Buddha meant: You have already drunk the poison of false views (*mithyādṛṣṭiviṣa*). Now expel the traces of this poison (*viṣavāsanā*).[126] You say that no thesis is pleasing to you, but this view does not please you? - Then, like a fine horse (*aśva*) which, on seeing the shadow of the whip (*kaśācāyā*), rouses itself and goes back to the proper route, in the face of this shadow of the whip that is the Buddha's speech (*buddavāc*), the brahmacārin Dīrghanakha collected himself and laid aside (*nisṛjati*) all pride (*darpa*);[127] shameful (*lajjamāna*) and with drooping head (*adhomukha*) he thought: "The Buddha is inviting me to choose

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say that Dīrghanakha, while still in the world (*gṛhastha*) loved to play the guitar (hien kouan); later, when he became a monk, he remained attached to his long nails and did not cut them. Yet other masters say that he was a member of those religious heretics who keep their nails. That is why he was called the brahmacārin 'Long Nails'.

125 According to the Avadānaśataka, II, p. 187, Śāriputra, at the age of sixteen years, had studied the grammar of Indra (*aindra vyākaraṇa*).

126 The intention of the Buddha is to lead Dīrghanakha to abandon his opinion without adopting another. This is very clear in the Dīrghanakhasutta and the Avadānaśataka, l. c.

127 An allusion to a stanza of the Dhammapada, v, 144, Sanskrit Udānavarga, p. 240: *bhadro yathāśvaḥ kaśayābhitāḍita....prajahati duḥkham*.

between two contradictions (*nigrahasthāna*).[128] If I say that this view pleases me, that is a gross (*audarika*) nigrasthāna which is familiar to many people. Why then did I say that no thesis is pleasing to me? If I adopted this view, that would be a manifest lie (*mṛṣāvāda*), a gross nigrahasthāna known to many people. The second nigrasthāna is more subtle (*sūkṣma*); I will adopt it because fewer people know it." Having reflected thus, he said to the Buddha: "Gautama, no thesis is agreeable to me, and even this view does not please me." The Buddha said to the brahmacārin: "Nothing pleases you, and even this view does not please you! Then, by accepting nothing, you are no different from a crowd of people. Why do you puff yourself up and develop such pride?" The brahmacārin Dīrghanakha did not know what to answer and acknowledged that he had fallen into a *nigrasthāna*. He paid homage to the omniscience (*sarvajñāna*) of the Buddha and attained faith (*śraddhācitta*). He thought: "I have fallen into a nigrahasthāna. The Bhagavat did not make known my embarrassment. He did not say that it was wrong, he did not give his advice. The Buddha has a kind disposition (*snighacitta*). Completely pure (*paramaśuddha*), he suppresses all subjects of debate (*abhilāpasthāna*); he has attained the great and profound Dharma (*mahāgambhīradharma*); he is worthy of respect (*arcanīya*). The purity of his mind (*cittaviśuddhi)* is absolute (*parama*)."

And as the Buddha, by preaching the doctrine to him, had cut through his wrong views *(mithyādṛṣṭi*), Dīrghanakha at once became free of dust (*viraja*) and defilements (*vigatamala*) and acquired the perfectly pure (*viśuddha*) Dharma-eye (*dharmacakṣus*). Also at that moment, Śāriputra, who had been following this conversation, became an arhat.[129] The brahmacārin Dīrghanakha left home (*pravrajita*) and became a monk (*śramaṇa*); he became a very powerful arhat. If the brahmacārin Dīrghanakha had not heard the Prajñāpāramitā preached, the powerful doctrine excluding the four alternatives (*cātuḥkoṭikavarjita*)[130] and dealing with the absolute (*paramārthasaṃprayukta*), he would not have had faith. How then would he ever have been able to gather the fruit of the religious life (*pravrajitamārgaphala*)? Therefore it is in order to convert the great teachers (*upadeśacārya*) and men of sharp faculties (*tīkṣṇendriya*) that the Buddha preaches the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra.

18. Furtherrnore, the Buddhas have two ways of preaching the Dharma: [sometimes] they take into account (*apekṣante*) the minds (*citta*) of their listeners and adapt themselves to the beings to be converted (*vaineya*), [sometimes] they have in view only [the object of their sermon], the nature (*lakṣhaṇa*) of the [**62b**] dharmas. Here, the Buddha preaches the Prajñāpāramitāsūtra in order to speak about the true nature of the dharmas. Thus it is said in the chapter of the *Siang pou siang* (Lakṣaṇālakṣaṇaparivarta) that the gods (*deva*) asked the Buddha: "This Prajñāpāramitā is profound (*gambhīra*); what is its nature (*lakṣaṇa*)?" The Buddha repied to the gods: "It is empty (*śūnya*). It has as its nature existence and non-existence

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128 The *nigrahasthānas*, faults against logic, were catalogued by the Buddhist logicians; see, e.g., a list of 22 nigrasthānas in Tarkaśāstra, Tucci, *Pre-Diṅnāga*, p. 33-40.

129 Cf. Avadānaśataka, p. 194: *athāyuṣmataḥ ´Śāriputrasayaiṣāṃ.....dharmacakṣur utpannam*.

130 Th teaching that excludes the four alternatives is that which establishes the four-branched syllogism: "Nothing whatsoever arises, whether of itself, or of other, or of both, or without any cause." This negativity which characterizes the Madhyamaka (cf. Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 237-241; Lav., *Madhyamaka*, p. 19) has already been presented by Śāriputra in the canonical scriptures: Saṃyutta, II, p. 112-115; Tsa a han, Y 99 (no. 288), k. 12, p. 81a-c.

(*bhavābhavalakṣaṇa*), non-arising and non-cessation (*anutpādānirodhalakṣaṇa*), effortlessness (*anabhisaṃkāralakṣaṇa*), the true eternal innate nature (*nityājātatathātalakṣaṇa*), nirvāṇa (*nirvāṇalakṣaṇa*), etc."[131]

19. Again, there are two ways of preaching the Dharma: 1) dealing with argumentative subjects (*araṇasthāna*), 2) dealing with pacifying subjects (*araṇasthāna*). In dealing with argumentative subjects, one will refer back to what has been said in other sūtras[132]. Here, the Buddha preaches the Prajñāpāramitāsūtra to shed light on pacifying subjects: the Prajñāpāramitā has a nature of existence and of non-existence (*bhavābhavalakṣaṇa*); it is both substantial (*bhūtadravya*) and non-substantial (*abhūtadravya*), with support (*sāśraya*) and without support (*anāśraya*), offering resistance (*sapratigha*) and not offering resistance (*apratigha*), lower (*sottara*) and higher (*anuttara*), cosmic and acosmic.

Question. - With his predisposition of great loving-kindness and compassion (*mahāmatrī-karuṇācitta*), the Buddha should deal exclusively with pacifying subjects (*araṇasthāna*); why does he also speak about contentious subjects (*raṇasthān*a)?

Answer. - The pacifying (*araṇasthāna*) points of the doctrine are all without nature (*alakṣaṇa*), eternal (*nitya*), calm (*śānta*), ineffable (*avacanīya*). Here, the Buddha preaches on generosity (*dāna*) and the other [virtues], on the transitory (*anitya*) dharmas, suffering (*duḥkha)*, emptiness (*śūnya*), etc. All these subjects are calm (*śānta*) and are omitted in fruitless discussions (*niṣprapañca*); that is why he preaches them. People of sharp faculties (*tīkṣnendriya*) understand the Buddha's intention, do not stir up quarrels (*raṇa*). People of weak faculties (*mṛdvindriya*) do not understand the Buddha's intention; grasping at characteristics (*nimittagrāhi*), attached to their own ideas (*cittābhiniviṣṭa*), they seek to quarrel with this Prajñāpāramitā. But since these dharmas are absolutely empty (*atyantaśūnya*), there is no subject to quarrel (*raṇasthāna*) with there.[133] If absolute emptiness (*atyantaśūnya*) could be grasped, it would not be absolute emptiness. That is why the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra is called a pacifying subject (*araṇasthana*), for with its twofold characteristic of existence and non-existence (*bhāvābhāvalakṣaṇa*), the Prajñāpāramitā is peaceful (*śānta*).

20. Furthermore, the dharmas are often arranged in other sūtras into three categories: good (*kuśala*), bad (*akuśala*) and non-defined (*avyākṛta*).[134] Here the Buddha wishes to speak about the nature of dharmas which is neither good nor bad nor non-defined; that is why he preaches the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra. It is

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[131] This quotation is taken from the Pañcaviṃśati, T 220, k. 510, p. 604c (of vol VII); T 221, k. 11, p. 77b; T 223, k. 14, p. 325b.

[132] The Saṃdhinirmocana, IV, enumerates a whole series of subjects leading to discussion (e.g., the nature of the *skandhas, dhātus, ayatānas*; the scope of the Buddhist truths). Those who debate such subjects are ignorant that "the absolute is subtle, profound, difficult to understand and everywhere has the same taste (*ekarasalakṣaṇa*)."

[133] The Vajracchedikā, p. 22, expresses the same idea in different words: *yāvat Subhūte lakṣaṇasaṃpat....tathāgato draṣṭavyaḥ*. -Tr. - O Subhūti, where there is a seat of characteristics, there is a lie; where there is no seat of characteristicas, there is no lie; that is why the Tathāgata must be defined by the absence of characteristics.

[134] The distinction between good (*kuśala*) and bad (*akuśala*) dharmas is frequent in the Buddhist canon. The Abidharma also distinguishes non-defined (*avyākṛta*) dharmas which are neither good nor bad. Cf. Dhammasaṅgaṇi, p. 1; Vibhaṅga, p. 180; Nettipakaraṇa, p. 191; Milinda, p. 12. Other references in Geiger, *Pāli Dhamma*, p. 105-113.

the same for the other categories of three dharmas: 1) dharmas of the disciples (*śaikṣa*), masters (*aśaikṣa*) and those who are neither disciples nor masters (*naivaśaikṣāśaikṣa*);[135] 2) dharmas to be abandoned by seeing the truths (*darśanaheya*), dharmas to be abandoned by meditation (*bhḥavanaheya*) and the Dharma which is not to be abandoned (*aheya*)´;[136] 3) visible dharmas that offer resistance (s*anidarśanāpratigha*), visible dharmas that do not offer resistance (*sanidarśanāpratigha*), invisible dharmas that do not offer resistance (*anidarśanāpratigha*);[137] 4) lower, middling and superior dharmas; 5) small, great, immense dharmas, etc.

Furthermore, in other sūtras it is a question of the four applications of mindfulness (*smṛtyupasthāna*) conforming to the teachings (*dharmaparyāya*) of the śrāvakas.[138] During this application, the bhikṣu considers (*anupaśyati*) the thirty-six substances (*dravya*) of his own body (*ādhyātmikakāya)* and expels the sickness of attachment (*rāgavyādhi)*, then he considers the body of another (*bāhyakāya*) in the same way, and finally both his own body and that of another (*ādhyāymikabāhyakāya*). Here, in relation to the four *smṛtyupasthānas*, the Buddha wishes to preach the Prajñāpāramitā by analogy[139] (*paryāyeṇa*) . Thus he said: "In considering his own [**62c**] body, the bodhisattva produces no notion of body (*kāyasaṃjñā*), does not grasp at the body, for the body does not exist. By considering in the same way the body of another, then both his own body and the body of another, he produces no notion of body, does not grasp at the body, for the body does not exist. In the course of *kāyasmṛtyupasthāna*, he considers the body without producing the notion of body: this is very difficult to do. It is the same for the other three *smṛtyupasthānas*, [application of mindfulness of sensation (*vedanā*), mind and dharmas]." It is the same for the four correct practices (*samyakpradhāna*), the four foundations of miraculous powers (*rddhipāda*), the four *dhyāna*s, the four truths (*satya*) and all other groups of four dharmas.

Furthermore, in other sūtras, the Buddha spoke of the transitory nature (*anitya*), the suffering (*duḥkha*) nature, the empty (*śūnya*) nature and the non-substantial (*anatmaka*) nature of the five aggregates (*skandha*).[140].Here he wishes to preach the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra in analogy with the five *skandha*s.

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135 Dhammasaṅgaṇi, p. 184-185; Kośa, VI, p. 231.

136 In Pāli: *dassanena pahātabhā, bhāvanāya pahātabbā, neva dassanena na bhāvanāya pahātabbā*, Dhammasaṅgaṇi, no. 1002, 1007, 1008, p. 183-183; Vibhaṅga, p. 12, 126, 97; Kośa, p. 78.

137 Kośa, I, p. 51.

138 The four smṛtyupasthānas play an important part in the canonical scriptures: Dīgha, II, p. 290 (tr. Rh. D., II, p. 322-326); Majjhima, I, p. 56, II, p. 11; Saṃyutta, V, p. 9, 1412; Aṅguttara, I, p. 39, 296; II, p. 256; III, p. 450, IV, p. 300, 457: *idha bhikkhave kāye....dhammesu dhammānupassī...* - Sanskrit phrase in R. Pischel, *Bruchstücke des Sanskritkanons aus Idykutsari*, SPAW, XXV, 1904, p. 1143. - Chinese versions, e.g., Tchong a han, T 26 (no. 98), k. 24, p. 582b; Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 623), K. 24, P. 174a; Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 5, p. 568a. - The smṛtyupasthānas have been studied in detail in the Abhidharma: Aung, *Compendium*, p. 179; Visuddhimagga, p. 239-266; A p'i t'an pa kien tou louen, T 1543, k. 29, p. 905-908; A p'i ta mo fatche louen, T 1544, k. 19, p. 1072-1074; A p'i ta mo fa yun tsou louen, T 1537, k. 5-6, p. 475-479; P'i p'o cha, T 1545, k. 187-192, p. 936-960; Kośa, VI, p. 158-162.

139 Lamotte gives 'equivalence'. Monier-Williams gives 'to approach from, to come near' for the root *pary-ā-yā.*

140 E.g., in Saṃyutta, III, p. 44: r*ūpaṃ bhikkhave aniccam....me so attāti.* Corresponding Sanskrit passage in JRAS, 1913, p. 573; in Chinese, Tsa a han, T 99 (no, 84), k. 3, p. 21c. - Other references in Rhys Davids-Stede, s.v. *saṅkhāra*, in

Thus the Buddha said to *Siu p'ou t'i* (Subhūti): "The bodhisattva who attributes an eternal function (*nityapravṛtti)* to color (*rūpa*) is not practicing the Prajñāpāramitā. If he attributes an eternal function to sensation (*vedanā*), to perception (*saṃjñā*), to the formations (*saṃskāra*) and to consciousness (*vijñāna*), he is not practicing the Prajñāpāramitā. If he attributes to color a transitory function (*anityapravṛtti*), he is not practicing the Prajñapāramitā. If he attribites a transitory function to sensation, perception, formation and consciousness, he is not practicing the Prajñāpāramitā." It is the same for the five aggregates of attachment (*upādānaskandha*), the five destinies (*gati*), and all groups of five dharmas. It is the same for all groups of six, seven, eight or an infinite number of dharmas.

Just as the Mahāprajñāpāramitā is infinite (*apramāṇa*) and unlimitled (*ananta*), so are the reasons for preaching also infinite and limitless, for such material is vast. Here we have concluded in brief (*samāsataḥ*) the reasons for the preaching.

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fine. - According to the Vaibhāṣhikas, the four aspects of the truth of suffering are: *anitya, duḥkha, śūnya and anātmaka* (Kośa, VII, p. 31).

NOTE: The lengthy Sanskrit and Pāli quotations have been abbreviated for convenience, the beginning and the ending given so that they may be located.

CHAPTER II: *EVAM MAYĀ ŚRUTAM EKASMIN SAMAYE*

Sūtra. - *Evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye:* Thus have I heard at one time.

EVAM[141]

[**63a**] Question. - Why do Buddhist sūtras begin with the word *evam*, 'thus'?
Answer. - 1. The Buddhadharma is a great sea (*mahāsamudra*); faith (*śraddhā*) is its entry (*avatāraka*), knowledge *(jñāna*) is its ferryman (*tāraka*). *Evam* is a synonym for faith.[142] The person whose heart is full of pure faith (*śraddhāviśuddhi*) is able to enter into the Buddha's doctrine; without faith, he cannot. The non-believer says: "It is not so (*tan naivam*)": that is the mark of disbelief (*āśraddhyalakṣaṇa*). The believer says: "That is indeed so" (*evam etat*). The disbeliever is like hard leather (*gocarman*) that cannot be folded (*ākuñcita*); the believer is like supple leather that can be folded for [any] use. Furthermore, it is said in a sūtra: "Faith is like a hand (*hasta*). Endowed with hands, the man who goes to a jewel mountain (*ratnaparvata*) gathers the jewels (*ratna)* at will. In the same way, the believer, penetrating into the Buddha's doctrine - this jewel mountain that contains the pure faculties (*anāsravendriya*), the powers (*bala*), the path of enlightenment (*bodhimārga*) and the *dhyānas* - the believer, I say, is able to take [anything] he wishes. The non-believer is like the person without hands. Without hands, the person who goes to a jewel mountain can take nothing. In the same way, the non-believer, going to the jewel mountain of the Buddha's doctrine, can gain nothing." The Buddha said: "If a man has faith, he can enter the ocean of my great doctrine and attain the fruit of the religious life (*śrāmaṇyaphala*); it is not in vain that he shaves his head and puts on the robes (*kāṣāya*). If he has no faith, he cannot enter the ocean of my doctrine. Like a rotten tree (*pūtika vṛkṣa*) that is unable to produce either flowers or fruit, he cannot win the fruit of the religious life. He can shave his head, dye his garments, study all kinds of sūtras and śāstras, he can gain no profit of the Buddhadharma." This is why the word *evam* occurs at the beginning of Buddhist texts: it refers to faith.

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141 In his commentaries on the Nikāyas (Sumaṅgala, I, p. 26; Papañca, I, p. 3; Sāratthа, I., p. 4), Buddhagosa mentions all the possible meanings of *evam* along with supporting texts. This adverb can indicate comparison (*upāmā*), information (*upadesa*), approval (*sampahaṃsana*), reproach (*garahaṇa*), acceptance (*vacanasaṃpaṭiggahaṇa*), style (*ākāra*), designation (*nidassana*) and affirmation (*avadhāraṇa*). In the expression *evam me sutaṃ*, the adverb *evam* expresses manner, designation and affirmation (*svāyaṃ idha ākāranidassanāvadhāraṇesu daṭṭhabbo*). To the author of the Mppś, *evam* symbolizes the faith of the believer in the words of the Buddha that he has heard. Some manuals of Buddhism have a tendency to present Buddhism as a rationalistic system, a simple appeal to reason (E. Hardy, *Buddha*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 54; Pischel, *Leben*, p. 54). But Buddhism is also adherence to the word of the Buddha and faith plays an important, although secondary, rôle in the discipline of salvation (Kern, *Histoire*, I, p. 1; *Manual*, p. 50; Lav., *Opinions*, p. 132-139; Oltramare, *Théosophie*, p.341-342; B.M. Barua, *Faith in Buddhism*, BS, XII, p. 329-349).

142 Faith is often compared to a boat: *saddhāya tarati oghaṃ* (Suttanipāta, v. 184; Saṃyutta, I, p. 214; Sanskrit Udānavarga, p. 113). The Śikṣasamucchaya, p. 62, speaks about the ship of faith (*śraddhānāva*) on which one embarks to go the treasure island (*ratnadvīpa*).

2. Furthermore, the Buddha's doctrine is profound (*gambhīra*) and distant; it requires a Buddha to understand it. Without being a Buddha, the believer can enter into the Buddha's doctrine by the power of faith (*śraddhābala*). Thus, *Fan t'ien wang* (Brahmādevarāja) invited the Buddha to turn the wheel of the doctrine (*dharmacakra*).[143] He invited him with this stanza:

In Jambudvīpa, at one time, there appeared

Many impure doctrines.

Open the gate of immortality,

Preach the pure path.[144]

The Buddha replied with this stanza:

My doctrine is very difficult to grasp,

It is able to cut through the fetters.

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[143] We have several versions of the invitation (*āyacana*) of Brahmā to the Buddha. - In Pāli: Vinaya, I, p. 5-7 (tr. Rh. D.-Oldenberg, I, p. 84-88). Dīgha, II, p. 36-39 (tr, Rh,D., II, p. 29-33); Majjhima, I, p. 167-169 (tr. Chalmers, I, p. 118-120); Samyutta, I, p. 136-138 (tr. Geiger, I, p. 213-217; Rh.D.-Woodward, I, p. 171-174). - In Sanskrit: Mahāvastu, III, p. 314-319; Lalitavistara, p. 392-402 (tr. Foucaux, p. 326-334). - In Chinese: Tch'ang a han, T 1 (no. 1)., k. 1, p. 8b-c; Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 10, p. 593a-b; Wou fen liu, T 1421, k. 15, p. 103c-104a; Sseu fen liu, T 1428, k. 32, p. 786c-787a; Ken pen chouo...p'o seng che, T 1450, k. 6, p. 126b; P'ou yao king, T 186, k. 7, p. 528; Fang kouang ta tchouang yen king, T 187, k. 10, p. 602-*605;* Kouo k'iu hien tsai yin kouo king, T 189, k. 3, p. 642c-643a; Fo pen hing tsi king, T 190, k. 33, p. 803-807 (tr. Beal, *Romantic Legend*, p. 241-244); Tchong hiu mo ho ti king, T 191, k. 7, p. 952c-953a. - In Tibetan, see Rockhill, *Life*, P. 35; Feer, *Extraits*, p. 14-16.

These various versions show great divergence both as to the number of stanzas exchanged between the Buddha and Brahmā and the very meaning of the words pronounced. One gets the impression that the compilers and the translators only partially understood the meaning of the documents they used

[144] Vinaya, I, p. 5; Majjhima, I, p. 168; Saṃyutta, I, p. 137: *pāturahosi Magadhesu.... vimalenānubuddhaṃ*

Mahāvastu III, p. 317: *prādurahosi samalehi....vimalānubuddhaṃ*

Lalitavistara, p. 398: *vādo babhūva....vimalena buddham*

By replacing *Magadheṣu* by *Jambudvīpa*, the Mppś seems to have wanted to handle the Magadhan pride with care. The same preoccupation may be noticed in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, T 1450, k. 3, p. 126b: "Finally, now there has appeared in Magadha an extraordinary (*adbhūta*) and pure (*śuddha*) doctrine. May the one who has the knowledge of the dharmas open the gates of the immortal." - In T 191, k. 7, p. 953a, Brahmā invites the Buddha to preach, not only because Magadha is the land of impure doctrines but because at one time unsoiled doctrines were taught there. "In Magadha in the past there appeared some stainless doctrines. Open wide the gates of the immortal, spread the doctrine and save beings." The difference between texts is probably due to an old rivalry between Rājagṛha, capital of Magadha, and Benares, where all the Buddhas have preached their first sermon (cf. the *samatiṃsavidhā dhammatā* of the Buddhas in Malalasekera, II, p. 296). In the Lalitavistara, p. 402, the Buddha explains why he chose Benares in preference to other cities to give his first sermon: "I remember the ninety-one thousands of koṭis of Buddhas who once turned the peerless wheel in this most

Those whose minds are attached to the desire of the triple world (*tribhavatṛṣṇā*)

Are unable to understand it.[145]

Brahmādevarāja said to the Buddha: "O Venerable One (*bhadanta*), in the universe (*lokadhātu*), knowledge is of superior, middling or inferior category. People of sensitive and upright mind can easily obtain salvation. If these people do not hear the doctrine preached, they fall into grave difficulties. It is like the lotus (*utpala*) in the water: some are born, some ripen, some remain within the water without emerging.[146] If they do not have sunlight (*sūryaprabhā*), they do not [**63b**] expand (*vikasanti*). The Buddha is like [the sunlight]: sent forth by his great loving kindness and great compassion (*mahāmaitrīkaruṇā*), that he might have pity for beings and preach the doctrine." The Buddha recalled the qualities (*dharma*) of the buddhas of the three times (*tryadvan*), past (*atīta*), future (*anāgata*) and present (*pratyutpanna*), all of whom preached the doctrine in order to save beings: "I too", said he, "must do the same." After having had this thought (*manasikāra*), he accepted Brahmādevarāja's and the other gods' invitation (*adhyeṣaṇā*) and preached the doctrine. The Bhagavat replied with this stanza:

Now I open the gate to the immortal.

The faithful shall obtain joy.

I preach the wonderful doctrine to men,

I do not preach in order to harm anyone.[147]

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beautiful of all forests (Mṛgadāva in Benares). Because of that, I shall turn the peerless wheel in this most beautiful of all forests."

[145] Vinaya, I, p. 5; Dīgha, II, p. 38; Majjhima, I, p. 168; Saṃyutta, I, p. 136: *kicchena me adhigataṃ.... tamokkhandhena āvatā*

Mahāvastu, III, p. 314: *pratiśrotagāminaṃ mārgaṃ.... grasitā narāḥ.*

Pratiśrotam and *anuśrotam* should probably be corrected to *pratisrotam*, 'going upstream', and *anusrotam*, 'going downstream'.

Lalitavistara, p. 397: *pratisrotagāmi mārgo gambhīro.... tasmāt prakāśitum*.

[146] The exact extent of the comparison between the three categories of knowledge and the stages of maturity of the lotus appears more clearly in other texts:

A. Vinaya, I, p. 6; Dīgha, II, p. 38; Majjhima, I, p. 169; Saṃyutta, I, p. 138: *addasa kho bhagav ......ānupalittāni udakena*.

B. Mahāvastu, III, p. 317-318: *atha khalu bhagavān.... lokam abhivilokayanto adrākṣit*.

C. Lalitavistara, p. 399-400: *atha khalu tathāgataḥ.... sattvāṃs triṣu rāśiṣu vyavasthitān*.

[147] This stanza has always taxed the skill of translators, old and modern. It shows important differences in the Sanskrit and the Pāli texts.

A. Vinaya, I, p. 7; Dīgha, II, p. 39; Majjhima, I, p. 169; Saṃyutta, I, p. 138: *apārutā tesaṃ amatassa.... manujesu Brahme Pamuñcantu saddhaṃ* may mean either 'that they may reject faith' or 'that they may have faith'; *vihiṃsasaññi* is unclear, it may be translated as 'fearing injury', without knowing whether the Buddha feared lest he be the doer or the victim of this injury.

H. Oldenberg, in 1881, in his *Vinaya Texts*, I, p. 88, has translated: "Wide opened is the door of the Immortal to all who have ears to hear; let them send forth faith to meet it. The Dhamma sweet and good I spake not, Brahmā, despairing of the weary task, to men." He remains faithful to this translation in his *Reden des Buddha*, München, 1922, p. 41: "Der Ewigkeit Tor, es sei jedem aufgetan der Ohren hat. Mag sich dann Glaube regen! Vergebliche Mühe zu meiden hab'ich das edle Wort moch nicht der Welt verkuundet." - R.O. Franke, *Die Suttanipāta-Gāthās*, ZDMH, LXIII, 1909, p. 7, comparing this stanza of the Itivuttaka, v. 84, also translates *pamuñcantu saddhaṃ* as "mögen zum Glauben gelangen."

Buddhaghosa, in his commentaries on the Nikāyas (Sumaṅgala, II, p. 471; Papañca, II, p. 181; Sārattha, I, p. 203) interprets the stanza differently: *Apāruta ti, vivatā... nesaṃ saṅkappan ti*. -

All recent translators side with Buddhaghosa's interpretation: T.W. Rhys-Davids, *Dīgha tr*., II, p. 33: "Open for them the portals to the Undying. Let those that hear renounce their empty faith! Ware of the fret, I uttered not, O Brahmā, Religion good and excellent 'mong men." C. Rhys-Davids, *Kindred Sayings*, I, p. 174: "Open for them the doors stand to Ambrosia. Let those that hear renounce the faith they hold. Foreseeing hurt I have not preached, Brahmā, the Norm sublime and excellent for men." W. Geiger, *Saṃyutta*, I, p. 216-217: "Aufgeschlossen sind die Tore der Imsterblichkeit für die, die da hören. Aufgegeben sollen sie ihren Glauben, Verletzung vermutend habe ich nicht ausgesprochen die mir vertraute Wahrheit unter den Menschen, o Brahman." The interpretation of Buddhaghosa followed by the modern translators may be based on the version of the Mahāśāsaka Mahāvastu and Vinaya. Mahāvastu, III, p. 319, gives somewhat the commentary of the Pāli stanza: *apāvṛitaṃ me amṛitasya.... magadeṣu pūrvam*.

By correcting *praguṇo* to *apraguṇo* (*'praguṇo*) in the fourth pada, my [Lamotte] translation is: "I have opened the door of the immortal, O Brahmā! Those who wish to hear the Bhagavat reject their pernicious belief. At one time among the Magadhans there was a pernicious, inferior, impure doctrine."

The idea is the same in the Mahīśāsaka Vinaya, T 1421, k. 15, p. 104a: "Previously, fearing useless fatigue (cf. the Pāli *vihiṃsasaññī*), I did not preach the profound meaning. Now I shall open [the gates] of the immortal. All should listen."

If these texts are compared, the meaning of the stanza becomes clear: Previously the Buddha did not preach the doctrine for fear of useless fatigue, but yielding to Brahmā's invitation, he is going to open the gates of the immortal, and all his listeners should renounce their old beliefs, impure beliefs current in Magadha.

B. But apart from this tradition, which I [Lamotte] would readily call the Pāli tradition, there exists another tradition which gives a completely different meaning to the stanza: the Buddha announces that he is going to open the gates of the immortal; the faithful (*śraddhāvataḥ* and not *śrotravantaḥ*) will profit from his teaching; this teaching will avoid doing harm to others (different interpretation of the Pāli *vihiṃsasaññī*). This tradition is represented by a whole series of Chinese texts, among which is the Mppś:

Ekottarāgama, T 125, k. 10, p. 593b: "The god Brahmā came to encourage the Tathāgata to open the gates of the immortal. The listeners having sincere faith will understand the profound Dharma. As at the summit of a high mountain, all kinds of beings are found. I, who possess this Dharma, will climb up to the temple (?. *sic*) and will manifest the Dharma-eye."

- Dharmaguptaka Vinaya, T 1428, k. 32, p. 787b: "Brahmā, I say unto you: I am going to open the gates of the immortal. The listeners will receive it with faith. It is not to molest [beings] that I preach, O Brahmā, the marvelous doctrine obtained by the Muni." - Mūlasārvastivādin Vinaya, T 1450, k. 6, p. 126c: "To those who listen to the Dharma with joy, I will open the gates of the immortal. If it were in order to blame and look down on men, O Brahmā, I would never preach."

C. Of somewhat confused origin, the Lalitavistara, p. 400, seems to be a contamination of the two traditions: *apāvṛitās teṣām amṛitasya.... dharmaṃ magadheṣu sattvāḥ*. "The gates of the immortal, O Brahmā, are open for those who always have ears; they enter, those believers who do not think of harm; they listen to the Dharma, the beings of Magadha.

In this stanza, the Buddha does not say that it is the generous person (*dāyaka*) who will obtain joy, or the person with knowledge (*bahuśruta*), morality (*śīla*), patience (*kṣānti*), energy (*vīrya*), *dhyāna*, or wisdom (*prajñā*). The Buddha is speaking only of the faithful. His intention is the following: My supreme (*parāma*) profound (*gambhīra*) doctrine is subtle (*sūkṣma*), immense (*apramāṇa*), incalculable (*asaṃkhyeya*), inconceivable (*acintya*), immoveable (*acala*), without support (*anāśraya*), without attachment (*nirāsaṅga)* and without perceived object (*anālambana*). But it is not true that the omniscient one (*sarvajñā*) is unable to explain it. That is why, in the Buddha's doctrine, the power of faith is primordial. It is by faith that one enters into it and not by generosity (*dāna*), discipline (*śīla*), patience (*kṣānti*), energy (*vīrya*), *dhyāna* or wisdom (*prajñā*). Thus some stanzas say:

In this world, the mind of beings is changeable.

They love the rewards of merit,

But they dread meritorious action.

They seek existence and avoid destruction.

First they listen to doctrines [drawing their inspiration] from wrong views.

Their mind becomes attached to it and they penetrate it deeply.

My doctrine is very profound.

Without faith how can it be understood?

Thus the great disciples *T'i p'o ta* (Devadatta),[148] *Kiu kia li* (Kokālika)[149] etc., not having faith in the Dharma, fell into the evil destinies (*durgati)*. These men had no faith in the Buddha's doctrine and were unable to discover it by their own wisdom (*prajñā*). Why? Because the Buddha's doctrine is profound (*gambhīra)*. Thus Brahmādevarāja uttered this stanza to Kokālika:

You want to measure the incommensurable doctrine.

The wise man has nothing to measure.

He who wants to measure the incommensurable doctrine

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148 Devadatta, cousin and enemy of the Buddha. For the genealogy of this well-known individual, see below, k. 3, p.83c.

149 Kokālika (Kokāliya) , son of a brahmin and ardent supporter of Devadatta (Vinaya, III, p. 174) allowed himself to be involved by the latter in a plot against the Buddha (Vinaya, II, p. 196, III, p. 171; Wou fen liu, T 1421, k. 25, p. 164). He appears in several Jātakas (see Watters, *Travels*, I, p. 392; Malalasekera, I, p. 673). - Rightly or wrongly, Buddhaghosa (Suttanipāta, Comm., II, p. 473; Sārattha, I, p. 216), distinguishes him from a Cūḷa Kokālika, originally from Kokāli, who was thrown into the Padmaniraya for having criticized Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana (below, k. 13, p. 157b-c; Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 1278), k. 48, p. 351b; Che song liu, T 1435, k. 37, p. 265b-c; Tsa pao tsang king, T 203 (no. 28), k. 3, p. 461a-b; Saṃyutta, I, p. 149; Aṅguttara, V, p. 171; Suttanipāta, III, 10; Jātaka, IV, p. 242 sq.). For the Mppś, these two individuals are apparently one and the same.

Is nothing but a dull worldling.[150]

3. Another meaning of *Evam*. - The person whose mind in animated by correct faith can understand the doctrine. Otherwise, he understands nothing. A stanza says:

The listener of pure and clear attention

Attentively (*ekacitta*) follows the discussions.

Leaping for joy, he hears the doctrine, his mind full of joy:

That is the sort of person to whom it should be preached.

4. Furthermore, the word *Evam* occurs at the beginning of Buddhist texts. Present happiness (*ihalokasukha*), future happiness (*amutrasukha*), the happiness of nirvāṇa (*nirvāṇasukha*), all happiness has its roots (*mūla*) in very powerful faith.

[**63c**] 5. Furthermore, all religious heretics (*tīrthikaparivrājaka*) imagine that their own doctrine is subtle (*sūkṣma*) and absolutely pure (*paramaśuddha*). These people exalt the doctrine that they practice and denigrate (*nindanti)* that of others. That is why, here below, they quarrel and argue; after death, they fall into hell (*naraka)* and suffer immense pain of all kinds. A stanza says:

Attached to their own doctrine,

They blame that of other people.

Even by observing moral conduct (*śīlacaryā*)

They do not escape from the torment of hell.

In the Buddha's doctrine, all attachment (*saṅga*), all false views (*mithyādṛṣṭi*), all pride of self (*asmimāna*), is abandoned and cut; one becomes detached from them. Thus the *Fa yu king* (Kolopamasūtra) says: "If you have understood the sermon on the comparison with the raft (*kolopama dharmaparyāya*), you must abandon the holy Dharma and, *a fortiori*, adharma."[151] The Buddha himself is not attached to the Prajñāpāramitā, why then would he be attached to other doctrines? That is why Buddhist texts begin with the word *Evam*. The intention of the Buddha is as follows: My disciples will not love the doctrine, will not become attached to the doctrine, will not have factions (*parapakṣa*). They will seek only freedom from suffering (*duḥkhakṣaya*), deliverance (*vimukti*), the nature of dharmas free of empty discussions

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[150] Saṃyutta, I, p. 148: *appameyyaṃ paminanto.... maññe puthujjanaṃ*.
Chinese version in Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 1193), k. 44, p. 323b-c; T 100 (no. 106), k. 5, p. 411b-c. - The Mppś will cite another stanza later, k. 13, p. 157b-c.

[151] Majjhima, I, p. 135: *kullūpamaṃ vo bhikkhave ājānantehi.... pag eva adhammā*; Vajracchedikā, p. 23: *kolopamaṃ dharmaparyāyam.... prag evādharmāḥ*; Laṅkāvatāra, p. 17; Tchong a han, T 26 (no. 200), k. 54, p. 764b-c; P'i p'o cha, T 1545, k. 97, p. 513b. - The Buddhist doctrine is often compared to a raft which must be abandoned when one has crossed over the river of transmigration: Suttanipāta, v. 21; Kośa, I, p.13;, VIII, p. 186; Siddhi, p. 616; Pañjikā, p. 413; Lav. *Madhyamaka*, p. 31-32; Hobogirin, *Batsuyu*, p. 62.

(*niṣprapañca dharmalakṣaṇa*). Thus in the *A t'a p'o k'i king* (Arthavargitasūtra), *Mo kien t'i nan* (Mākandika) spoke this stanza:[152]

To defined (*viniścita*) dharmas

Various notions are wrongly applied.

Rejecting inner and outer

How will the Path be attained?

The Buddha replied:

It is not by view (*dṛṣṭi*), tradition (*śruti*), knowledge (*jñāna*)

Or morality (*śīla*) that it is attained.

It is not by absence of view, tradition, etc.,

Nor by absence of morality that it is attained.

[**64a**]

It is by abandoning all this chatter,

By also rejecting the 'me' and the 'mine' (*ātmātmīya*),

By not grasping any real nature (*dharmalakṣaṇa*),

That the Path can be attained.

Mākandika said:

If it is not by view, tradition, etc.,

Nor by morality that it is attained,

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[152] For Arthavargīya, see above, p. , n. 2.

The stanzas cited here are extracted from the Māganditasutta, Suttanipāta, IV, 9, v. 838-841; Yi tsou king, T 198 (no. 9), k. 1, p. 180. The Pāli text shows some differences.

838. *vinicchayā yāni pakappitāni.... paveditaṃ taṃ* (iti Māgandiyo)

839. *na diṭṭhiyā na sutiyā.... anissāya bhavaṃ na jappe*. (iti Bhagavā)

840. *no ce kira diṭṭiyā na.... eke paccenti suddhiṃ* (iti Māgandiyo)

841. *diṭṭīsu nissāya anupucchamāno.... momuhato dahāsi.* (iti Bhagavā)

- For the name Māgandiya, Mākandika in Sanskrit, see S. Lévi, *Langue precanonique du Bouddhisme*, JA, 1912, p. 498. - This person had the presumption to offer his daughter Māgandiyā or Anupamā in marriage to the Buddha. Cf. Suttanipāta Comm., II, p. 542 seq.; Dhammapadaṭṭha, III, p. 193-195 (tr. Burlingame, III, p. 31-33); Sanskrit fragment from East Turkestan described by F.R Hoernle, JRAS, 1916, p. 709 seq.; Divyāvadāna, chap. 36, p. 515-529: Ken pen chouo... p'i nai ye, T 1442, k. 47, p. 886a-19-887. - This individual is probably identical with the brahmacārin Mākandika, founder of a sect which will be dealt with below, k. 3, p. 82b. - On the other hand, according to Buddhaghosa (Papañca, III, p. 209), the Māgandiya who appears in the Māgandiyasutta of the Majjhima, I, p. 501-513 (= Tchong a han, T 26, k. 38, p. 670-673) and in Milinda, p. 313, was the nephew of the preceding Māgandiya.

If it is not by absence of view, tradition, etc.,

Nor by absence of morality that it is attained,

Then according to my reasoning,

It is by observing a doctrine of silence that the Path is attained.

The Buddha replied:

You are depending on wrong views.

I am aware that you are deluded about the Path.

You have not seen the deceptive notion,

Consequently you will be silent.

6. Furthermore, to say: "My doctrine is true (*satya*), the other doctrines are deceptive (*mṛṣāvāda*); my doctrine is absolute (*parama*), the others are wrong (*abhūta*)": such is the origin of quarrels (*vivādamūla*). Here the term *Evam* designates a doctrine free of quarreling: listening to the words of others, it declares: "This man is not wrong." That is why the Buddhist sūtras begin with *Evam*.

The meaning of *Evam* has been explained in brief *(samāsataḥ).*

MAYĀ

Let us now speak about the word *Mayā*.[153]
Question. - In the Buddha's doctrine, it is said that all dharmas are empty (*śūnya*) and without a substantial self (*anātmaka*).[154] Why do the Buddhist sūtras begin with the words: "Thus have *I* heard"?

Answer. - 1. Although the disciples of the Buddha understood the non-existence of self (*anātman*), they conform to current usage (*saṃvṛtidharma*) and speak of a self (*ātman*). But this ātman is not a true ātman. Thus there is nothing ridiculous in exchanging copper coins (*tāmrakārṣāpaṇa*) for gold coins (*suvarṇakārṣāpaṇa*). Why? Because the rules of commerce (*krayavikrayadharma*) demand it. It is the same when we speak of *ātman*. In a system [that sets up the thesis of] the anātman, we can talk about the ātman; by conforming to current usage (*lokasaṃvṛti*), we do not incur any blame. Thus a stanza of the *T'ien wen king* (Devaparipṛcchāsūtra) says:

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153 *Mayā* in the expression *evaṃ mayā śrutam* corresponds to *me* in the Pāli phrase *evam me sutaṃ*. *Me* is the enclitic form of the personal pronoun of the first person singular; it replaces the genitive, dative or instrumental singular. Buddhaghosa, in his commentaries on the Nikāya (Sumaṅgala, I, p. 28; Papañca, I, p. 4; Sārattha, I, p. 6; Manoratha, I, p. 6). explains that *me*, in the phrase *evaṃ me sutaṃ*, replaces both the instrumental and the dative: *idha pana mayā sutan ti ca sutan ti ca atthadvayaṃ yujjati*. Continuing his explanation, he comments that *me* designates the 'me' (*atta*), the individual (*puggala*), the person endowed with auditory consciousness (*sotaviññāṇasamaṅgi-puggala*).

154 *Sarve dharmā anātmānaḥ*, in Pāli s*abbe dhammā anattā*, i.e., according to the explanation of the Kośavyākhyā: *na caita ātmasvabhāvāḥ na caiteṣu ātmā vidyata iti anātmānaḥ*. This phrase is found in, e.g., Saṃyutta, III, p. 133; IV, p. 28, 401; Vinaya, V, p. 86; Sūtrālaṃkāra, XVIII, 101, p. 158; Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 262), k. 10, p. 66b16, etc.

If he is an arhat bhikṣu

Whose impurities have been destroyed,

And who is in his very last existence,

Can he say: It is I?

The Buddha replies:

An arhat bhikṣu

Whose impurities have been destroyed

And who is in his very last existence

Can say: It is I.[155]

In current usage (*lokadharma*), we speak of the ātman, but not from the absolute (*paramārtha)*, true point of view, for all dharmas are empty (*śūnya*) and devoid of substantial self (*anātmaka*). In current usage there is nothing wrong in speaking of ātman.

2. Furthermore, current language (*lokābhilāpa*) has three roots (*mūla*): (1) wrong views (*mithyādṛṣṭi*), (2) pride (*māna*), (3) convention (*saṃketa*). The first two are [64b] impure (*aśubha*), the third is pure (*śubha*). In all worldly people (*pṛthagjana*), the three types of language, wrong views, pride and convention, exist. In the śaikṣas on the path of seeing (*darśanamārga*), there are two types of language, that of pride and that of convention. In the āryas, only the conventional language exists. Without inwardly condemning the true doctrine (*saddharma*), they imitate ordinary people and borrow their language. Rejecting the wrong views of the world (*lokamithyāsdṛṣṭi*), they conform to usage (*saṃvṛti)* and avoid quarrels (*vivāda*); thus they reject the other two impure roots of language. By conforming to the world, they use only one kind of language, i.e., conventional language. The Buddha's disciples who speak about the ātman, by conforming to usage, are not committing a fault.

3. Furthermore, the objection may be made to people who cling (*abhiniviṣṭa*) to the doctrine of ātman and who claim that it is true and the rest is false (*etad eva satyam moham anyat)* in this way: "If, according to you, all dharmas are truly without substantial self (*anātmaka*), how can you say: 'Thus have *I* heard'?" But here the disciples of the Buddha do not cling to emptiness (*śūnya*) and the non-existence (*ākiṃcanya*) of all dharmas. Neither do they cling to the real nature (*bhūtalakṣaṇa*) of dharmas, nor *a fortiori* to the doctrine of *anātman*. That is why they cannot be reproached or asked why they speak of self. Thus, in the *Tching louen* (Madhyamakaśāstra), some stanzas[156] say:

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155 Sutta, entitled *Arahaṃ*, of the Saṃyutta, I, p. 14; Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 581), k 22, p. 154b-c; T 100 (no. 166), k. 9, p. 435c: *yo hoti bhikkhu arahaṃ.... pi so vadeyya* (iti devata). *yo hoti bhikkhu katāvī....*

vohāramattena so vohareyya (iti Bhagavā).

Buddhaghosa interprets this sutta in the same way in the Sārattha, I, p. 51.

156 Of the three stanzas cited here, I [Lamotte] have been able to find only the first in Madhyamakakārikā, XIII, 7; Madh. vṛtti, p. 245; the Chinese versions of the Madhyamakaśāstra: Tchong louen, T 1564, k. 2, p. 18c; Pan jo teng louen che, T

If there were something non-empty,

There should be something empty;

But if the non-empty does not exist,

How would the empty exist?.[157]

The fool (*bāla*) who sees the non-empty

Then sees the empty as well.

Not having positive views (*dṛṣṭi*) or negative views (*adṛṣṭi*)

Is truly 'nirvāṇa'.

Non-duality (*advaya*), the gates of security (*yogakṣema*),[158]

The destruction of wrong views,

The domain surveyed by the Buddhas,

That is the 'doctrine of anātman'.

The meaning of *Mayā* has been explained in brief (*samāsataḥ*).

ŚRUTAM

Let us now speak about the word *Śrutam*.[159]

1566, k. 8, p. 91b. It is possible that the author of the Mppś had at his disposal an augmented edition of the Madhyamakaśāstra.

157 Madh. vṛitti, p. 245: See Candrakirti's commentary in the same place and Grousset, *Philosophies indiennes, I*, p. 237.

158 The Chinese characters *Ngan yin* (170 and 14) or *Ngan wen* (115 and 14) render the Sanskrit word *yogakṣema* (cf. Rosenberg, Vocabulary, p. 139). In Tibetan it is always translated as *grub pa daṅ bde ba*, 'perfection-happiness'.

According to Buddhaghosa (Sārattha, I, p. 255; II, p. 164) *yogakkhema* is *catūhi yogehi khemaṃ*, the fact of being free from the four yogas (*kāma-, bhava-, diṭṭhi-* and *avijjāyoga*), a synonym for nibbāna or sainthood (*arahatta*). This expression which has already occurred in the Vedas is frequent in Buddhist texts. See references in Rhys Davids-Stede, s.v., and Saṃgraha, notes and references, p. 4). The translators render it as 'security' (Lévi), 'safety (C. Rhys Davids), 'innere Frieden' (Weller). See R.B.A. Ray, *Yogakṣema*, BSOS, VII, 1934, p. 133-136 and H. Jacobi, *Triṃśikāvijñapti des Vasubandhu*, Stuttgart, 1932, p. 54.

159 In his commentaries on the Nikāyas (Sumaṅgala, I, p. 28; Papañca, I, p. 4-5; Sārattha, I, p. 6; Manoratha, I, p. 7), Buddhaghosa enumerates all the possible meanings of *sutaṃ*; but, he adds, in the expression *evaṃ me sutaṃ*, *sutaṃ* designates a perception relating to the auricular orifice (*sotadvārānusārena upadhāraṇaṃ*)..., it indicates the perception (*gahaṇa*), the activity of the individual (*puggalakicca*) and, by extension, the thing (*dhamma*), the perceived object (*visaya*). According to him, the phrase *evaṃ me sutaṃ* means: By me, an individual endowed with auditory

Question. - What does the word *śrutam* signify? Does it mean by means of the ear-organ (*śrotrendriya*), or by means of the auditory consciousness (*śrotravijñāna*), or by means of the mental consciousness (*manovijñāna*)?[160] If it is the ear-organ that hears, [the objection will be made] that, being without intellect (*avabodha*), the ear-organ cannot hear. - If it is the auditory consciousness that hears, [the objection will be made] that, lasting but a moment (*ekakṣaṇika*), the auditory consciousness is incapable of concept (*vikalpa*) and cannot hear.[161] - If it is the mental consciousness that hears, [the objection will be made] that the mental consciousness, in turn, cannot hear. Why? The first five consciousnesses [visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory and tactile consciousnesses] recognize the five gross (*sthūla*) objects, [i.e., color, sound, odor, taste and tangible]; it is only afterwards that the mental consciousness recognizes (*vijānāti*).[162] The mental consciousness is unable to cognize the five gross objects actually present (*pratyutpanna*); it cognizes only those that are past (*atīta*) or future (*anāgata*).[163] If the mental consciousness could cognize the five gross objects actually present, blind people (*andha*) and deaf people (*badhira*) could cognize colors (*rūpa*) and sounds (*śabda*). Why? Because their mental consciousness is not destroyed.

Answer. - Neither the ear-organ (*śrotrendriya*), nor the auditory consciousness (*śrotravijñāna)*, nor the mental consciousness (*manovijñāna*) are able to hear sounds. The coming together of many causes and conditions (*hetuprayayasaṃnipāta*) is necessary to be able to hear sounds. It cannot be said that one single

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consciousness, this was heard by virtue of a consciousness commonly called auditory activity (*mayā savanakicca viññāṇasamaṅginā puggalena viññāṇavasena laddhasavanakiccavohārena sutaṃ*).

160 In order to understand the discussion that follows, it is necessary to recall the division of the elements into eighteen *dhātu*s: 1) the six organs (*indriya*): eye, ear, nose, tongue, touch, mind;

2) the six objects (*viṣaya*): color, sound, odor, taste, tangible, non-perceptible object (*dharma)*;

3) the six consciousnesses (*vijñāna*): visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, tactile and mental consciousness. - This division is found in all the manuals, e.g., Stcherbatsky, *Central Conception*, p. 97:

Six *indriya*s	Six *viṣaya*s	*Six vijñāna*s
1. *cakṣus*	7. *rūpa*	13. *cakṣurvijñāna*
2. *śrotra*	8. *śabda*	14. *śrotravijñāna*
3. *ghrāṇa*	9. *gandha*	15. *ghrāṇavijñāna*
4. *jihvā*	10. *rasa*	16. *jihvāvijñāna*
5. *kāya*	11. *spraṣṭavya*	17. *kāyavijñāna*
6. *manas*	12. *dharma*	18. *manovijñāna*

161 According to the Vaibhāṣikas, the first five vijñānas - therefore, the auditory consciousness - possess *svabhāvavikalpa* (*vikalpa* by definition, i.e., *vitarka*), but do not permit the *vikalpa* consisting of examination (*nirūpaṇa*) nor the *vikalpa* consisting of memory (*anusmaraṇa*); that is why it is said that they are without *vikalpa*, just as it is said about a horse that has only one foot that it has no feet. Kośa, I, p. 60-61.

162 The mental consciousness (*manovijñāna*) always follows the *manas* which serves it as support (*āśraya*) and organ (*indriya*). This *manas* is that one of the six consciousnesses (*vijñāna*) that has just gone past (*ṣaṇṇām anantarātītaṃ vijñānaṃ yad dhi tan manaḥ*, Kośa, I, p. 31). This is the canonical doctrine formulated by the Sarvāstivādin-Vaibhāṣikas. For other theories, see Saṃgraha, Notes and References, p. 5F.

163 According to Kośa, I, p. 44, 94, the object of the first five consciousnesses is simultaneous with them, the object of the sixth consciousness is earlier, or simultaneous, or later than it; in other words, it is past, present or future.

dharma hears sounds. Why? The ear-organ, lacking intellect (*avabodha*), cannot hear sounds; the [64c] consciousnesses, both auditory consciousness as well as mental [consciousness], being non-material (*arūpin*), offering no resistance (*apratigha*) and outside of space (*adeśastha*),[164] are not able to hear sounds. Sound (*śabda*) itself, lacking intellect (*avabodha*) and lacking the organ (*indriya*), cannot hear sounds. But if the ear-organ (*śrotrendriya*) is intact, when the sound reaches the auditory field and when the *manas* wants to hear, the coming together of the object [i.e., sound] and the manas (*sthūlamanaḥsaṃnipāta*) determines the arising of an auditory consciousness (*śrotravijñāna*).[165] Following this auditory consciousness, there arises a mental consciousness (*manovijñāna*) that can analyze (*vikalpana*) all types of causes and conditions (*hetupratyaya*) and succeeds in hearing sounds.[166] This is why the objection cannot be made: "Who hears sound?" In the Buddha's doctrine no dharma is agent (*kāraka*), perceiver (*draṣṭṛi*) or cognizer (*jñānin*). Some stanzas say:

If there is an action (*karman*), there are also fruits (*phala*).

The non-existence of the agent (*kāraka*), of the action and of the fruit

Is the absolute (*parama*) and profound (*gambhīra*) law

That the Buddha was able to discover.[167]

There is emptiness (*śūnya*) but not annihilation (*uccheda*),

Continuity (*prabandha)*, but not eternity (*śaśvata*),[168]

Sin (*āpatti*) and merit (*puṇya*), and not destruction (*vipraṇaśa*):

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164 The *vijñāna* is *arūpin*, *adeśastha*, *sendriyakakāyāśraya*, Kośa, III, p. 135. It is in contrast to the organs and objects that constitute the *rūpaskandha*. See Kośa, I, p. 27.

165 With some modifications, this is the canonical theory on the origin of the consciousness: "By virtue of the ear and sound, the auditory consciousness is produced; the coming together of the three is contact" (*sotañca paṭicca sadde ca uppajjati sotaviññānam, tiṇṇaṃ saṅgati phasso*. Saṃyutta, II, p. 72; IV, p. 68, 86, etc.). - On the problem of contact (*sparśa*), see Kośa, III, p. 95-101.

166 Equipped with the vikalpas of examination (*nirūpaṇā*) and memory (*anusmaraṇa*), the mental consciousness, by itself, has a clear notion (*saṃjñā*) of the object. The other consciousnesses have only a very vague notion. The visual consciousness cognizes blue (*nīlaṃ jānāti*), but does not know "It is blue" (*no tu nīlam iti*). In the same way, the auditory consciousness is insufficient to identify a sound; it must be complemented by a mental consciousness. See Kośa, I, p. 28, n. 1, on this subject.

167 This stanza is quite in the Madhyamaka spirit. Cf. Madh, vṛtti, p. 328-329: *na pratyayasamut-pannaṃ nāpratyayasamutthitaṃ.... kuta eva bhaviṣyati*. "Since action is neither produced by virtue of conditions nor non-produced for the same reason, the agent itself does not exist either. - If the action does not exist, how would the agent and the fruit of the action exist? There not being any fruit, how would the enjoyer of the fruit exist?"

168 The views of eternity and annihilation (*śaśvatocchedadṛṣṭi*) are two extreme views (*antadvaya*) to be avoided carefully. Cf. Saṃyutta, II, p. 17; III, p. 135; Madh. vṛtti, p. 269; Madh. avatāra, p. 22: Mahāvastu, III, p. 448; P. Vaidya, *Études sur Āryadeva*, Paris, 1923, p. 35-37; Dutt, *Mahāyāna*, p. 46, 54; Lav., *Madhyamaka*, p. 10.

Such is the law which the Buddha preaches.

The meaning of *Śrutam* has been explained in brief (*samāsataḥ*).

EKASMIN

Let us now speak about *Ekasmin*.

Question. - In the Buddhist doctrine, the dharmas, number (*saṃkhyā*), time (*kāla*), etc., do not exist, because they are not included (*saṃgṛhīta*) in the list of aggregates (*skandha*), bases of consciousness (*āyatana*) and elements (*dhātu*) [set up by Buddhists].[169] Then why is it said: 'at time' (*ekasmin samaye*)?

Answer. - According to current usage (*lokasaṃvṛti*), there is '*a*' time. It is not wrong [to express oneself in that way]. If a piece of carved wood represents the image of a deity (*devapratimā*) and by thinking of this deity, one pays homage to it (*vandana*), that is not wrong.[170] In the same way, when we speak of 'a' time, it is not wrong; even though this time does not really exist, it is in conformity with usage (s*aṃvṛti*) that we speak of 'a' time.

Question. - It is impossible that there is not '*a* time'. 1. The Buddha himself said: "When '*a*' man appears in the world, many men obtain joy. Who is this man? It is the Buddha Bhagavat.[171] Furthermore, the Buddha spoke this stanza:

[65a]My conduct (*carya*) has no master (*acārya*).

My resolve (*chanda*) is *one* and peerless.

By observing a *single* practice, I have become Buddha.

By myself (*svataḥ*), I have penetrated the noble Path (*āryamārga).*[172]

In the same way, the Buddha spoke about one-ness in many places. Therefore it must exist.

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[169] The lists of five *skandhas*, twelve *āyatanas* and eighteen *dhātus*.

[170] The cult of images is authorized by virtue of the same principles in Aśokāvadāna (Przyluski, *Aśoka*, p. 361-362), Sūtrālaṃkāra (tr. Huber, p. 272) and Divyāvadāna, p. 363.

[171] Text cited above, n.

[172] Stanza pronounced by the Buddha when he met with the ājīvika Upaka (or Upaga, Upagaṇa).

Vinaya, I,, p. 2a-b, 3c-d); Majjhima, I, p. 171: *na me ācariyo atthi.... 'smi nibbuto*.

Mahāvastu, III,p. 326: *na me ācāryo asti.... saṃbodhim uttamām*.

Sanskrit Udānavarga,p. 263: *ācāryo me na vai.... saṃbodhim uttamām*.

Lalitavistara, p. 405: *ācaryo na hi me kaścit…. śītībhūto nirāsravaḥ.*

Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 14, p. 618c8-9: "I have no master; there is no-one like me. Alone I am the flawless Buddha. Having reached cool the nature, I am free of corruptions,"

Wou fen liu, T 1421, K. 13, p. 104a: " My conduct has no master; by myself, I have penetrated the noble Path." - Sseu fen liu, T 1428, k. 32, p. 787c: " By myself, I have attained awareness. From whom should I have learned it? I have had no teacher ." - Ken pen chouo..p'o seng che, T 1450, k. 6, p. 127a: " I do not derive my activity from any master. No-one is my equal... By myself I have found awareness; I do not depend on a teacher."

2. Furthermore, it is by association (*saṃyoga*) with the dharma 'one-ness' that a substance (*dravya*) is said to be 'one'. If the dharma 'one-ness' did not truly exist, why does a single substance invoke the notion of one-ness, unity, and not of duality or three-ness? Why do two substances evoke the notion of duality and not of one-ness or of three-ness? Why do three substances evoke the notion of three-ness and not of duality or of one-ness? If numbers really did not exist, a single substance would be able to evoke the notion of two-ness, two substances would be able to evoke the notion of one-ness, and similarly for three, four, five, six, etc. That is why we know with certainty that a substance 'one' possesses the dharma 'one-ness' and that, by association (*saṃyoga*) with this dharma, this substance 'one' engenders the notion of one-ness.

Answer. - There is a fault both in the case that one-ness is identical (*eka*) with substance (*dravya*) and in the case that one-ness is different (*anya*) from substance.

Question. - If [one-ness and substance] are the same, what is the fault?

Answer. - 1. If a vase (*ghata*) is synonymous with one-ness, in the way that *Yin t'i li* (Indra) is synonymous with *Che kia* (Śakra), then wherever there is one-ness, there must be a vase, as everywhere where there is Indra, there must be Śakra. Henceforth all substances, cloth (*paṭa*), etc., will be vase and one-ness. Since the vase is one-ness, wherever there is one-ness, there must be vase, and not only vase, but also cloth, etc., because all of them being 'single' substance, they are not different (*viśeṣa*).

2. Furthermore, one-ness being a number-dharma (*saṃkhyādharma)*, the vase also must be a number. Since the nature of the vase (*ghaṭasvabhāva*) involves five attributes (*dharma*), one-ness also will involve five attributes. Since the vase is material (*rūpin*) and offers resistance (*sapratigha*), one-ness also will be material and resistant. [However], wherever there is one-ness, there is no question of the vase. It is not necessary that the vase be one-ness, since to speak of one-ness is not to include the vase therein and to speak of the vase is not to include one-ness therein.

3. Finally, if the vase and one-ness were not different, then to speak of one-ness, one would be talking about the vase, and to speak about the vase, one would be talking about one-ness. This would be confusing.

Question. - If [one-ness and the vase] were identical, those would be the faults. But if they are different, where is the fault?

Answer. - If one-ness were different from the vase, the vase would be that which is not one-ness [i.e., it would be multiple, *aneka*]. If the vase were different from one-ness, one-ness would be everything that is not the vase. If the vase, united with one-ness, is called 'one', why is one-ness, united with the vase, not called 'vase'? This is why we cannot say that the vase is different from one-ness.

Question. - It is because it is united with the number 'one' that the vase is 'one'; but one-ness does not make the vase.

Answer. - Numbers begin with one-ness: one-ness is different from the vase; that is why the vase is not one-ness. Since one-ness does not exist, plurality does not exist either. Why? Because one-ness precedes plurality. Thus the difference or the identity [between the vase and one-ness] cannot be established. In both cases, if we look for a dharma 'oneness', we cannot find it and since we cannot find it, [65b] how could it be included in the list of aggregates (*skandha*), elements (*dhātu*) and bases of consciousness (*āyatana*)?

Only so as to conform with current usage do the disciples of the Buddha speak of one-ness, but their minds do not truly cling (*abhiniviśate*) to it; they know that the dharma 'number' (*saṃkhyādharma*) has a conventional existence (*saṃketasvabhāva*). This is why, when the Buddhist texts talk about 'a' man (*ekaḥ pudgala*), 'a' teacher (*eka ācāryaḥ*) 'a' time (*ekaḥ samayaḥ*), they do not fall into the error of wrong views (*mithyādṛṣṭi*).

We have explained in brief the meaning of *Ekasmin*.

SAMAYE

Let us now speak about *Samaye.*

Question. - In India, there are two words to designate time, *Kia lo* (*kāla*) and *San mo ye* (*samaya*). Why does the Buddha say samaya and not kāla?

Answer. - If he said kāla, there would be uncertainty.

Question. - For ease of elocution, he ought to have said 'kāla', because 'kāla' has only two syllables whereas 'samaya' has three and is harder to pronounce.

Answer. - 1. It is in order to avoid wrong views (*mithyādṛṣṭi)* that he said samaya and not kāla. Indeed, some say that all beings in heaven and earth have kāla as cause.[173] Thus some stanzas in the *Che king* (Kālasūtra) say:

Time passes and beings ripen,

Time passes and beings grow,

Time can understand men,

That is why time is cause.[174]

The universe is like the wheel of a chariot,

Time revolves like the turning wheel,

Man also is like the chariot wheel:

Sometimes above, sometimes below.

2. Furthermore, some say: "Even if all beings in heaven and on earth and all substances (*dravya*) are not created by time, nevertheless time is immutable (*avyaya*). That is why it truly exists. But as the dharma 'time' is subtle (*sūkṣma*), it is invisible (*adṛṣya*) and unknowable (*ajñeya*). It is by its effects, flowers (*puṣpa*), fruits (*phala*), etc., that its existence may be known and its characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*) may be seen,

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173 These are the Kālavādins, cf. Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya, p. 10-11.

174 Interesting variation of a well-known stanza (Böhtlingk, *Ind. Sprüche*, no. 1688; Madh. vṛtti, p. 386; Ṣaḍdarśana, p. 11): *kālaḥ pacati bhūtāni.... kālo hi duratikramaḥ*.

such as the past year or present year, long ago or recently, slowly or quickly. Although time is not seen, it is possible to know its existence; for it is by seeing the effect (*phala*) that one knows the existence of the cause (*hetu*). That is why a dharma 'time' exists, and as this dharma 'time' is immutable (*avyaya*), it is eternal (*nitya*)."

Answer. - Present time (*pratyutpanna*) is like a ball of clay (*mṛnpiṇḍa*), past time (*atīta*) like the dust of the earth (*pṛthivīrajas*) and future time (*anāgata*) like the vase (*ghata*). Since time is eternal (*nitya*), the past does not make the future, for according to your texts, time is a single substance (*ekadravya*). This is why the past does not make the future or the present, for they are confused with the past. In the past there is no future. That is why there is no future or present.[175]

Question. - You accept that that the past [is comparable] to the dust of the earth. If there is a past, there must necessarily be a future. That is why the dharma 'time' must exist necessarily.

Answer. - You have not understood what I have just said. The future is the vase; the past is the dust of the earth. The future does not make the past, because by [65c] falling into the characteristics (*lakṣaṇa)* of the future, it becomes future and then why would it be called past? That is why the past does not exist.

Question. - Why should time not exist? There must necessarily be a time. The present (*pratyutpanna*) has the characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*) of the present, the past (*atīta*) has the characteristics of the past, and the future (*anāgata*) has the characteristics of the future.

Answer. - If the three times each had their own characteristics (*svalakṣaṇa*), they would always be 'present' and there would be neither past nor future. If the future existed presently, it would not be called 'future' but indeed 'present'. That is why your thesis (*vāda*) does not hold.

Question. - The past and the future do not function with the nature of the present; the past functions with the nature of the past and the future with the nature of the future. That is why there is a [different] time for each nature separately (*ekaika dharmalakṣaṇa*).

Answer. - If the past has 'passed', it loses the nature of the past; if the past has not 'passed', it does not have the nature of the past. Why? Because its self-nature (*svalakṣaṇa*) is absent. It is the same for the future. That is why the dharma 'time' is not real. How could it produce the beings of heaven and earth, flowers (*puṣpa*), fruits (*phala*) and other substances (*dravya*)? [The Buddhist texts] do not speak about kāla but about samaya in order to dispel wrong views of this kind. We speak metaphorically (*prajñapti*) about time with regard to birth (*utpāda*), the elements (*dhātu*) and bases of consciousness (*āyatana*), but there is no distinct time [existing as a separate substance]. Expressions such as 'region' (*deśa*), 'time' (*kāla*), 'separation' (*viyoga*), 'union' (*saṃyoga*), 'singleness' (*ekatva*), 'multiplicity' (*nānātva*), 'length' (*dīrghatva*), 'smallness' (*hrasvatva*), etc., come from convention (*nāmasaṃketa*). Fools (*bāla*) cling (*abhiniviśante*) to

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175 On the controversy of time in scholastic Buddhism, see bibliography and documents gathered by L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Documents d'Abhidharma*, MCB, V, 1936-37, p. 1-158; S. Schayer, *Contributions to the problem of Time in Indian Philosophy*, Cracow, 1938. - In the discussion that follows, the Mppś presents some points of contact with the *kālaparīkṣā* of the Madhyamakaśāstra of Nāgārjuna (Madh. vṛtti, p. 382-389).

them and say that these are [66a] real dharmas (*sadbhūta*). That is why mundane conventional dharmas of purely nominal existence must be excluded.

Question. - If time does not exist, why is it permissible 'to eat at the proper time' (*kālabhojana*) and forbidden 'to eat at the wrong time' (*akālabhojana*)?[176] Those are common disciplines (*śīla*)!

Answer. - I have already spoken above about these worldly (*laukika*) and conventional (*saṃketika*) dharmas: there is a time, but it is not a real dharma. You cannot object to that. Besides, the disciplines imposed by the Vinaya are true for the world without having the nature of an absolute, real dharma (*paramasatyadharmalakṣaṇa*), for the *ātman* and the *dharmas* do not really exist *(nopalobhyante*). But in order to moderate the impatience of the community (*saṃgha*), in order to protect the Buddhist doctrine and ensure its longevity (*cirasthiti*), in order to regulate the disciples' rituals, the Bhagavats of the triple world have set up prohibitions (*śīla*) the subject of which one should not question whether it is true (s*atya, bhūta*) or conventional (*nāmasaṃketa*), what is associated (*saṃyukta*) or dissociated (*viprayukta*), what is a dharma with such and such a characteristic (*lakṣaṇa*) or without that characteristic. That is why no objection can be made there.

Question. - When it is a question of 'food at the improper time' (*akālabhojana*), or 'medicine at the proper time' (*kālabhaiṣajya*) or 'robes at the proper time' (*kālavastra*), the word 'kāla' is always used. Why not say 'samaya'?

Answer. - Lay people (*avadātavasana*) do not understand the expression in the Vinaya; how then could the heretics (*tīrthika*) understand it? They would take up wrong views (*mithyādṛṣṭi*). Everybody understands the expression 'samaya' in the other texts. Therefore by saying 'samaya', they are prevented from producing wrong views. 'Samaya' is a contrived word, 'kāla' likewise is a metaphorical expression (*prajñapti*). Besides, in the Buddhist texts, the word 'samaya' is often used and rarely the word 'kāla'.[177] Since its use is rare, no objection can be made.

The meaning of the five words *Evaṃ mayā śrutaṃ ekasmin samaye* has thus been explained in brief (*samāsataḥ*).

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[176] For the restriction of eating at the wrong time (*akāla-, vikālabhojana*), i.e., after noon, see Saṃyutta,V, p. 470; Majjhima, I, p. 180, 268, 448; Aṅguttara, I, p. 212; II, p. 209; III, p. 216, 260, etc.

[177] In his commentaries on the Nikāyas (Sumaṅgala, I, p. 31; Papañca, I, . 8; Sārattha, I, p. 9-10; Manoratha, I, p. 11), Buddhaghosa illustrates the use of *samaya* by many citations from the canonical texts, e.g., Dīgha, I, p. 205; II, p. 254; Majjhima, I, p. 438; II, p. 22; Saṃyutta, I, p. 187; IV, p. 205; Aṅguttara, I, p. 134; III, p. 246; Vinaya, IV, p. 117.

NOTE: The Pāli and Sanskrit quotations have been abbreviated, only the beginning and ending phrases being cited.

CHAPTER III: GENERAL EXPLANATION OF *EVAM MAYA ŚRUTA*

Now let us explain the expression *Evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye* as a whole (*sāmānyataḥ*), 'Thus have I heard at one time'.[178]

Question - The Buddhas are omniscient (*sarvajñā*); independent and without a teacher (*ācārya*), they do not follow the teaching of others (*paradeśanā*), they do not adopt the doctrines of others (*paradharma*), they do not use borrowed systems (*paramārga*). They preach the Buddhadharma without having heard it from another. How can they say: "Thus have I heard (*evaṃ mayā Ôrutam*)?"

[**66b**] Answer - 1. As you have said, the Buddha is omniscient, independent, without a teacher; he preaches the Dharma without having heard it from another. But the Buddhist doctrine is not the only utterance that has come from the mouth of the Buddha (*buddhakaṇthokta*); it is also all the truths (*satya*) and all the good words (*subhāṣita*) propagated in the world (*loka*).[179] Skillful words (*nipuṇa*), well spoken (*subāṣita*) come

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[178] Other old commentaries on this phrase have been noted by P. Demiéville, *Les versions chimoises du Milindapañha*, BEFEO, XXIV, 1924, p. 52-57.

[179] The criterion of authenticity varies considerably among Buddhist scholars. The question of its variations has been posed by L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Opinions*, p. 138-145; *Nirvāṇa*, p. 24.

a. The traditional orthodox point of view is that of the pious Aśoka in the edict of Bairat (Senart, *Piyadasi*, II, p. 208; Hultsch, *Aśoka*, p. 173; Smith, *Aśoka*, p. 172): "All that the Blessed Buddha has said is well said." (*e kechi bhaṃte bhagavatā Budhena bhāsite sarve se subhāsite*).

As a result, in order to know if a doctrine or a text is the word of the Buddha, the translators of the canon say that it must be compared with the collections of Buddhist scriptures which alone are authoritative.

A Pāli sūtra, dedicated to the four great authorities (*mahāpadeśa*), found in Dīgha, II, p. 123, and Aṅguttara, II, p. 167, considers as the word of the Buddha any text conforming to the Sūtras and the Vinaya: "When a text is proposed on the authority of the Buddha, a community (*saṃgha*), a group of Elders (*thera*) or an individual Elder, it is necessary to see if this text (*padavyañjāni*) occurs in the Sūtras (*sutte otaranti*) and appears in the Vinaya (*vinaye sandissanti*). If yes, it must be accepted as being the word of the Buddha (*bhagavato vacanaṃ*); if no, it must be rejected."

For the expression *mahāpadesa*, see Dīgha, tr. Rh. D., II, p. 123; tr. Franke, p. 220, n. 4; Aṅguttara, tr. Woodward, II, p. 174; L. de La Vallée Poussin, Mahāpadeśa, Kālāpadeśa, HJAS, III, 1038, p. 158-160.

The same phrase, but more elaborate in form, requires that the controversial text must not only be found in the Sūtras and in the Vinaya, but also that it must not contradict the nature of things (or the truth). This modified formula occurs in the Chinese Dīrghāgama, Tch'ang a han, T 1, k. 3, p.17c. (cf. T 5, k. 1. p.167a; T 6, k. 1, p. 182c; T 7, k. 1, p. 195c; Ken pen chouo... tsa che, T 1451, k. 37, p. 389b-390b). It is quoted in Sūtrālaṃkāra, ed. Lévi, p. 4: "The characteristic mark of the word of the Buddha is that is found in the Sūtras, that it appears in the Vinaya and that it does not contradict the truth" (*buddhavacanasyedaṃ laṣaṇaṃ yat sūtre 'vatarati vinaye saṃdṛśyate dharmatāṃ ca na vilomayati*). The same principles are repeated in Pañjikā, p. 431: "That which comes down to us as the word of the Buddha traditionally by succession of teachers and students, that which occurs in the Sūtras, that which appears in the Vinaya and does not contradict the truth (*dharmatā*), that is the word of the Buddha and none other" (*yad guruśiṣyaparaṃparayāmnāyāyātaṃ.... buddhavacanaṃ nānyat*). - According to Kośa, IX, p. 252, the dharmatā which the text cannot contradict is the law of dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*).

forth everywhere in the Buddhadharma. Thus the Buddha said in the Vinaya: "What is the Buddhadharma? The Buddhadharma is that which has been spoken by five kinds of people: 1. that which the Buddha himself has spoken (*buddhabhāṣita*); 2. that which the disciples of the Buddha have spoken (*śrāvakabhāṣita*); 3. that which the sages have said (*ṛṣibhāṣita)*; 4. that which has been said by the gods (*devabhāṣita*); 5. that which apparitional beings have spoken (*upapādukabhāṣita*)."[180] - Furthermore, in

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The requirements increase in the Chinese Ekottara, (Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 20, p. 652b. For this sūtra, the four authorities (*mahāpadeśa*) in the matter of authenticity are the Sūtras, the Vinaya, the Abhidharma and the Precepts (*śīla*).

b. With the development of Buddhist literature, the criterion of authority loses its power. More and more it is the intrinsic value of a text that will decide if it should be accepted or rejected. A sūtra unknown to the Pāli tradition, the Sūtra of the Four Refuges (*pratisaraṇa*), cited below by the Mppś, k. 9, p. 125a, encourages the exegetist to have recourse to the truth in himself, not to authority, whatever it may be, even of the Buddha (*dharmaḥ pratisaraṇaṃ na pudgalaḥ*). Already the Suttanipāta, III, 3, defines the characteristics that allow recognition of the "Good Word" (*subhāsita*), the irreproachable word: " It is well said and not badly said (*subhāsitañ ñeva bhāsati no dubbhāsitaṃ*); agrees with salvation and is not contrary to salvation (*dhammañ ñeva bhāsati no adhammaṃ)*; pleasant and not unpleasant (*piyañ ñeva bhāsita no appiyaṃ*); true and not false (*saccañ ñeva bhāsati no alikaṃ*)."

c. Finally, the criterion of authenticity is completely abandoned. To accept a sūtra, one need no longer be troubled to know if it was preached by the Buddha in such and such a place to such and such a person; one need only ask whether or not the doctrines which it contains are useful and profitable. This is the triumph of the inner critic over the outer critic, of subjectivity over objectivity. The early phrase: "All that the Buddha said is well said" is reversed, and it is generally proclaimed: "Everything that is well said has been said by the Buddha." In the following pages, the Mppś resolutely defends this point of view with supporting texts. One could add other citations to the ones it brings. The *Madhyāśayasaṃcodanasūtra*, cited in Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 15, and Pañjikām, p. 431-432, says: "Every word of the Buddha may be recognized by four characteristics: it is endowed with usefulness and not hurtfulness; it agrees with the Dharma and does not contradict the Dharma; it destroys the passions and does not increase them; it shows the qualities and benefits of nirvāṇa and does not show the qualities and benefits of saṃsāra. Whoever teaches or will teach a doctrine presenting these four characteristics should be regarded as a Buddha by the faithful, sons and daughters of good family. They should consider him to be their teacher and listen to his doctrine. Why? Because all that is well said has been said by the Buddha (*api tu, maitreya, caturbhiḥ kāraṇaiḥ... subhāṣitaṃ sarvaṃ tat buddhabhāṣitam*).

d. When the Greater Vehicle comes to flood the Buddhist literature with its innumerable sūtras, the adepts of the Lesser Vehicle protest: "These texts are not authentic; they are not the words of the Buddha." The scholars of the Greater Vehicle have only arguments of reasoning to oppose them. They say: "The Mahāyāna leads to supreme enlightenment; this is why we know that they are the words of the Buddha." All their argumentation in the end leads back to this single affirmation. See Mahāyānasaṃgraha, p. 9; Sūtrālaṃkāra, I, v. 7, p. 3; Siddhi, p. 176-178; Hien yang cheng kiao louen, T 1602, k. 20, p. 581b; Dutt, *Mahāyāna*, p. 68-75.

[180] Passage taken from the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya, Che song liu,T 1435, K. 9, p. 71b1-2.. When the Mppś refers to the Vinaya, it always quotes the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya word for word. These two texts, the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya and the Mppś, have both been translated by Kumārajīva and are known to us only as translations by this author.

The text cited here has its correspondent in all the other Vinayas; Pāli Vinaya, IV, p. 15: *dhammo nāma buddhabhāsito.... dhammupasaṃhito*. - Mahāsaṃghika Vinaya, Mo ho seng k'i liu, T 1425, k. 13, p. 336a21: "The doctrine is either what the Buddha has pronounced or else that which he has approved and sanctioned; what the Buddha has approved and sanctioned are his śrāvaka disciples and other men who have pronounced it and the Buddha has approved with his

the *Che t'i tö tao king* (Śakradevendrābhisaṃbodhisūtra), the Buddha said to *Kiao che kia* (Kauśika)[181]: "The truths (*satya*), good words (*subhāṣita*), words that are skillful and well spoken, spread throughout the world, all constitute my doctrine."[182] Finally, it is said in the *Tsan fa kie* (Buddhastotragātha):

The good words in the world

Are all derived from the Buddhadharma.

These good words are faultless

And are no different from the words of the Buddha.

Although they are found elsewhere

These are good words, faultless.

They are all

Fragments of the Buddhadharma.

Even among heretics

There can be good words.

Thus the insect that gnaws wood

Soon takes on the name [of the wood that it eats].

The doctrine of beginning, middle and end,

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sanction." - Dharmagupta Vinaya, Sseu fen liu, T 1428, k. 11, p. 639a16: "The doctrine in padas is what the Buddha has pronounced, what the śrāvakas have expressed, what the ṛṣis have expressed and what the devas have expressed." This passage is identical with the Pāli. - Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, Ken pen chou... p'i nai ye, T 1332, k. 26, p. 771b22: "The word 'dharma' means the doctrine that the Buddha and the śrāvakas have pronounced." - The bodhisattvas appear in the definition of the doctrine in "Nandimitra's Relation": In the collections of the holy Dharma, there are texts that have been pronounced by the Buddha, others by the bodhisattvas, others by the śrāvakas, others by the ṛṣis, others by the gods, others by the sages; they can inspire fairness and benefit." Cf. S. Lévi, *Les seize Arhat protecteurs de la loi*, JA, 1916, p. 20-21.

181 Kauśika (in Pāli, Kosiya) is a rather rare, it is true, epithet of Indra-Śakra. It occurs already in the Ṛigveda (I, 10) and Mahābhārata (3, 9,9 and 135,20). See Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 62, and W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 123. - It occurs in Buddhist texts: Dīgha, II, p. 270; Majjhima, I, p. 200, 202, 315, 403. This epithet, which means 'belonging to the Kuśika family', is a survival from the time when Indra was the god of the Kuśika clan, according to Rhys Davids (Dīgha, tr. II, p. 296).

182 I [Lamotte] have not succeeded in identifying this text, but in Aṅguttara, IV, p. 163-164, there is a conversation between Indra and some bhikṣus where the latter also affirm that everything that is well said has been said by the Buddha. Indra congratulates the monks on their speech: "That is a fine doctrine. Do you know it from your own enlightenment or do you hold it from the Buddha?" The monks reply: "When, at a distance from a large granary, one sees some people who are carrying grain in a basket, in their robes, in their hands, one can easily deduce where that grain came from; in the same way, all that is well said, every good word, is the word of the Blessed One." (*Yaṃ kiṃci subhāsitaṃ sabbaṃ taṃ Bhagavato vacanaṃ*).

The destruction of specific and general characteristics

Is like the iron that comes out of the gangue.

Who would think

That a forest of *eraṇḍa*[183]

Could contain the *gośhīrṣha*[184] sandalwood?

Who would believe that a bad seed

Could contain the wondrous honey fruit?

Then we would believe

That the works of heretics

Themselves contain good words.

Good and true words

All come from the Buddha,

Like the perfume of the sandal wood (*candana*)

Comes from *Mo li chan*.[185]

Withhold *Mo li chan*

And there would be no more sandalwood.

Similarly, withhold the Buddha

And there would be no further good words.

2. Furthermore,[186] the phrase *Evaṃ mayā śrutam* is an expression used by the disciples of the Buddha such as *A nan* (Ānanda), etc. Since it partakes of the marks (*lakṣaṇa*) of the Buddhadharma, it is called Buddhadharma. Thus the Buddha, at the time of his parinirvāṇa, was at *Kiu yi na kie* (Kuśinagara) between

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183 *eraṇḍa*, according to Monier-Willimas: the castor-oil plant, *Ricinus communis* or *Croton polyandron*; or Palma Christi.

184 *gośīrṣa*, according to Monier-Williams: a kind of sandalwood (brass-colored and very fragrant).

185 *Mo li chan*, also transcribed by the characters *Mo lo chan* (Przyluski, *Concile*, p. 207) and *Mo lo ye chan* (S. Lévi, *Catalogue géograhique des Yakṣa*, JA, Jan.-Feb., 1915, p. 41) is most likely Mount Malaya where *gośīrṣa candana* is collected, below, k. 10, p. 132a.

186 This paragraph gives the *ultima verba* of the Buddha before his entry into parinirvāṇa. At the request of Aniruddha, Ānanda asks five questions of the dying Buddha who answers with five pieces of advice. I [Lamotte] do not find this episode in the other stories of the parinirvāṇa where Aniruddha appears only once to learn from Ānanda if the Buddha has entered into nirodhasamāpatti. Cf. Dīgha, II, p. 156; Tch'ang a han, T 1, k. 4, p. 26b28; Pan ni yuan king, T 6, k. 2, p. 188b26; Ta pan nie p'an king, T 7, k. 2, p. 205a10; Ken pen chouo... tsaa che, T 1451, k. 38, p. 309b6.

two *Sa lo* (*śāla*) trees; lying with his head to the north, the Buddha was about to enter into nirvāṇa. At that time, Ānanda, still under the influence of the afflictions (*anunaya*), had not yet dispelled or eliminated passion (*rāga*). His heart was plunged into a sea of sadness from which he was unable to come out. Then the sthavira *A ni lou teou* (Aniruddha) said to Ānanda: "You, keeper of the basket of the Buddhist texts, you ought not to founder in a sea of sadness like an ordinary person (*pṛthagjana*). All conditioned dharmas (*saṃskṛtadharma*) are transitory in nature (*anityalakṣaṇa*). You should not be sad. Moreover, the Buddha has entrusted the doctrine to you and now, in your despair, you forget the task which he entrusted to you. Therefore ask the Buddha the following questions: After the Buddha's parinirvāṇa, what path (*mārga*) shall we follow? Who will be our teacher (*ācārya*), our critic and our guide [**66c**] (*chaṇḍaka*)? What will be our refuge (*uposatha*)? What words will we place at the beginning of our Buddhist texts? You should ask the Buddha about these things to come (*anāgatavastu*)."

When Ānanda heard this advice, his sadness decreased a little and he found the strength to think about the path. He helped the Buddha to lie at the edge of the bed and asked him these questions.

The Buddha said to Ānanda: "Henceforth after my departure, you yourself will be your own refuge (*ātmaśaraṇa*), the Dharma will be your refuge (*dharmaśaraṇa*), and you will have no other refuge (*ananyaśaraṇa*). How, O bhikṣu, will you be your own refuge, how will the Dharma be your refuge, and how will you have no other refuge? The bhikṣu considers his own body (*kāyam anupaśyati*); he always dedicates to it his full attention (*ekacitta*), his wisdom (*prajñā*), his zeal (*prayatna*), his energy (*vīrya*) and he rejects the worldly desires and resulting dissatisfactions (*loke 'bhidhyādaurmanasya*). In the same way, he considers the body of another, then his own body and that of another at the same time. The same for the *smṛtyupasthāna*s of feeling (*vedanā*), mind (*citta*) and dharmas. Then it can be said that this bhikṣu is himself his own refuge, goes to the Dharma for refuge and has no other refuge.[187] Henceforth the *Kiai t'o kiai king* (Pratimokṣasūtra) will be your great teacher (*mahācārya*). You should carry out bodily activities (*kāyakarman*) and vocal actions (*vākkarman*) according to the instructions of the Pratimokṣasūtra. - After my Nirvāṇa, your guide (*chaṇḍaka*), O bhikṣu, will be the punishment according to the rule of Brahmā (*brahmadaṇḍa*).[188] - If someone is in a state of mind of panic (*abhihatacitta*), he should be taught the

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187 The same sermon on the four *smṛtyupasthāna*s was already spoken to Ānanda at Beluva (Dīgha, II, p. 100); Tch'ang a han, T 1, k. 2, p. 15b; Ken pen chou... tsa che, T 1451, k. 30,p. 387b) and at Sāvatthi (Saṃyutta, V, p.163) and to the bhikṣus at Mātulā (Dīgha, III, p. 58, 77; Tch'ang a han, T 1 (no. 6), k. 6, p. 391; Tchong a han, T 26 (no. 70, k. 15, p. 520b): *Tasmāt ih' Ānanda attadīpā viharatha.... dhammadīpo dhammasaraṇo anaññasaraṇo*.

188 *Brahmadaṇḍa* was inflicted by the Buddha upon Chanda: "Let Chanda say to the bhikṣus whatever he wishes, but let the bhikṣus not speak to him, nor admonish him, nor advise him." (cf. Dīgha, II, p. 154; Vinaya, II, p. 290: *Channo bhikkhu yaṃ icccheyya.... na anusāsitabbo*).

The same prohibition in Tch'ang a han, T 1 (no. 1), k. 4, p. 26a. The punishment is even more severe in the Mahīśāsaka Vinaya, Wou fen liu, T 1421, k. 39, p. 102a: "It will be forbidden for any *bhikṣu, bhikṣuṇī, upāsaka, upāsikā* to meet him or to speak to him." - See also Sammapadaṭutha, II, p. 110-12 (Burlingame, *Legends*, II, p. 166) and Rh.D., *Theragāthā*, tr. chap. LXIX.

Chan t'o kia tcgan yen king (Saṃthakātyāyanasūtra); then he will be able to obtain the Path.[189] - As for the precious basket of the Dharma (*dharmaratnapiṭaka)* compiled during three incalculable periods (*asaṃkhyeyakalpa*), it must begin with the following phrase: "Thus have I heard at one time (*evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye*); the Buddha was dwelling in such and such a place, in such and such a country, in such and such a grove..." Why [this beginning]? Sūtras all began with this formula among the Buddhas of the past (*atītabuddha*); sūtras all will begin with this formula among the [**67a**] Buddhas of the future (*anāgatabuddha*); finally, the Buddhas of the present (*pratyutpannabuddha*), at the moment of their parinirvāṇa, also teach this formula. Henceforth, after my parinirvāṇa, sūtras must also begin with this formula: *Evaṃ mayā śrutam skasmin samaye*.

By that, we know that [the content of the sūtra] was taught by the Buddha, but it is not the Buddha who says: *Evaṃ mayā śrutam*. The Buddha, who is omniscient (*sarvajñā*), independent and without a teacher, cannot say: "Thus have I heard." If the Buddha said: "Thus have I heard", the objection could be made that the Buddha did not know the thing [before having heard it]. At the request of Ānanda, the Buddha has taught this formula, a formula to be pronounced by his disciples. [Therefore] this expression *Evaṃ mayā śrutam* is irreproachable.

3. Furthermore, so that the Buddhadharma may remain in the world for a long time, the *āyuṣmat*[190] *Mo ho kia chö* (Mahākāśyapa) and other arhats questioned Ānanda, asking him: "Where did the Buddha preach the Dharma for the first time? What dharmas did he preach?" - Ānanda answered: "Thus have I heard at one time (*evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye*); the Buddha was dwelling in the country of *Po lo na* (Vārāṇasī), in the residence of *Sien jen* (Rṣipatana) in Mṛgadāva); he preached the noble truths on suffering (*duḥkhāryasatya*) to five hundred bhikṣus. At the beginning, I understood nothing about the self. But by

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[189] In this sūtra the Buddha praises the good meditation, without content or object, which prepares the way to nirvāṇa. He congratulates Saṃtha Kātyāyana (in Pāli, Sandha or Saddha Kaccāyana): cf. Aṅguttara, V, p. 323; Saṃyutta, II, p. 153) for having no concept whatsoever of what is. And the gods venerate Saṃtha, saying: "Homage to you, excellent man, for we have not that on which you meditate!"

We have several versions of this sūtra with important variants - in Pāli, in Aṅguttara, V, p. 323-326; - in Sanskrit, from a citation in Bodhisattvabhūmi, p. 49-50; - in Chinese, in Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 926), k. 33, p. 235c-236b, and T 100 (no. 151), k. 8, p. 430c-431b; from citations in Yu kiu che ti louen by Asaṅga, T 1579, k. 36, p. 189b, and by Ta tch'eng tchang tchen louen by Bhāvaviveka, T 1578, k. 2, p. 276c (tr. L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Le Joyau dans la main*, MCB, II, 1932-33, p. 127).

Here is the Sanskrit text of this sūtra which, with the exception of some additions which I [Lamotte] have made in brackets, corresponds exactly with the Pāli version: *Iha Saṃtha bhikṣur na pṛthivīṃ niśritya.... kiṃ tvaṃ niśrtya dhyāyasi*. Poussin, who several times has mentioned the importance of this text, comments: “Two schools read confirmation of their metaphysical theses in this old sūtra and the meeting is rather thorny. Maitreya-Asaṅga's school thinks that the son of Kātyāyanī meditates on ineffable reality, on the dharma called tathatā which it discovered some centuries after the redaction of the sūtra and of which old scripture knew nothing. Bhāvaviveka says that the son of Kātyāyanī meditates on the void, for only voidness exists in the universe; he makes the son of Kātyāyanī a precursor of Bhāvaviveka... The sūtra teaches nothing other than right meditation." (Lav., *Dogme et Philosophie*, p. 92; see also idem, *Madhyamaka*, MCB, II, 1932-33, p. 55).

[190] *āyuṣmat*: 'life-possessing', honorific title applied to royal personages and Buddhist monks (Monier-Williams).

pondering correctly (*yoniśomanasikāra*) on the Dharma, I obtained the eye (*cakṣus*), knowledge *(jñāna*), the ear (*śrotra*) and awakening (*buddhi*)."[191]

Similarly, it is said at length in the *Tsi fa king* (Dharmasaṃgrahasūtra?)[192]: When the Buddha entered into nirvāṇa, the earth trembled six times, the rivers reversed their courses, a violent wind blew up in a tempest, black clouds arose on the horizon in the four directions. There was thunder and lightning, hail and rain came down in floods; here and there stars fell. Lions and other wild beasts began to howl; gods and men uttered great moans, all wailing: "The Buddha has passed into Nirvāṇa. Alas! the eye of the world (*lokacakṣus*) is extinguished." At the same time, plants, forests, grasses, trees, flowers and leaves suddenly split open. Sumeru, king of mountains, trembled from its very base. Waves rose up in the sea, the earth quaked terribly. Mountains and cliffs crumbled, trees snapped and smoke arose from the four quarters of the horizon. There was great panic. Ponds and rivers became soiled with mud. The stars appeared in full daylight. People began to wail, the gods lamented, the goddesses choked with their tears. The śaikṣas suffered in silence; the aśaikṣas told one another that all conditioned dharmas (*saṃskṛtadharma*) are transitory (*anitya)*. Thus the gods, mānuṣas, yakṣhas, rākṣasas, gandharvas, kiṃnaras, mahoragas and nāgas all felt great sadness.

The arhats who had crossed the sea of old age (*jarā*), sickness (*vyādhi)* and death (*maraṇa*) said to one another:

We have crossed the river of worldly passions,

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[191] In telling this episode of the Council of Rājagṛha, the Mppś, according to its custom, follows the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya word for word (Che song liu, T 1435, k. 60, p. 448b; Przyluski, *Concile*, p. 230).

[192] The Tsi fa king, which the Mppś takes as its pattern in the narrative of the first Council, should be very close to the Kia ye kie king, T 2027. Przyluski has commented that the account in the Mppś "is rather similar to the Kia ye kie king, especially in the verse sections."

The account of the Council in the Mppś has been translated by Przyluski in his well-known *Le Concile de Rajagṛha*, ch. III, p. 57-73. I [Lamotte] cannot do better than to reproduce his translation with a few slight modifications. In my notes, I use mainly the other sources gathered by him, of which here is the list with references to the Taisho edition:

1) Among the sūtras and commentaries: Kia ye king, T 2027, vol. 49, p.4b-7a. - A yu wang king, T 2043, k. 6, p. 150a-152c7, and A yu wang tchouan, T 2043, k. 3-4, p. 112a-114a25. - Fo pan ni yuan king, T 5, k. 2, p. 175a-175c21 and Fan ni yuan king, T 6, k. 2, p. 190c-191a. - Three short extracts from Fen pie kong louen, T 1507; an extract from Ta pei king, T 380, k. 5, p. 971b11; an extract from P'ou sa tch'ou t'ai king, T 384, k. 7, p. 1058a-b.

2) Among the Vinayas: Cullavagga, XI, of the Pāli Vinaya, II, p. 284-293, and Wou fen liu, T 1421, k. 30, p. 190b-192a. - Sseu fen liu, T 1428, k, 54, p. 966a-968c, and P'i ni mou louen, T 1463, k. 4, p. 818. - Mo ho seng k'i liu, T 1425, k. 32, p. 490b-493a. - Che song liu, T 1435, k. 60, p. 447a-450a.

Przyluski has purposely set aside the narrative of the council in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya. We will have to rely on the Chinese version of Ken pen chou... tsa che, T 1451, k. 39, p. 402c-407c, the Tibetan version of the Dulwa, XI, p. 651 sq., the English translation by E. Obermiller of Bu ston, II, p. 73-91. We should not forget the information furnished by the commentaries of Vasumitra. Cf. P. Demiéville, *L'origine des sectes bouddhiques d'apres Paramārtha*, MCB, I, 1931-32, p. 25-30.

A detailed bibliography of earlier works on the first Council will be found in Mahāvaṃsa, tr. Geiger, p. LI-LIV.

We have destroyed old age, sickness and death with disgust.

We have seen that the body is [like] a chest containing four great serpents.[193]

Now let us enter into the nirvāṇa of cessation without residue.

The great arhats everywhere, gave up their bodies at will in the mountains and forests, near rivers and springs, in the valleys and ravines, and entered into [**67b**] parinirvāṇa.[194] Other arhats took their departure into the sky (*ākāśa*) like the king of the swans (*haṃsarāja*). They manifested all kinds of miraculous powers (*ṛddhibāla*) so that the multitude of men might obtain pure faith (*śraddhāviṣuddhi*). Then, after their parinirvāṇa, the devas, from those of the six realms of desire (*kāmaloka*) up to those of the pure abodes (*śuddhāvāsa*), seeing that the arhats had all entered into nirvāṇa, had this thought: "The sun of Buddha has set. The disciples who cultivate all kinds of *dhyāna*, *samādhi*, liberations (*vimokṣa)* and wisdom, their light, too, is extinguished. Beings suffer all kinds of sickness: desire (*rāga*), hatred (*dveṣa*) and stupidity (*moha*). Now that these physicians of the Dharma (*dharmabhaiṣajyācārya*) hasten to enter into nirvāṇa, who then will heal them? Like the lotus (*puṇdarīka*), the disciples, arisen in the immense ocean of wisdom, are now withered. The tree of the Dharma (*dharmavṛkṣa*) has been cut down; the cloud of Dharma (*dharmamegha*) has dissipated. The king of elephants (*ajapati)* of great wisdom has withdrawn, the offspring of the elephants (*gajapota*) follow after him. The merchants of the Dharma (*dharmavaṇij*) have gone, from whom can we request the jewel of the Dharma (*dharmaratna*)? A stanza says:

The Buddha has gone to rest forever: he has entered into Nirvāṇa.

The multitude of those who have destroyed the bonds has likewise departed.

Thus the universe is empty and without knowledge.

The shadows of ignorance thicken, the lamp of knowledge is extinguished.

Then the devas prostrated at the feet of Mahākāśyapa and uttered this stanza:

Elder! You have given up desire (*rāga*), anger (*āghāta*) and pride (*māna*).

Your body is like a column of red gold (*raktasuvarṇastambha*).

From head to toe, you are majestic, marvelous, peerless,

The clarity of your eye is pure like the lotus.

Having praised him thus, they said to Mahākāśyapa: "O venerable Kāśyapa! Do you know, O Śākya, the ship of the Dharma (*dharmanāva*) is broken. The citadel of the Dharma (*dharmanagara*) is crumbling. The

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193 These are the four elements. Cf. Mppś, k. 12, p. 145b, the "Sūtra of the Comparison of the Four Venomous Snakes" and the various versions of the apologue entitled "The Man in the Well" (Chavannes, *Contes*, p. 83-84; III, p. 257; IV, p. 158, 235-238). J. Ph. Vogel, *The Man in the Well*, RAA, XI, 1937, p. 109-115.

194 The parinirvāṇa of the arhats following the Buddha's death and the anxiety of the gods are also mentioned by the Kia ye kie king (*Concile,* p. 3-4), the Legend of Aśoka (*Concile*, p. 27) and the Ken pen chou... tsa che, T 1451, k. 39, p. 402c: "Eighty thousand bhikṣus died at the same time as Śāriputra, seventy thousand at the same time as Maudgalyāyana and eighteen thousand at the same time as the Buddha."

ocean of the Dharma (*dharmadhārā*) is drying up. The standard of the Dharma (*darmapatākā*) is being turned upside down. The lamp of the Dharma (*dharmapradīpa*) is about to be extinguished. Those who proclaim the Dharma are about to leave. Those who practice the Path are becoming more and more rare. The power of the wicked is ever growing. In your great loving-kindness (*mahāmaitrī*), it is necessary to found solidly (*avasthāpayati*) the Buddhadharma."[195]

Then the Great Kāśyapa, whose mind is like a clear tranquil ocean, replied: "You have spoken truly. It is truly as you have said. Before long, the universe will be without knowledge (*jñāna*) and plunged into shadows." Then Kāśyapa the Great, by his silence, accepted their invitation. The devas prostrated at the feet of Kāśyapa the Great; at once they disappeared and returned home.

Then after some time, Kāśyapa the Great thought: "What shall I do so that this great doctrine, acquired with difficulty by the Buddha during three incalculable periods (*asamkhyeya kalpa*), will remain for a long time?" Having pondered thus, [he said]: " I know how to ensure a long life for this doctrine: it is necessary to compile the *Sieou tou lou* (Sūtras), the *A p'i t'an* (Abhidharma) and the *P'i ni* (Vinaya) and make the three baskets of the Dharma (*dharmapiṭaka*). In this way, the Buddhadharma will last for a long time and the people of the ages to come will receive it and practice it. Why is that? From age to age, with painful effort and out of compassion (*anukampā*), the Buddha exerted himself to acquire this doctrine and has proclaimed it to men. We must likewise comply respectfully with the Buddhadharma, spread it and develop it."

Then, having pronounced these words, Kāśyapa the Great went to the top of [**67c**] Mount Sumeru. He struck the bronze *gaṇḍī*[196] and recited this stanza:

Disciples of the Buddha!
Keep well the memory of the Buddha.

We must recognize the benefits of the Buddha.

Do not enter into nirvāṇa.

The sound of the *gaṇḍī* and the sound of the words of Kāśyapa the Great spread throughout the entire trichiliomegachiliocosm (*trisāhasramahāsahāsralokadhātu*) and all heard him. The disciples endowed with miraculous powers (*ṛddhibāla*) assembled around Kāśyapa the Great who said: "The Buddhadharma is about to be extinguished. The Buddha, who for three incalculable periods (*asaṃkhyaya kalpa*), by difficult effort and out of compassion (*anukampā*) for beings, has acquired this Dharma, has entered into parinirvāṇa. Those of his disciples who know the Dharma (*dharmajñā*), retain the Dharma (*dharmadhara*)

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[195] In the Kia ye kie king (*Concile*, p. 4) and also in the Legend of Aśoka (*Concile*, p. 28), the devas and especially Śakra and the four devarājas, invite Kāśyapa to gather up the doctrine.

[196] In the legend of Aśoka (*Concile*, p. 28) also, Kāśyapa called the assembly together by striking a *gaṇḍī* which resonated throughout Jambudvīpa and the trichiliocosm. - Other sources, Kia ye king, Tchouan tsi san tsang (*Concile*, p. 5, 95) simply say that Kāśyapa called together the s*aṃgha*. - In the P'ou sa tch'ou t'ai king (*Concile*, p. 126) Kāśyapa sent his five hundred arhats to all the universes of the ten directions to announce the council. They brought back with them, in Sahāloka, 804,000 individuals.

and recite the Dharma (*dharmabhānaka*), have all entered nirvāṇa along with the Buddha. Now that the Dharma is about to be lost, it is necessary to have the greatest compassion (*karuṇā*) for beings to come. Having lost the eye of wisdom (*prajñācakṣus*), they will be stupid and blind. In his great kindness and great compassion (*mahāmaitrīkaruṇā*), the Buddha has had pity for beings. We should respectfully comply with the Buddha's doctrine. Let us wait until we have compiled the baskets (*piṭaka*) of the sacred words and then we will enter into nirvāṇa as we please." [197]

All who had come to the assembly accepted this command and remained. Then Kāśyapa the Great chose a thousand individuals.[198] With the exception of Ānanda, all were arhats, having acquired the six superknowledges (*abhijñā*), liberation (*vimokṣa*) complete and without any doubt. All had acquired the three knowledges (*vidyā*), mastery of *samādhi* (*samādhivaśitā*). They could practice the *samādhi*s in a forward or reverse direction (*pratilomānulomataḥ*). All were without obstacles (*avyādhāta*). They recited the three baskets (*tripiṭaka)* and understood the inner (*ādhyātmika*) and outer (*bāhya*)[199] sacred scriptures. They recited and knew fully the eighteen kinds of great sūtras of the heretical sects (*tīrthika*)[200] and all of them were able to conquer the heterodox (*pāṣaṇḍa*) in debate.

Question - Since there were incalculable numbers of such arhats, why were only a thousand chosen and no more?

Answer - When king *P'in p'o so lo* (Bimbasāra) found the Path, eighty-four thousand dignitaries also found the Path. Then the king decreed this commnd in the palace: "Let there always be enough rice to offer to a thousand people."[201] King *A chö-che* (Ajātaśatru) did not break this rule. Thus Kāśyapa the Great said to himself: "If we continue to beg our food endlessly, the heretics (*tīrthika*) will object to us violently and will suppress our rules (*vidhi)*. Presently in the city of *Wang chö* (Rājagṛha), rice is constantly supplied to a thousand men.[202] That is where we should dwell in order to recite the baskets of the texts." It was for that reason that one thousand men were chosen and no more.[**68a**] Then Kāśyapa the Great, accompanied by a thousand men, went to the city of Rājagṛha on the mountain *K'i chö kiue* (Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata).[203] He said

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[197] Also in the legend of Aśoka (*Concile*, p. 32) Kāśyapa forbids the arhats to enter nirvāṇa before they have compiled the scriptures.

[198] The first Council brought together five hundred participants according to most sources, one thousand according to the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya (*Concile*, p. 204) and Hiuan tsang, *Si yu ki*, tr. Beal, II, p. 161; Watters, *Travels*, II, p. 160. The Mppś is aware of these numbers; here it speaks of one thousand members, but later (p. 69c) of five hundred. Therefore its account is not homogeneous, as Przyluski has noted.

[199] According to Przyluski, this concerns the canonical and extracanonical scriptures, or else the Buddhist and non-Buddhist scriptures.

[200] For these eighteen great sūtras, see Bukkyô daijiten, p. 941b.

[201] This command was given by Bimbasāra after his second meeting with the Buddha.

[202] Some sources describe the welcome given by Ajātaśatru to the Council members. Cf. Legend of Aśoka (*Concile*, p. 38) and Ken pen chou... tsa che, T 1451, k. 39, p. 404a-b.

[203] The Council was held at Rāhagṛha, but the sources do not agree on the exact place: the rock-cave Pippalāyana (Ken pen chou... tsa che, T 1451k. 39, p. 404b; Legend of Aśoka in *Concile*, p. 38); Saptaparṇa cave on the side of mount Vaihāra, Vebhāra in Pāli (Mahāvastu, I, p. 70; Mahāvaṃsa, III, v. 19); the cave of mount *Tch'a a ti* or *Tch'o ti*

to king Ajātaśatru: "Give us food. Let someone bring us our food each day. We are about to compile the baskets of the texts here and we will be unable to occupy ourselves with anything else."

In this place, at the time of the summer retreat (*varṣā*), the fifteenth day of the third month, at the time of the recitation of the precepts (*śīla*), having gathered together the saṃgha, Kāśyapa the Great entered into *samādhi*. With his divine eye (*divyacakṣus*), he contemplated to see if, in the present assembly, there was someone who had not yet completely subdued the afflictions (*kleśa*) whom it was necessary to expel. Ānanda was the only person who had not completely subdued them. The other 999 had already destroyed the impurities (*kṣīṇāsrava*); they were pure (*viśuddha*) and stainless (*vimala*). Kāśyapa the Great, coming out of *samādhi*, led Ānanda by the hand out of the assembly and said to him: "Here in this pure assembly, they are going to recite the baskets of the texts. Your bonds (*bandhana*) are not yet suppressed, you must not stay here."

Then Ānanda wept with shame and thought: "For twenty-five years I accompanied the Bhagavat; I served him; I was at his disposal.[204] I have never yet suffered such great sorrow. The Buddha was truly venerable, compassionate and patient." Having had this thought, he said to Kāśyapa the Great: "In the long run, I would have had the strength to find the Path, but in the Buddhadharma, arhats must not serve anyone, must not be at the disposal of anyone, must not carry out anyone's orders. It is for that reason that I have kept a trace of bonds (*bandhana*) and have not completely broken them."

Kāśyapa the Great said: "However, you have committed faults (*āpatti*).[205] The Buddha was unwilling that women should leave home. You insistently begged the Buddha to allow them to practice the Path. For this reason, the proper law of the Buddha will be exhausted at the end of five hundred years and will diminish. In this you have committed a *duṣkṛta* fault."[206] Ānanda said: "I was sorry for *Kiu t'an mi* (Gautami).

(Mahāsaṃghika Vinaya,T 1425, k. 32, p. 490c; Legge, Fa-hien, p. 85); a cave situated on the north side of mount Dakṣiṇa (Hiuan-tsang in Watters, *Travels*, II. p. 160); the cave of Nyagrodha (Dulwa in Rockhill, *Life*, p. 151).

[204] When he was fifty years old, after twenty years of ministry, the Buddha attached Ānanda to himself as an *upasthāyaka*. Before accepting this duty, Ānanda had set conditions: never to share the food or clothing of the Buddha, not to accompany him on his visits among lay people, always to have access to him. See *Che tchö king* (Upasthāyakasūtra) in Tchong a han, T 26 (no. 33), k. 8, p. 471c-475a, the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (Rockhill, *Life*, p. 88), and other later works, such as Wen kiu, comm. on Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, T 1718, k. 2, p. 18b. - The *upasthāyakasūtra* does not have its correspondent in the Pāli canon, but reappears in Buddhaghosa's commentaries in a more elaborate form, where the conditions set by Ānanda increase to eight: Manorātha, I, p. 294-296; Comm. on the Theragāthā in Rh. D., *Brethren*, p. 350-352; Hardy, *Manual*, p. 234-235.

[205] In all the accounts of the council, Kāśyapa reproached Ānanda with a number of faults: two in the case of the Fen pie kong tö louen (*Concile*, p. 120-122); four in the Tchouan tsi san tsang (ibid, p. 97-98); five in the Pāli Vinaya (ibid, p. 156-159); six in the Mahīśāsaka Vinaya (ibid, p. 148-153), the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya (ibid, p.232-234) and the legend of Aśoka (ibid, p. 47-51); seven in the Dharmagupta Vinaya (ibid, p. 182-186), the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya (ibid, p. 214-215), the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya and the Parinirvāṇasūtra (ibid, p. 83); nine in the Kia kie king (ibid, p. 13-15). - The Mppś counts six faults but enumerates only five.

[206] The institution of the order of nuns at Ānanda's request is related in the Vinaya, II, p. 253 (tr. Rh. D.- Oldenberg, III, p. 320); Aṅguttara, IV, p. 274; Tchong a han, T 26 (no. 116), k. 28, p. 605a: K'iu t'an mi ki kouo king, T 60; Ta feng pien

Moreover, in the doctrine of the Buddhas of the three times (*tryadhvan*), there are always four categories [of disciples]. Why would our Buddha Śākyamuni be the only one not to have them?"

Kāśyapa the Great again said: "When the Buddha was about to enter into nirvāṇa, he came to the city of *Kiu yi na kie* (Kuśinagara). He was suffering from a backache. Four upper robes (*uttarāsaṅga*) were laid down one on top of another; he lay down and said to you: 'I need some water.' You did not give him any. In that you committed a *duṣkṛta* fault."[207] Ānanda replied: "At that time, five hundred chariots were crossing the stream, making the water turbid and impure. This is why I did not take any." Kāśhyapa the Great again said: "Exactly, if the water was impure, the Buddha had miraculous power (*ṛiddhibāla*) strong enough to purify an ocean of impure water. Go and confess your *duṣkṛita* fault."

Again Kāśyapa the Great said: "The Buddha summoned you: a man learned in the practice of the four bases of miraculous power (*ṛddhibāla*) could remain in this world for a kalpa or a fraction of a kalpa. You remained silent without answering. He questioned you three times and you remained silent. If you had answered him, the Buddha, learned in the practice of the four bases of miraculous power, would [**68b**] have remained in this world for a kalpa or a fraction of a kalpa. Because of you, the Buddha has prematurely entered into nirvāṇa. In that, you have committed a *duṣkṛta* fault.[208] Ānanda said: "Māra

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fo pao ngen king, T 156, k. 5, p. 152; Ta ngai tao pi k'ieou ni king, T 1425, k. 30, p. 471a; Sseu feu liu, T 1428, k. 48, p. 922c; Che song liu, T 1435, k. 15; Ken pen chou... tsa che, T 1451, k. 29-30, p. 350b. - This instituting is also narrated in Sanskrit in the fragments of the Bhikṣuṇīkarmavacana published by C. M. Ridding and L. de La Vallée Poussin in BSOS, I, 1920, p. 124-125.

[207] This episode is told in very different ways in the texts:

1) Tch'ang a han, T 1 (no. 2), k. 3, p. 19c: Being thirsty, the Buddha asked Ānanda three times in succession to go and fill his bowl at a river. Ānanda replied that the water had just been disturbed by the passing of five hundred chariots and suggested that he go to get water from the Kakutsthā river. Then an asura, converted to Buddhism, filled a bowl "with water purified eight times" and offered it to the Buddha who accepted it out of compassion for him. - It is this refusal of the water which is blamed on Ānanda in all the narratives of the first Council with the exception of the Pāli Cullavagga.

2) Fo pan ni yuan king, T 5, k. 2, p. 168a; Pan ni yuan king, T 6, k. 2, p. 183c; Ken pen chou... tsa che, T 1451, k. 37, p. 391a: At the request of the Buddha, Ānanda went directly to draw water from the river Kakutsthā, but noticing that the water had become disturbed by the passage of 500 chariots, he asked the Buddha to use it only for his ablutions and he went to quench his thirst in the Hiraṇyavatī river which flowed nearby. The Buddha followed this advice.

3) Dīgha, II, p. 128-129: Ta pan nie p'an king, T 7, k. 2, p. 197b. The Buddha asked Ānanda to go to find some drinkable water in the nearby brook three times. Ānanda twice objected that the water was disturbed and proposed going to find some in the Kakutsthā river. At the third request, he obeyed and noticed to his great astonishment that the water of the stream had become clear.

In accord with this tradition - probably revised - of the Pāli Dīgha, the Cullavagga, in its story of the first Council, does not blame Ānanda with having refused water to the Buddha.

It would be interesting to compare these different traditions with the Sanskrit text of the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra recovered in central Asia. Unfortunately, so far we have only short extracts published by E. Waldschmidt, *Beiträge zur Textgeschichte des Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, NGGW, Fachgr. III, Band II, Nr. 3, 1939, p. 55-94.

[208] This reproach is not the same in all the narratives:

clouded my mind. That is why I did not speak. It was not out of maliciousness that I did not answer the Buddha."

Again Kāśyapa the Great said: "You have stepped on the *saṃghāṭi* of the Buddha. In that you have committed a *duṣkṛta* fault." Ānanda said: "At that time, a great wind arose and there was no-one to help me. While I was holding the robe, the wind blew and it fell beneath my foot. It is not out of disrespect that I stepped on the Buddha's robe."

Again Kāśyapa the Great said: "You showed the women the mark of cryptorchidy (*kośagatavastiguhya*) of the Buddha after he entered into parinirvāṇa. Is that not shameful? In that you have committed a *duṣkṛta* fault." Ānanda said: "At that time I thought: if the women see the Buddha's mark of cryptorchidy, they will feel ashamed of their own female body and want to obtain a male body so as to plant the roots of merit with the view of realizing Buddhahood. This is why I showed the women [his organs]. It is not out of impudence that I have broken the precepts (*śīla*)."

Kāśyapa the Great said: "You have committed six kinds of *duṣkṛta* faults. You must confess (*pratideśana*) these faults completely in the saṃgha." Ānanda said that he agreed and that he would follow the instructions of the *āyuṣmat* Mahākāśyapa and the saṃgha. Then Ānanda fell to his knees, joined his palms together, uncovered his right shoulder (*ekāṃsam uttarāsaṅgaṃ kuritvā*), took off his leather sandals and confessed his six kinds of *duṣkṛta* faults. Kāśyapa the Great took Ānanda by the hand out of the saṃgha and said to him: "Completely destroy your impurities (*āsrava*) and then you can re-enter. Do not return until your last bonds (*bandhana*) are broken." Having spoken thus, he himself shut the door.[209]

Then the arhats deliberated in these terms: "Who can recite the Vinaya- and the Dharmapiṭaka? The *ayuṣmat A ni lou teou* (Aniruddha) said: "Under *Chö li fou* (Śāriputra), the second Buddha, there was an excellent disciple called *Kiao fan po t'i* (Gavāmpati) [in the Tsin language, ' Ox breath'][210]. Gentle and

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1) The legend of Aśoka (*Concile*, p. 50), the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya (p. 233) and the Mppś blame Ānanda with having shown the private parts of the Buddha to women. [For this cryptorchidy, see below, k. 4, p. 90b]. Ānanda excuses himself by saying that he wanted them to desire a male existence.

2) The Mahīśasāka Vinaya (p. 135), the Dharmagupta Vinaya (p. 186) and the Pāli Vinaya (p. 137) blame Ānanda for having allowed the women to be the first to venerate the body of the Buddha, which they soiled with their tears. To justify himself, Ānanda offered the late hour as an excuse.

3) In the Kia ye kie king (*Concile*, p. 15) and the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (Rockhill, *Life*, p. 154). these two versions of the same reproach are combined. He is blamed for having shown the private parts of the Buddha and for having allowed the women to be the first to venerate his body.

[209] Przyluski sees in this judgment on Ānanda "an ancient procedure destined to purify the community by expelling a scapegoat" (*Concile*, p. 268).

[210] The episode of Gavāmpati is also narrated by the Kia ye kie king (*Concile*, p. 6-11), the legend of Aśoka (p. 29-32), the Tchouan tsi san tsang (p. 96-97), the Fen pie kong tö louen (p. 115-116) and the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (Rockhill, *Life*, p. 149-150). At the request of Kāśyapa, Aniruddha contemplates the world to see if all the arhats have come to the assembly. He discovers Gavāmpati in the palace of the Śirīṣas. A young bhikṣu called Pūrṇa or Suprabuddha is entrusted with inviting him. Learning of the Buddha's death, Gavāmpati at once entered into nirvāṇa. He cremated himself and four springs, gushing forth from space, watered his ashes and uttered a gāthā.

kind, he dwells constantly in closed retreat. He abides in the calmness of the mind (*cittaśamatha*). He knows the Vinaya- and Dharmapiṭaka. Now he abides in the heavens of the *Che li cha chou yuan* (Śirīṣavana).[211] Let a messenger be sent to ask him to come."

Kāśyapa the Great said to a recently ordained bhikṣu[212]: "Are you under the orders of the saṃgha?" The recently ordained bhikṣu answered: "What does the saṃgha command?" Kāśyapa the Great said: "The saṃgha requests you to go to the heavens of the Śirīṣavana, to the dwelling of the arhat Gavāmpati." Carried away with joy, the bhikṣu received the orders of the saṃgha. He said to Kāśyapa the Great: "When I have reached the arhat Gavāmpati, what shall I say to him?" Kāśyapa the Great said: "When you arrive there, you will say to Gavāmpati: Kāśyapa the Great and the other arhats who have destroyed the impurities (*kṣīṇāsrava*) have all assembled in *Yen feou t'i* (Jambudvīpa). There is great business for the saṃgha related to the doctrine. Come quickly."

[**68c**] The recently ordained bhikṣu prostrated himself before the saṃgha (*saṃghaṃ śirasābhivandya*), and circumambulated it three times to the right (*triḥpradakṣiṇikṛtya*). Like the bird with golden wings (*garuḍa*), he took his leave into space. He came to Gavāmpati, prostrated and said to him: "O venerable one, gentle and kind, you have few desires (*alpeccha)*, you know how to be content with little (*alpamātreṇa saṃtuṣṭaḥ*), you are ever in contemplation (*satatsamāhita*). Kāśyapa the Great addresses himself to you in these words: 'Now there is great business for the saṃgha related to the doctrine. Hasten to come down to see the assembly [like] gathered jewels.' "Then Gavāmpati had some doubts; he said to this bhikṣu: "Does not the saṃgha have some quarrelsome subject (*vivādavastu*), that it calls upon me? Are there not some schisms in the saṃgha (*saṃghabheda*)? Has the Buddha, this sun, been extinguished?" The bhikṣu said: "It is truly as you have said. The great master (*mahācārya*), the Buddha, has gone into nirvāṇa." Gavāmpati said: "How quickly has the Buddha entered into nirvāṇa! The eye of the world (*lokacakṣus*) is extinguished! My *upādhyāya Chö li fou* (Śāriputra), the chief [of the doctrine], who could turn the wheel of the Dharma like the Buddha, where is he now?" He replied: "He has already entered into nirvāṇa." Gavāmpati said: "The great teachers are far away. What resources are left for us? *Mo ho mou k'ie lien* (Mahāmaudgalyāyana), where is he now?" The bhikṣu said: "He also has entered into nirvāṇa." Gavāmpati said: "The Buddhadharma is going to dissolve. The great men are gone. Beings will mourn." He asked: What is the *āyuṣmat* Ānanda doing now?" The bhikṣu answered: "Since the Buddha's nirvāṇa, the *āyuṣmat* Ānanda weeps with sorrow and despair." Gavāmpati said: "Ānanda's remorse comes from the fact that he is still in the bondage of passion (*anunayabandhana*) and [for him] the separation gives rise to suffering. What has become of *Lo heou lo* (Rāhula)?" He replied: "Having obtained arhathood, Rāhula has neither grief nor sorrow. He contemplates only the nature of impermanence (*anityalakṣaṇa*) of the dharmas," Gavāmpati said: "It is difficult to break the afflictions and having broken them, to be without sadness." Gavāmpati said: "I have lost the great Teacher free of desires (*vītarāga*). What is the use of

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For this individual, see Vinaya, I, p. 19; Dīgha, II, p. 356; Theragāthā, v. 38; Sumaṅgala, III, p. 8*14.* Przyluski (*Concile*, p. 255) identifies him as a god of dryness and of wind.

211 This is the *serīsakavimāna* of the Pāli sources, a palace in the world of the Cāturmahārājikas. Cf. Dīgha, II, p. 356.

212 Pūrṇa or Suprabuddha according to other sources.

remaining in Śirīṣavana? My *upādhyāya* and the great teachers all have entered nirvāṇa. I can no longer go down to Jambudvīpa. May I remain here in order to enter into parinirvāṇa,"

[**69a**] Having spoken these words, he entered *samādhi* and leapt into space. His body emitted light rays (*raśmi*) and water and fire.[213]. With his hands he touched the sun and moon and manifested all kinds of miracles (*prātihārya*). From his mind there emanated flames that consumed his body. From within his body came water which flowed in four streams as far as Kāśyapa the Great. From the water there came a voice that pronounced this stanza:

Gavāmpati salutes by bowing his head

To the saṃgha of venerable ones, the excellent supreme saṃgha.

Having learned of the Buddha's nirvāṇa, [he said]: "I am leaving in my turn."

Thus, when the great elephant departs, the little one follows him

Then the recently ordained bhikṣu, carrying the robe and bowl, returned to the saṃgha.

At that moment, Ānanda reflected [on the nature] of dharmas and sought to exhaust his last impurities (*āsrava*). During the night, he sat in *dhyāna*, walked to and fro, and sought the Path (*mārga*) anxiously and zealously. Ānanda's wisdom (*prajñā*) was great, but his power of *samādhi* was weak. That is why he did not obtain the Path immediately. If his power of concentration had been equal to his wisdom, he would have quickly obtained [the Path]. Finally, when the night was almost over and he was very tired, he lay down. Now, on lying down to reach his pillow (*bimbohana*), just as his head touched it, suddenly he attained enlightenment.[214] As a bolt of lightning drives away the shadows, he saw the Path. Then Ānanda entered the diamond-like (*vajra*) *samādhi* and crushed the mountain of all the afflictions (*kleśa*). He obtained the three knowledges (*vidya*), the six superknowledges (*abhijñā*), complete liberation (*vimokṣa*) and became an arhat of great power.

Then, during the night, he went to the door of the hall where the saṃgha was gathered, knocked at the door and called. Káśyapa the Great asked: "Who is knocking at the door?" He answered: "It is I, Ānanda!" Kāśyapa the Great said: "Why have you come?" Ānanda replied: "Tonight I have destroyed the impurities (*āsravakṣaya*)." Kāśyapa the Great said: "The door is not open to you. Enter through the key-hole." Ānanda answered: "So be it!" Then, thanks to his miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*), he entered by way of the keyhole.[215] He prostrated at the feet of the monks and confessed [his faults], saying: "O Great Kāśyapa! Do not recriminate!" Kāśyapa the great touched his hand to Ānanda's head and said: "I did it intentionally for your own good so that you would find the Path. Do not hold a grudge against me. In this manner, I

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213 These are twin miracles (*yamakaprātihārya*) which the Buddha accomplished on many occasions (Nidānakathā, p. 77, 88, 193; Mahāvastu, III, p. 115; Divyāvadāna, p. 161, 378) and which the saints often produced at the time of entering nirvāṇa (see below, k. 3, p. 79a, Mahākāśyapa's nirvāṇa)

214 Cf. Vinaya, II, p. 286: *apattañ ca sīsaṃ bimbohanaṃ bhūmito ca pādā muttā*. This strange detail is noted by almost all the sources: Legend of Aśoka (*Concile*, p. 36); Mahīśāsaka Vinaya (p. 140), Dharmagupta Vinaya (p. 175), Mahāsaṃghika Vinaya (p. 208) and Mūlasarvāsyivādin Vinaya (Rockhill, *Life*, p. 156).

215 In the Mahāsaṃghika Vinaya (*Concile*, p. 209), Ānanda found the door shut, but did not enter through the keyhole.

have brought you to realize yourself. Thus, when one, with one's hand, paints space, space is not filled. In the same way, the mind of an arhat who is at the center of all dharmas is not affected. Take you former place."

At this time, the saṃgha deliberated in these terms: "Gavāmpati has entered nirvāṇa. Is there anybody else who is able to compile the basket of the Dharma (*dharmapiṭaka*)? The *āyuṣmat* Aniruddha said: "There is the *āyuṣnmat* Ānanda. Among the Buddha's disciples, he has always served the Buddha and lived close to him. He has heard the texts, has been able to remember them, and the Buddha has constantly praised him and approved of him. This Ānanda could compile the texts." Then the *āyuṣmat* Mahākāśyapa touched Ānanda's head and said to him: "The Buddha entrusted you to keep (*dhārayati*) the basket of the Dharma. You should be grateful for the blessings of the Buddha. In what place did the Buddha first explain the Dharma? The great disciples of the Buddha who were able to [**69b**] to keep the basket of the Dharma have all entered nirvāṇa. There is only you. Now, in accord with the Buddha's mind and out of compassion for beings, you must compile the basket of the Buddhadharma." Then, prostrating before the saṃgha, Ānanda sat down on the lion-seat (*siṃhāsana*). Then Kāsyapa the Great recited these stanzas:

The Buddha is the holy king of the lions.

Ānanda is the son of the Buddha.

Seated on the lion's seat

He contemplates the assembly lacking the Buddha.

Just as the assembly of the venerable ones

Lacking the Buddha, has lost its power (*prabhāva*),

So in the moonless night

The constellations are without charm.

O great sage, speak!

Son of the Buddha, you must explain

In what place the Buddha spoke for the first time.

You must reveal it now.

Then the *āyuṣmat* Ānanda, with one-pointed mind (*ekacitta*), joined his palms, turned towards the place of the Buddha's nirvāṇa and spoke thus:

When the Buddha preached the Dharma for the first time,

I did not see it.

Thus have I heard by tradition (*paraṃparayā*):

The Buddha was living at Vārāṇasī.

For the five bhikṣus, the Buddha

Opened the gate of the immortal for the first time.

He preached the sermon of the four truths:

The truths of suffering, its origin its cessation and the path.

Ājñāta, Kauṇḍinya,

Were the first to attain the vision of the Path.

A multitude of eighty thousand devas

All penetrated into the course of the Path likewise.

Having heard these words, the thousand arhats rose up into space to the height of seven *to lo* (*tāla*) trees. They all said: "Alas! The power of impermanence (*anityatābala*) is great! In the same way as we saw with our own eyes the Buddha preaching the Dharma, here now he is speaking and we are listening!" Then they uttered these stanzas:

We have seen the marks of the Buddha's body,

Like a mountain of fine gold.

These marvelous marks have lost their virtue,

There remains just a name.

That is why it is necessary, by every possible means,

To endeavor to leave the three worlds

By accumulating zealously the roots of good.

Nirvāṇa is the supreme happiness.

Then the *āyuṣmat* Aniruddha uttered this stanza:

Alas! The universe is impermanent

Like the moon (reflected in the water) and like the banana tree.

The one whose merits fill the three worlds

Has been destroyed by the wind of impermanence

Then Kaśyapa the Great also uttered these stanzas:

The power of impermanence is very great.

Stupid people and wise people, poor and rich,

[**69c**] Whether they have or have not found the path,

No-one can escape it.

Neither skillful words nor marvelous jewels

Nor lies nor strenuous protestations [allow one to escape from it].

Like a fire that consumes everything

Such is the law of impermanence.

Kāśyapa the Great said to Ānanda:[216] "From the *Tchouan fa louen king* (Dharmacakrapravartanasūtra) up to the *Ta pan nie p'an* (Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra), the collection forms the four *A han* (Āgama): 1. *Tseng yi a han* (Ekottarāgama), 2. *Tchong a han* (Madhyamāgama), 3. *Tch'ang a han* (Dīrghāgama), 4. *Siang ying a han* (Saṃyuktāgama). This is what is called the Basket of the Dharma of the Sūtras (*sūtrapiṭaka*).[217]

[216] The end of this chapter tells about the compilation of the Buddhist scriptures. The formation of the canon or canons has already been the object of many studies, the list of which is in Winternitz, *Literature*, II, p. 1, n. 1, and in Lav., *Dogme et philosophie*, p. 198. It is important to take the Pāli canon down from its pedestal where Rhys Davids and Oldenberg have placed it. On this subject, see S. Lévi, *Observations sur une langue precanonique du Bouddhisme*, JA, Nov.-Dec. 1912, p. 511; Przyluski, *Concile*, p. 333-365; F. Weller, *Die Ueberlieferung des allteren buddhistischen Schrifttums*, AM, V, 1928-39, p. 149-182; A.B. Keith, *The Home of Pāli*, BS, XXXI, p. 747.

On the literary activity displayed in the course of the Council, the sources are not in absolute agreement; the differences they manifest allow them to be classified perhaps chronologically:

a. The scriptures are divided into two sections: Dharma and Vinaya. - Upāli recites the Vinaya and Ānanda the sūtras (Pāli Vinaya and Mahīśaka Vinaya, in Przyluski, *Concile*, p. 143-147. - The Fathers receive the Āgamas from Ānanda and write the rules and precepts (ibid p. 211-216).

b. To the first two piṭakas is added a Mātṛka or catechesis. - Ānanda recites the Sūtrapiṭaka, Upāli the Vinayapiṭaka, Kāśyapa the Mātṛka (Legend of Aśoka, ibid p. 39-45).

c. The scripture is divided into three piṭakas, but their order or their reciters is uncertain.. - Upāli recites the Vinaya, Ānanda the sūtras and the Abhidharma (Sarvāstivādin Vinaya, p. 227-231; Dharmagupta Vinaya, p. 187-195; Mppś).

[217] According to some authors (S. Lévi, *Les seize Arhat*, JA, 1916, p. 31-32; J. Przyluski, *Concile*, p. 352 sq), the order in which the Āgamas are cited was of importance. Here are some lists where the Āgamas are indicated by their initials (D = Dīgha; M = Madhyama; S = Saṃyukta; E = Ekottara; K = Kṣudraka):

M-D-E-S, in Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, T 6, k. 2, p. 191a.

S-D-M-E, in Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya,T 1451, k. 39, p. 407b-c.

E-M-D-S, in Mppś and Tchouan tsi san tsang, T 2026, p. 3b. [It should be noted that the Mppś, which counts only four Āgamas, is however aware of the Kṣudraka to which it will refer below, k. 5, p. 99b].

S-M-D-E, in Asaṅga's Yogacaryābhūmi,T 1579, k. 85, p. 772c.

D-M-S-E-K, in Pāli canon (cf, Atthasālini,p. 25-26; tr, Tin, *Expositor*, I, p. 31-32; Mahīśāsaka Vinaya, T1421, k. 30, p. 191a; Mahāsaṃghika Vinaya, T 1425, k. 32, p. 491c.

D-M-E-S-K, in Dharmagupta Vinaya, T 1428, k. 54, p. 968b; the P'i ni mou lourn of the Haimavata school, T 1463, k. 4, p. 818a; the relation of Nandamitra, in S. Lévi, *Les seize arhat,* p. 20.

The great arhats asked further: "Who can clearly bring together the basket of the Vinaya (*vinayapiṭaka*)?" They all said: "The *āyuśmat Yeou p'o li* (Upāli). Of the five hundred arhats, he is foremost of those who maintain the discipline (*vinayadhara*). Let us invite him now." Then they invited him with these words: "Get up and sit on the lion-seat (*siṃhāsana*) and tell us in what place the Buddha first enunciated the Vinaya and collected the precepts (*śīla*)." Upāli received the orders of the saṃgha. Seated on the lion-seat, he said: "Thus have I heard: once the Buddha was at *P'i chö li* (Vaiṣālī). At that time, *Siu t'i na* (Sudinna) son of the householder *Kia lan t'o* (Kalanda) conceived a lustful desire for the first time."[218]

(1-3) The Explanations relative to the 250 Precepts (*pañcaśaddviśataśīlasaṃprayuktakārtha*) in three sections (*varga*), (4) the Seven Precepts (*saptadharma*), (5) the Eight Precepts (*aṣṭadarma*), (6) the *Pi k'ieou ni pi ni* (*bhikṣuṇīvinaya*), (7) the *Tseng yi* (*Ekottara*), (8) the *Yeou p'o li wen* (*Upāliparupṛicchā*), (9) the *Tsa pou* (*Kṣudrakavarga*), these 80 sections (*varga*) form the Basket of the Discipline (*vinayapiṭaka*).[219]

Again the arhats had this thought: "Who can clearly bring together the basket of the *A p'i t'an* (*Abhidharmapiṭaka*)?" They thought: "Among the five hundred arhats, the *āyuṣmat* Ānanda is the foremost of those who explain the sūtras. Let us invite him." Then they invited him with these words: "Get up and

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E-M-D-S-K, in Fen pie kong tö king (Przyluski, *Concile*, p. 119).

[218] See Sudinna's wrong-doing in Vinaya, III, p. 10-21 (tr. Horner, I, p. 21-38); Wou fen liu, T 1421, k. 1, p. 2b; Sseu fen liu, T 1428, k. 1, p. 569c; Che song liu, T 1433, k. 1, p. 1a.

[219] We have already commented several times that the Mppś, when it cites 'the Vinaya in a vague way', almost always refers to the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya, the Chinese translation of which, entitled *Che song liu*, was started in 404 by Puṇyatara, continued by Kumārajīva (translator of the Mppś) and completed by Vimalākṣa (cf. Bagchi, I, p. 177). The Mppś and the *Che song liu* both having been translated by Kumārajīva, it is not surprising that the Mppś, in analyzing the Vinayapiṭaka here, purely and simply reproduces the table of contents of the *Che song liu*. Nevertheless, instead of calling the chapters of this Vinaya *song* (*parivarta*), he calls them *pou* (*varga*). To verify the exactness of the information given here by the Mppś, it is sufficient to compare them with the main divisions of the *Che song liu* (T 1435, vol. 23):

Song 1-3:	Untitled but dedicated to the explanation of the 250 precepts	p. 1
Song 4:	Ts'i fa (*saptadharma*)	p. 148
Song 5:	Pa fa (*aṣṭadharma*)	p. 206
Song 6:	Tsa song (*kṣhudrakaparivarta*)	p. 257
Song 7:	Ni liu (*bhikṣhuṇīvinaya*)	p. 302
Song 8:	Tseng po li wen fa (*Upāliparipṛicchā*)	p. 346
Song 10:	Chan song (*kuśalaparivarta*)	p. 379

The *pou* of the Mppś corrspond to these ten *son,* which ends by saying: "These 80 *pou* form the Basket of the Vinaya." The number 80 is obviously an error and should be replaced by 10.

But this error is easily explained, for we know that if, in another passage of the Mppś (k. 100, p. 756c), the Vinaya of the land of Kasmir (ki pin), which rejected the Jātakas and the Avadānas, consists of only 10 chapters (pou = *varga*), there is a Vibhāṣā in 80 chapters, which comments on it; on the other hand, the Vinaya of the land of Mathurā, with its Avadāna and its Jātakas, consists of 80 chapters. Cf. Przyluski, *Aśoka*, p. 214-215; *Fables in the Vinaya-Piṭaka of the Sarvāstivādin School*, IHQ, vol. V, p. 1-5.

In other sources, the Vinayapiṭaka is analyzed in quite a different way. See references in Przyluski, *Concile*, p. 409.

go to sit on the lion-seat (*siṃhāsana*). In what place did the Buddha first preach the Abhidharma?" Ānanda received the orders of the saṃgha. Seated on the lion-seat, he said: "Thus have I heard: once the Buddha was dwelling in the city of *Chö p'o li* (Śrāvastī). At that time, the Buddha said to the bhikṣus: 'Those in whom the five fears (*bhaya*), the five sins (*āpatti)* and the five hatreds (*vaira*) have not been suppressed and extinguished experience innumerable evils in this life in their bodies and their minds for this reason and, in subsequent lives, they fall into the bad destinies (*durgatī*). Those who do not have the five fears, the five sins and the five hatreds, for this reason are, in this life, happy in every way in body and mind and, in subsequent existences, they are reborn in the heavens (*svarga*) or in a pleasant abode (*sukhavihāra*). What are the five fears that must be discarded? 1. Murder (*prāṇātipāta*), 2. theft (*adattādāna*), 3. illicit sexual relationships (*kāmamithyācāra*), 4. falsehood (*mṛṣāvāda*), 5. alcoholic drinks (*madhyapāna*).'[220] All of this is called the Basket of the Abhidharma (*abhidharmapiṭaka*).

[**70a**] When the three baskets of the doctrine were brought together, the devas, asuras, nāgas and devis made offerings of all kinds. They rained down celestial flowers (*puṣpa*), perfumes (*gandha*), banners (*patākā*), parasols (*chattra*) and heavenly garments (*vastra*), to pay homage to the doctrine. Then they recited this stanza:

Out of compassion for the universe

The three baskets of the Dharma hve been collected.

The omniscient one who has the ten strengths (*daśabala*),

The wisdom of his words is the lamp that destroys ignorance.

Question. - What is the origin of the *Pa kien tou a p'i t'an* (Aṣṭagranthābhidharma}, the *Lieou fen a p'i t'an* (Ṣaṭpādābhidharma), and the others?[221]

Answer. - 1. When the Buddha was in this world, the doctrine did not meet any opposition. After the Buddha had departed, when the doctrine was recited for the first time, it was still as it was in the time when the Buddha was alive. - A hundred years later, king *A chou kia* (Aśoka) brought together a great assembly of five hundred (*pañcavarṣapariṣad*) and the great masters of the dharma debated.[222] As a result of their

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220 This recitation of the Abhidharmapiṭaka by Ānanda is taken almost textually from the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya, Che song liu,T 1435, k. 60, p.449a (tr. in Przyluski, *Concile*, p. 231). According to this source, the Buddha preached the Abhidharma for the first time in Śrāvastī. Actually, according to Aṅguttara, III, p. 204-205, it was at Śrāvastī, at Jetavana in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍika, that the Buddha explained the five fears in question here: *Pañca, gahapati, bhāyani verāni.... vuccati sugatiñ ca upapajjati.*

With the exception of errors, the same sūtra has no correspondent in the Chinese āgamas. The Pāli Aṅguttara was able to incorporate into the Nikāyas a sermon held by other schools to be part of the Basket of the Abhidharma

221 Przyluski, *Concile*, p. 72, translates: 'the Abhidharma in eight *hien tou* (*khaṇḍa*) and the Abhidharma in six sections'. Later we will see the justification for the Sanskrit titles proposed here.

222 An allusion to the second Buddhist Council and to the first doctrinal schism that ended in the formation of two separate schools, that of the Sthāvirya and that of the Mahāsaṃghika. The Mppś is strictly dependent upon the Kashmir tradition represented by:

1) the *Mahāvibhāṣā,* T 1545, k. 99, p.510c-512a.

2) Vasumitra's *Samayabhedaparacanacakra*, T 2031, p. 15a-b (tr. J. Masuda, in Asia Major, II, 1925, p. 14-15): T 2032, p. 17b-c; T 2033, p. 20a-b.

3) Paramārtha's commentary on the preceding treatise, a commentary extracts of which are incorporated into the *San louen hiuan yi* by Ki tsang (T 1852, p. 8b-c} and the *Sanrongengi keṅyūshū* by Chūkan (T 2300, p. 455b-456b) and translated by P. Demiéville, *L'origine des sectes bouddhiques*, MCB, I, 1931-32, p.30-40.

4) the *Si yi ki* by Hiuan tsang (T 2087, k. 3, p.886b; tr. Beal, I, p. 150-151; tr. Watters, *Travels*, I, p. 267-269, which is inspired directly by the Mahāvibhāṣā.

P. Demiéville has summarized this tradition: "It was only in the time of the second Council, held at Pātaliputra in the 116th year after the nirvāṇa, in the reign of king Aśoka, that the controversies provoked by the heresiarch Mahādeva caused a real doctrinal schism that resulted in the formation of two separate schools, the school of the Elders (Stḥāvirya) and the school of the Great Assembly (Mahāsāṃghika). Mahādeva's heresy was twofold: on the one hand, he claimed to incorporate into the three baskets the sūtras of the Greater Vehicle, and on the other hand, he professed five theses tending to concede to the saints, arhats or srotaāpanna, various imperfections such as the faculty of being physically tainted, doubt, a certain ignorance, etc.... According to the Mahāvibhāṣā, the argument was decided by Aśoka in favor of Mahādeva. Paramārtha seems to wish to spare the memory of the pious monarch; according to him, it was the queen, circumvented by her lover Mahādeva, who had the adversaries of the heresiarch thrown into the Ganges. But the latter, using their magical powers, fled to Kashmir, where the king soon had them sought out. According to the Vibhāṣā, they refused to leave Kashmir (where, later on, according to a tradition which is, however, debatable, the Vibhāṣā itself was composed). According to Paramārtha, they accepted Aśoka's invitation and returned to Pātaliputra where, Mahādeva having died, the two schools came together for a new Council in order to purify the five famous theses. And it was then, Paramārtha tells us, that the real schism was produced and the two schools separated.

Bhavya's *Sde pa tha dad par ḥbyed pa saṅ rban par bśad pa* (Bstan-ḥgyur, Mdo ḥgrel, XC, 12) tr. in Walleser, *Sekten des alten Buddhismus*, Heidelberg, 1927, p.78-93), tells of a twofold tradition: One Council regarding Mahādeva's five points was held at Pātaliputra in the 137th year after the nirvāṇa, under kings Nanda and Mahāpadma, and ended in the splitting of the Sthaviras and the Mahāsāṃghikas (Walleser, p.81-82). - In the 160th year after the nirvāuna, under the reign of Dharmāśoka in Pātaliputra, some arguments [on the five points of Mahādeva] provoked a schism in the community which divided the Mahasāṃghikas and the Sthaviras (ibid, p. 78).

The sources noted so far constitute a relatively homogeneous group that I [Lamotte] would like to call the Kashmir tradition. Deliberately or not, it seems to ignore another group of traditions related to the second Buddhist Council which was held at Vaiśālī in order to condemn ten innovations (*dasa vatthūni*) introduced into the disciplinary rule by the monks of Vaiśālī. The references gathered by W. Geiger in his introduction to the Mahāvaṃsa, p. LIV-LVI and by L. de La Vallée Poussin in ERE, IV, p. 179-185, art. *Councils*, are not sufficient to get an idea of the question. Here is a summary of the sources:

a. The Council of Vaiśālī took place in the 100th year after the nirvāṇa, according to the Pāli Vinaya, II, p. 294-307 (tr. Rh. D.- Oldenberg, III, p. 386-414; Muséon, 1905, p. 258-312); Wou fen liu, T 1421, k. 30, p. 192a-194b; Mo ho seng k'i liu, T 1425, k. 33, p. 493a-z (does not give the date); Sseu fen liu, T 1428, k. 54, p. 968c-971c; Samanatpāsikā (in Vinaya III, p. 294 sq, and the Chan kien liu p'i p'o cha, T 1462, k. 1, p. 677c); P'i ni mou king,T 1463, k. 4, p. 819b; Fa hien tchouan, T2085 (tr. Legge, p. 75).

b. The Council of Vaiśālī took place in the 110th year after the nirvāṇa according to the Che song liu, T 1435, k. 60-61, p. 450a-456b; Ken pen chou... tsa che, T 1451, k. 40, p. 411c-414b, with the Tibetan correspondent in Dulwa, XI, p. 323-330, of which there is a translation in Bu ston (Obermiller), II, p. 91-96; Tāranātha, p. 41-42 (who proposes different dates); Hiuan tsang, Si yu ki, T 2087, k. 7, p. 909b (tr. Beal, II, p. 74-75; tr. Watters, *Travels*, II, p. 73-77).

differences, two distinct sects (*nikāya*) subsequently developed[223], [each] having a name. - Finally a Brahmin monk named *Kia tcham yen* (Kātyāyana), wise and of keen faculties (*tīkṣnendriya*), completely recited the three Baskets (*tripiṭaka*), the inner and outer texts (*ādhyātmikabahyasūtra)*. Wishing to explain the words of the Buddha, he compiled the *Fa tche king pa kien tou* (Jñānaprasthānāṣṭagrantha).[224] The

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c. According to the Singhalese chronicles, the second Council was held at Vaiśālī in the 199th year after the nirvāṇa under the reign of Kālāśoka (Dīpavaṃsa, IV, v. 44, 47; Mahāvaṃsa, IV, v. 8) and according to the Dīpavaṃsa (V, v. 30-39), the Vṛjiputrakas who had been excommunicated at the Council, in their turn held a great assembly (*mahāsaṃgīti*) whence came the Mahāsāṃghika sect. - The Singhalese sources are also the only ones to note the existence of a third Council which was held at Pātaliputra under the chairmanship of Tissa Moggaliputta in the 236th year of the nirvāṇa (Dīpavaṃsa,VII, v, 34-59), which was the seventeenth year of Aśoka's reign (Mahāvaṃsa, V, v. 280). Tissa had missionaries adopted by the Elders of Kathāvatthu (Dīpavaṃsa, VII, v. 41, 56-58; Mahāvaṃsa, V, v. 278) and sent them everywhere.

If the Kaśmirian tradition is compared with the traditions relating to the Council of Vaiśālī, it is seen that it has nothing in common with the sources enumerated under *a*. and *b*., but that it does have points in common with the Singhalese chronicles:

(1) The Singhalese chronicles give to Tissa Moggaliputta under Aśoka the same rôle that the Sanskrit Sarvāstivādin sources have Upagupta play under the great monarch (cf. Lav., *Histoire*, II, p. 137; Przyluski, *Aśoka*, *s.v.* Upagupta).

(2) The Tissa Moggaliputta of the Singhalese chronicles tried to make Aśoka believe that the Buddha was *vibhajyavādin* (Mahāvaṃsa, V, v. 271; Comm. of the Kathāvatthu in Aung, *Points of Controversy*, p. 7). The Vibhajyavāda, characteristic of the school of the Pāli language, is a philosophical position which, by subtle distinction, accepts the existence of a certain past, not of all the past; it is opposed to the Sarvāstivāda, characteristic of the school of the Sanskrit language, which accepts the existence of the three times, including the past. When the Sarvāstivādins in their Abhidharma discuss the existence of the three times, they have as adversary a certain *vibhajyavādin* called Maudgalyāyana (cf. Lav., *La controverse du Temps et du Pudgala dans le Vijñānakāya*, EA, I, p. 343). This Maudgalyāyana of the Sanskrit sources may be the Moggaliputta of the Pāli sources (cf. Lav., II, p. 138).

(3) The Singhalse chronicles list two councils under two different kings Aśoka:

i) the Council of Vaiśālī followed, in the Dīpavaṃsa, by the Mahāsaṃgīti of the Vajjiputtakas under king Kālāśoka (in the 100th year of the nirvāṇa); *ii*) the Council of Pātaliputra under king Aśoka (in the 236th year of the nirvāṇa). - A part at least of the Kaśmirian tradition, that represented by Paramārtha's commentary on Vasumitra's treatise, also mentions two councils which took place under the same Aśoka, after the 100th year of the nirvāṇa: the council that took place before the departure of the 500 arhats for Kaśmir, and the one that took place after their return to Pātaliputra (cf. P. Demiéville, p. 21).

(4) The five points of Mahādeva expounded in the Kaśmir tradition are discussed in the Kathāvatthu, II, 1-6 (ed. Taylor, I, p. 163-204). Cf. L. de La Vallée Poussin, *The Five Points of Mahādeva and the Kathāvatthu*, JRAS, 1910, p. 313-423).

[223] For the development of the sects, W. Geiger, Mahāvaṃsa, App. B, p. 276-287; R. Kimura, *Intro. to the Hist. of Early Indian Buddhist Schools*, Calcutta, 1925; M. Walleser, *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus*, Heidelberg, 1927; J. Masuda, *Origin and Dictrines of Early Indian Buddhist Schools*, Asia Major, II, 1925, p. 1-78; P. Demiéville, *L'origine des sectes bouddhiques d'apres Paramārtha*, MCB, I, 1931-21, p. 15-64.

[224] The traditions relating to Kātyāyana are confused:

a. Mahākātyāyana was one of the great disciples of the Buddha, the foremost of those who explain at length the brief aphorisms of the Buddha (Aṅguttara, I, p.23: *aggo saṅkhittena bhāsitassavitthārena atthaṃ vibhajantānam*). He was

originally from Ujjayinī and was the disciple of Avanti (Theragathā, v. 496-501; Comm. in Rh. D., *Brethren*, p. 238-239; Manoratha, I, p. 204-209).

According to concordant information, he may have been the author of the Peṭakopadesa: the Gandhavaṃsa, p. 59, attributes this work to him. - The Mppś, k. 2, p. 70a20-23 says: "Mahākātyāyana, during the lifetime of the Buddha, explained the words of the Buddha and made a *Pi le* (Peṭaka), 'box-collection' in the Ts'in language, which, until today, is used in southern India." - Paramārtha (in P. Demiéville, *Origine des sectes*, p. 49-50) says: "In the time when the Buddha was in the world, Mahākātyāyana expounded a śāstra to explain the Āgama sūtras of the Buddha." (This again concerns the Peṭakopadesa and the Abhidharmajñānaprasthāna).

[The Peṭakopadesa is a well-known work: cf. R. Fuchs, *Specimen des Peṭakopadesa*, Berlin, 1908. According to E. Hardy, Nettipakaraṇa, p. VIII sq., it dates from the beginning of our era. It is a semi-canonical work: the Singhalese tradition rejects it among the extra-canonical books; by contrast, the Mppś includes it among the Abhidharmas, and the Burmese Buddhists include it, along with the Pettipakaraṇa, the Suttasaṃgaha and the Milindapañha, in the canonical collection of the Khuddakanikāya (cf. M. Bode, *Pāli Literature of Burma*, London, 1909, p. 4 sq.). The Peṭakopadesa is one of the main sources of Buddhagosa's Visuddhimagga and Upatissa's Vimuktimārga (cf. P.V. Bapat, *Vimuttimagga and Visuddhimagga*, Poona, 1937, p. XXV). - According to the evidence of Helmer Smith (in Przyluski, *Concile*, p. 73, n. 6), it is still in use in Ceylon.

b. Kātyāyāyana, author of the Jñānaprasthāna. - Here also (p. 70a10-12) the Mppś tells us that after the Council of Aśoka (therefore, according to its accounting, in the 200th year after the Nirvāṇa. Kātyāyana composed the *Jñānaprasthana*. This date was confirmed by Paramārtha (in Demiévills, p. 50) who informs us "that in the 200 years, Katyāyāna left Lake Anavatapta, came to the country of Magadha into the Mahāsāṃghika school, where he established distinctions related to the holy teaching of the Tripiṭaka...; those who accepted his teachings formed a separate school called 'the school that enunciates distinctions'; these were the disciples of Mahākātyana." Actually, Kātyāyana was not a Mahāsāṃghika, but a pure Sarvāstivādin. Paramārthala later corrects himself (p. 53-55) in associating Kātyāyana with the beginnings of the Sarvāstivādin school which was formed at the beginning of the 3rd century after the nirvāṇa. It was as a Sarvāstivādin that he composed the Jñānaprasthana, but the sources do not agree either on the place of origin or on the date of this work. We have just seen that the Mppś locates it after the Council of Aśoka, therefore in the 200 years after the nirvāṇa. - According to the Vibhāṣā (T 1545, k. 5. p. 21c), "when the Bhadanta [Kātyāyana] composed the Jñānaprasthana, he was living in the East; this is why he cites [T 1544, k. 1, p. 918c] the five rivers known in the East." - According to Hiuan tsang, *Si yu ki* (T 2087, k. 4, p. 889c), "three hundred years after the nirvāṇa, the śāstra master Kātyāyana composed the Jñānaprasthāna in Tāmasavana", near Cīnabhukti on the right bank of the Bias (cf. Watters, I, p. 294-295). - According to Paramārtha in his Life of Vasubandhu (T 2049, p. 189a) it is "in the five hundred years after the nirvāṇa of the Buddha that Kātyāyana of the Sarvāstivādin school went to Kashmir where he gathered 500 arhats and 500 bodhisattvas to compile the Abhidharma of his school; the result of this compilation was the Aṣṭagrantha, also called Jñānaprasthāna."

The Mppś designates this work as *Fa tche king pa kien you*. In a pinch, one could take this to mean, as does Przyluski, "Jñānaprasthāna in eight *kien* (93 and 9) *tou* (*khaṇḍa*)", but Paramārtha, in his Life of Vasubandhu (T 2049, p. 189a) explains that *k'ien* (5 and 10) *tou* is equivalent to *k'ie lan t'a* (9 and 5; 140 and 17; 9 and3), i.e., *grantha*; this is why I [Lamotte] have restored the title as *Jñānaprasthānaṣhṭagranth*a. It is actually known that the *Aṣṭagranthābhidharma*, or the Abhidharma in Eight Volumes, is a synonym of the Jñānaprasthāna (cf. J. Takakusu, *Abhidharma Literature of the Sarvāstivādins*, JPTS, 1905, p. 82, n. 2; Lav. *Introduction to the Kośa*, p. XXX).

The Jñānaprasthāna is cited several times in the Kośavyākhyā of Yaśomitra (p. 8*9-12, 52, 116, 157, 694);* it follows from these citations that the work was in Sanskrit and was subdivided into *skandhaka*s. - We have two Chinese versions: 1. *A p'i t'an kien tou louen* (Abhidharmāṣṭagrantha), T 1543, translated at Lo yang in 383 by Saṃghadeva and Tchou fo nien;

first chapter (*skandhaka*) deals with the supreme worldly dharmas (*laukikāgradharma*).[225] Subsequently, his disciples made from it a *Pi p'o so* (Vibhāṣā) for people of ages to come who could not completely understand the Aṣṭagrantha (or Jñānaprasthāna).[226]

2. Some say: In the *Lieou fen a p'i t'an* (Ṣaṭpādābhidharma)[227] the third part in eight chapters (p'in = *parivarta*) is called *Fen pie che tch'ou* (Lokadhātuprabheda?); this is the third part of the *Leou t'an king* in six parts; it is the work of Maudgalyāyana.[228] In the [Abhidharma] in six parts, the first part contains eight

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2. *A p'i ta mo fa tche louen* (Abhidharmajñānaprasthānaśāstra), T 1544, translated at Lo yang between 657 and 680 by Hiuan tsang (cf. Bagchi, I, p. 161; II, p. 489).

225 On the theory of the *laukiāgradharmas* in the Jñānaprasthāna, cf. Lav., *Pārāyaṇa cité dans Jñānanprasthāna*, MI, II, p. 323-327; Introd. to Kośa, p. XXX.

226 According to some sources, the Vibhāṣā was compiled in the course of a council held under Kaniṣka in the monastery of Kuvana near Jālandhara or at the vihara of Kuṇḍalavana in Kaśmir. Here is a short summary of sources related to this council:

Chinese sources: Paramārtha, *Vie de Vasubandhu*, T 2049, p. 189a (tr. J. Takakasu, TP, 1910; - Hiuan tsang, *Si yu ki*, T 2098, k. 3, p. 886b-887 (tr. Beal, I, p. 151-155; tr. Watters, I., p. 270-278).

Tibetan sources: Bu ston, II, p. 997 (which tells of several different traditions); - Taranātha, p. 58-61; - Schiefner, *Tibetische Lebensbescreibung*, p. 310.

Works: Kern, *Histoire*, II, p. 392-394; *Manual*, p. 121-122; J. Takakusu, JRAS, 1905, p. 415; JPTS, 1905, p. 123; V. Smith, *Early History of India*, Oxford, 1908, p. 230; Lav., *Histoire*, II, p. 326-327.

This confused collection of indecisive traditions has, as its evident intention, the setting up of Kaniṣka as against Aśoka, and attributing to the Sarvāstivādins a council which would somehow serve as a match for the synod of the Vibhajyavādins presided over by Tissa Moggalaputta. As de La Vallée Poussin has said: "It is likely that Kaniṣka did not call a council and that that there was no council." It is not unreasonable that the Mppś has made no mention of it.

In any case, if a Vibhāṣā was composed under Kaniṣka to serve as commentary for the Jñānaprasthāna of Kātyāyana, it is certainly different from the Mahāvibhāṣā in 200 rolls which has come down to us in the Chinese translation of Hiuan tsang (T 1545). The latter, in effect, tells a story of a eunuch (?, is this a misprint in the French – Migme Chodron) and bulls that came, it says, "at one time', under Kaniṣka (cf. T 1545, k. 114, p. 593a).

227 The Ṣaṭpādābhidharma, the title of which is attested in the Kośavyākyā, p. 466, is the Jñānaprasthāna and the six annexed treatises that are its continuation (*anucāra*) or 'feet' (cf. Kośa, I, p. 4, n. 4). There is a list of them in Sanskrit in the Kośavyākhyā, p. 9, and in Tibetan in Buston, I. p. 49 and Taranātha, p. 296: *i)* Prakaraṇapāda by Vasumitra (T 1541 and 1542; *ii)* Vijñānakāya by Devaśarman or Devakṣema (T 1539), *iii)* Dharmaskandha by Śariputra according to the Tibetan sources, of Maudgalyāyana according to the Chinese sources (T 1537); *iv)* Prajñaptiśāstra by Maudgalyāyana (T 1538); *v)* Dhātukāya by Pūrṇa according to the Tibetan sources, of Vasumitra according to the Chinese sources (T 1540); *vi)* Saṃgītiparyāya of Mahākauṣṭhila according to the Tibetan sources, of Śāriputra according to the Chinese sources (T 1536). - Along with the Jñānaprasthāna, these are the seven treatises of the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma. The best study of these works is that of J. Takakusu, *On the Abhidharma Literature of the Sarvāstivādin,* Extract of JPTS, 1905, which is complemented by de La Vallée Poussin's *Introduction to the Kośa*, p. XXIX-XLII. - For the comparison with the seven books of the Pāli Abhidharma, refer to Winternitz, *Literature*, II, p. 165-173; Law, *Pāli Literature*, I, p. 336-342; Nyanatiloka, *Guide through the Abhidhamma-Piṭaka*, Colombo, 1938.

228 This is probably the Dharmaskandha (T 1537) attributed to Maudgalyāyana by the Chinese tradition; but in Hiuan tsang's translation, it consists of twenty-one chapters.

chapters (p'in); four are the work of the bodhisattva P'o siu mi (Vasumitra) and four others the work of the arhats of *Ki pin* (Kaśmir)[229]. The other five parts are the work of the *Louen yi che* (*upadeśācārya*).

3. Some say: When the Buddha was in this world, Śāriputra composed the Abhidharma in order to explain the words of the Buddha. Later, the *T'ou tseu* (Vātsiputrīya) monks recited [this work]. To this day, this is what is called the *Chou li fou a p'i t'an* (Śāriputābhidharma).[230]

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229 This is a question of the Prakaraṇapāda (T1541 and 1542) which actually consists of eight chapters: Pañcadharmavibhaṅga, Jñānavibhaṅga, Āyatanavibhaṅga, Saptapādārthavibhaṅga, Anuśayavibhaṅga, Saṃgrahavibhaṅga, Sahasraparipṛicchāvibhaṅga, Nirvedavibhaṅga. If the Mppś is to be believed, only the first four would be the work of Vasumitra.

230 The *Chou li fou p'i t'an louen* (T 1548) was translated into Chinese at the *Che yang sseu* monastery by Dharmayaśas in the years 407-408 (Bagchi, I, p. 175).

Śāriputra, the foremost of the great sages (*mahāpaññānaṃ*: Aṅguttara, I, p. 23) may have composed it in the very lifetime of the Buddha: this is what the Mppś affirms here, probably taking this information from the Vibhāṣā, T 1545, k. 1, p. 1b1-3: "In all of the disciples of all of the Tathāgatas, the rule is that there are two great masters who bear the holy Dharma: in the lifetime of the Buddha, the ārya Śāriputra, and after his nirvāṇa, the ārya Katyāyanīputra (author of the Jñānaprasthāna)." Moreover, we learn from the Atthasālinī, p. 16 (tr. P.M. Tin, *Expositor*, I, p. 20-21) how Śāriputra was familiar with the Abhidharma: When the Buddha was preaching the Abhidharma to the Trāyastriṃśa gods, he went each day to bathe in Lake Anavatapata, then, during his rest-period, he communicated to Śāriputra the content of the sermon he had just preached. Having thus learned the Abhidharma, Śāriputra transmitted it to his five hundred disciples (*Sāriputtatthera pi Satthārā.... bhikkhusatānaṃ desesi*). The Pāli school itself claims to hold its Abhidhamma from the Buddha himself, but through the intermediary of Śāriputra. And this explains the close relationship between the Śāruputrābhidharma and the Pāli Abhidhamma, a relationship manifested both in form and in content..

Independent investigations carried on both by L. de La Vallée Poussin (*Introduction to the Kośa*, p. LX-LXII0 and by T. Kamura (*Recherches sur l'Abhidharma*, Tokyo, 1922), have shown that the *Śāriputrābhidharma* is not Sarvāstivādin, but expounds a doctrine very close to that of the Pāli Abhidhamma (in particular of the Vibhaṅga and the Puggalapaññati) and maintains the Vibhajyavādin theses expounded in the Vibhāṣā and the Kośa. To review them, it suffices to compare the description of the *rūpadhātu* in the Śāriputrābhidharma (T 1548, k. 3, p. 543) with Vibhaṅga, p. 1 and Kośa, I, p. 35; the definition of *dharmadhātu* (k. 2, p. 535) with Vibhaṅga, p. 89 and Kośa, I, p. 30; the definition of *nirodhasatya* (k. 4, p. 553) with Vibhaṅga, p. 103.

The Pāli school divides its Basket of Abhidhamma into seven books, but the Haimavata school which is almost confused with it (cf. W. Geiger, *Mahāvaṃsa*, p. 278) adopts another division. (k. 4, p. 553): 1) Distinctions with questions (*Sapraśnaka*), 2) Distinctions without questions (*Apraśnaka*), 3) Connections (*Saṃgraha*), 4) Correspondences (*Saṃprayukta*), 5) Places (*Āyatana*). Cf. P'i ni mou king, T 1463, k. 4, p. 818a28-29 (tr. Przyluski, *Concile*, p. 179). This should be compared with the first three chapters of the Śāriputrābhidharma: 1) *Sapraśnaka*, 2) *Apraśnaka*, 3) *Saṃgraha-saṃprayukta*.

The Mppś adds that "later, the Vātsiputrīya monks recited the Śāriputrābhidharma" and Paramārtha, probably on the basis of this assertion, will explain that their founder, the arhat Vatsyaputra, had had Rāhula as his upādhyāya, who himself had had as upādhyāya Śāriputra who had expounded the Abhidharma in nine parts of the Buddha, called the Abhidharma of the Characteristics of the Doctrine or *Dharmalakṣaṇābhidharma* (cf. Demiéville, *Origine des sectes bouddhiques*, p. 57). Actually, the Śāriputrābhidharma contains no mention of the pudgala which is the doctrine characteristic of the

4. During the lifetime of the Buddha, Mahākātyāyana explained the words of the Buddha and composed a *Pi le* (*peṭaka*), 'box-collection' in the language of the T'sin. It is used even today in southern India.[231]

As all these works are commentaries on the words of the Buddha, when it is said: "The five precepts (*śīla*)", [the commentary] says: some are material (*rūpin*), others are non-material (*arūpin*); some are visible (*sanidarśana*), others are invisible (*anidarhana*); some offer resistance (*sapratigha*), others do not offer resistance (*apratigha*); some are impure (*sāsarava*), others are pure (*anāsrava*); some are conditioned (*saṃskṛta*), others are non-conditioned (*asaṃskṛta*); some are with retribution (*vipaka*), others are without retribution; some are good (*kuśala*), others are bad (*akuśala*); some are morally defined (*vyākṛt*a), others are morally non-defined (*avyakṛta*). All this is what is called the Abhidharma.

Furthermore, there are seven tendencies of defilement (*anuśaya*):[232] *anuśaya* of attachment to pleasure (*kāmarāga*), *anuśaya* of hostility (*pratigha*), *anuśaya* of attachment to existence (*bhāvarāga*), *anuśaya* of pride (*māna*), *anuśaya* of ignorance (*avidyā*), *anuśaya* of wrong view (*dṛṣṭi*), *anuśaya* of doubt (*vicikitsā* or *vimati*): these are the seven *anuśaya*s. Some are the *anuśaya*s of the desire realm (*kāmadhātu*), some are the *anuśaya*s of the form realm (*rūpadhātu*), others are the *anuśaya*s of the formless realm (*ārūpyadhātu*). Some are abandoned by seeing the truths (*satyadarśanaheya*), others are abandoned by meditation *(bhāvanāheya*); some are abandoned by the seeing of suffering (*duḥkhadarśanaheya*), others are abandoned by seeing the origin [of suffering] (*samudayadarśanaheya*), others are abandoned by seeing the cessation [of suffering] (*nirodhadarśanaheya*); the rest are abandoned [**70b**] by seeing the Path (*pratipaddarśanaheya*). Some are complete *anuśaya*s, the others are incomplete *anuśaya*s.

The ten knowledges (*jñāna*)[233] are: 1) knowledge of dharma (*dharmajñāna*), 2) subsequent knowledge (*anvayajñāna*), 3) worldy knowledge (*lokasaṃvṛtijñāna*), 4) knowledge of the mind of another (*paracittajñāna*), 5) knowledge of suffering (*duḥkajñāna*), 6) knowledge of its origin (*samudayajñāna*), 7) knowledge of its cessation (*nirodhajñāna*), 8) knowledge of the Path (*mārgajñāna*), 9) knowledge of the cessation [of the defilements] (*kṣayajñāna*), 10) knowledge of no further rebirths (*anutpādajñāna*). These are the ten knowledges. Some are impure (*sāsrava*) others are pure (*anāsrava*); some are conditioned (*saṃskṛta*), others are unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*); some are *sāsarava* causes, others are *anāsarava* causes. Some are causes belonging to the desire realm *(kāmadhātu),* some are causes belonging to the form realm (*rūpadhātu*), some are causes belonging to the formless realm (*ārūpyadhātu*), others are causes belonging to no realm (*anavacara*). Some are acquired on the uninterrupted path (*ānantaryamārga*), others on the

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Vātsīputrīyas and the Sāṃmitīyas. The only book of Abhidharma that teaches the doctrine of the pudgala is the *San mi ti pou louen,* T 1649.

231 For Mahākātyāyana and his Peṭakopadesa, see above.

232 The same list but with different order in Dīgha, III, p. 254; Saṃyutta, V, p 60; Aṅguttara, IV, p. 9; Vibhaṅga, p. 340, 383; Kathāvatthu II, p. 405 sq; Kośa, V, p. 3; Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 490), k. 18, p. 127a28.

233 For the ten *jñāna*s and connected problems: Prakaraṇapāda, T 1541, k. 1, p. 628b-c; T 1542, k. 1, p.693c-694a; Abhidharmāmṛtarasaśāstra, T 1553,k. 2, p. 974 (tr. Hobogirin, *Chi*, p. 291); Kośa, VII, p.11; Mahāvyutpatti, no. 1234-1243. - Cf. the Pāli sources: Dīgha, III, p. 226-227; Saṃyutta, II, p. 57; Vibhaṅga, p. 328.

NOTE: The Sanskrit and Pāli quotations have been abbreviated, the first and last phrases only being cited.

path of liberation (*vimuktimārga*). When the four fruits (*phala*) are acquired, some are attained, others are lost. .

To analyze (*vibhajana*) all dharmas in this way is what is called Abhidharma.

There are three kinds of Abhidarma. First the main part and the meaning of the Abhidarma; the abbreviated text consists of 320,000 words. Secondly [the Abhidharma] in six parts; the abbreviated text consists of 320,000 words. Thirdly, the Piṭaka: the abbreviated text consists of 320,000 words.

We have explained the general meaning as a whole (*samāsataḥ*) of the expression *Evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye*.

CHAPTER IV: EXPLANATION OF THE WORD BHAGAVAT[234]

Sūtra: Bhagavat

Śāstra: Now let us explain this word.

BHAGAVAT[235]

Why is he called *P'o k'ie p'o* (*bhagavat*)?

1. In the word bhagavat, *bhāga* means quality (*guṇa*) and *vat* indicates its possession: "the one who possesses qualities."[236]

2. Furthermore, *bhāga* means to analyze (*vibhāga*) and *vat* indicates skill (*kuśala*). Skillful in analyzing the general and specific characteristics (*svasāmānyalakṣaṇa*) of the dharmas, he is called Bhagavat.[237]

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[234] This chapter is devoted to the synonyms of the name of Buddha. The first ten constitute a traditional formula of praise: *bhagavāṃs tathāgato 'rhaṃ samyaksaṃbuddho vidyācaranasaṃpannaḥ sugato lokavid anuttaraḥ puruṣadamyasārathiḥ sasta devamanusyanam buddho bhagavāṃ*. Cf. the Dhvajāgrasūtra of which we have the Sanskrit version (Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke*, p. 47), the Pāli version (Saṃyutta, I, p. 210) and the Chinese version (Tsa a han T 99 (no. 981), k. 35, p. 255b; Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 49, p. 615a). This formula is very frequently encountered in the Pāli Nikāyas, e.g., Dīgha, I, p. 49; III, 237: Majjhima, I, p. 37, 69, 179, 285, 290, 344, 356, 401, 412, 502, 521; II, p. 55, 133, 238; Saṃyutta, I, p. 219; II, p. 69; III, p. 85; IV, p. 320; V, p. 197, 343, 445; Aṅguttara, I, p. 168, 207; II, p. 33, 56, 66, 147; III, p. 2, 10, 31053, 65, 153, 212, 285, 312, 341; IV, p. 3, 5, 109, 225, 270, 284, 288, 324, 406; V, p. 15, 183, 204, 329, 333, 336.

On the other hand, it is much more rare in the Chinese Āgamas, either because the afore-mentioned sūtras do not have a correspondent in the Chinese collections or because the formula is omitted in the parallel sūtras of the same collections. It may be assumed that the Pāli school above all contributed to the success of this formula. However, it is not completely absent in the Chinese Āgamas. Tchong a han, T 26 (no. 132), k. 31p. 623a; no. 146, k. 36, p. 656c27; (no. 161), k. 4, p. 685a; Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 546), k. 20, p. 141c; (no. 981), k. 35, p. 255b; Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 6, p. 574a27; k. 14, p. 615a. - It is also found in later texts, e.g., Lalitavistara, p. 3; Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, p. 17, 65, 67, 151, etc.; Mahāvyutpatti, no. 1 sq.

The early commentators gave etymological explanations of these epithets, imaginary for the most part: see, e.g., the Che hao king (T 782); Buddhaghosa's explanations in Visuddhimagga, I, p. 198-213 (tr. Nyanatiloka, II, p. 313-340) to be compared with Upatiṣya's commentary in Kiai t'o tao louen, T 1648, k. 6, p. 426; Kumārajīva's notes in the Tso tch'an san mei king, T 614, k. 2, p. 277a; Harivarman's commentary in his Tch'eng che louen, T 1646, k. 1, p. 242. - Other references in Hobogirin, *Butsu*, p. 192.

[235] Compare the explanations of the Mahāniddesa, p. 142; Cullaniddesa, p. 466; Sumaṇgala, I, p. 33-34; Visuddhimagga, I, p. 210-212; Hobogirin, *Bagabu*, p. 46.

[236] Visuddhimagga, p. 210: *yasmā lokiyalokuttarasukhābhinibbatthakaṃ... Bhagavā ti vuccati*.

[237] Visuddhimagga, p. 211: *yasmā kusalādīhi bhedehi.... ti vattabe Bhagavā ti vuccati.*

3. Furthermore, *bhāga* means glory (*yaśas-*) and *vat* indicates its possession. Thus this word means "the one who possesses glory". No-one else has as much glory as the Buddha. The noble cakravartin kings, Indra, Brahmā, the lokapālas, are inferior to the Buddha. What then could be said of ordinary men (*pṛthagjana*)? Why? The noble cakravartin kings are fettered by bonds (*bandhanasaṃyukta*): the Buddha has broken the bonds. - The noble cakravartin kings are sunk in the mire of birth (*jāti*), old age (*jarā*), sickness (*vyādhi*) and death (*maraṇa*); the Buddha has transcended them. - The noble cakravartin kings are enslaved (*dāsa*) by their passions (*anunaya*); the Buddha has eliminated them. - The noble cakravartin kings dwell in the womb of the calamities of the human jungle (*lokakāntāra*); the Buddha has escaped from it. - The noble cakravartin kings dwell in the shadows of ignorance (*avidyāndhakāra*); the Buddha lives in the supreme light. - The noble cakravartin kings often reign over the four continents (*caturdvīpaka*)[238] ; the Buddha reigns over countless universes (*apramāṇalokadhātu*). - The cakravartin kings have mastery over wealth (*pariṣkāravaśitā*); the Buddha has mastery over mind (*cetovāśita*). - The noble cakravartin kings covet heavenly bliss (*devasukha*); the Buddha covets nothing, having reached the well-being of the summit of existence (*bhavāgrasukha*). The cakravartin kings seek their happiness from others; the Buddha rejoices in his own heart. This is why the Buddha surpasses (*abhibhavati*) the noble cakravartin kings. He also surpasses all the other beings, Indra, Brahmā, the lokapālas who are [70c] even inferior to the noble cakravartin kings.

4. Furthermore, *bhāga* means to crush (*bhaṅga*) and *vat* indicates the ability. The person who can crush desire (*rāga*), hatred (*dveṣa*) and stupidity (*moha*) is called Bhagavat.[239]

Question. - The arhats and pratyekabuddhas are also able to destroy attachment, hatred and stupidity; in what do they differ from the Buddha?

Answer. - Although the arhats and pratyekabuddhas have destroyed this threefold poison (*triviṣa*), they have not entirely eliminated the latent predispositions (*vāsanā*) of poison.[240] It is like perfume (*gandha*) in a vase (*bhājana*); when the perfume is removed, a trace of the odor remains. Or it is like kindling (*indhana*): the fire burns, the smoke (*dhūma*) disappears, but the ash (*bhasman*) remains, for the strength of the fire is decreased. On the other hand, in the Buddha, the threefold poison (*triviṣa*) is eliminated without residue. It is like at the end of a kalpa when the fire burns Mount Meru and the entire earth; these disappear completely without leaving smoke or charcoal.[241][See], for example, the traces of hatred (*dveṣavāsanā*) in

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[238] Actually, only the cakravartin of the golden wheel reigns over four continents (*cāturdvīpeśvara*), his life-span being 80,000 years (cf. Kośa, III, p. 197)

[239] Visuddhimagga, p. 210-211: *yasmā pana lobhasosasamoha - .... Bhagavā tena viddati ti.*

[240] Although they have destroyed their dominant affliction (*kṣīṇakleśa)*, the saints still keep agitation (*auddhatya*) and the other habitual patterns resulting from the persistence of the latencies of the defilements (*kleśavāsanā*). On the other hand, the Buddha possesses *vāsanāsamudghāta*, complete elimination of the latencies. He does not retain any trace of the passions over which he has triumphed. Cf. Āloka, p. 915; Bodhisattvabhūmi, p. 375; Tsi louen, T 1605, k. 7, p. 691c; Tsa tsi louen, T 1606, k. 14, p. 761b15; Sūtrālaṃkāra, XXI, v. 54; Saṃgraha, p. 299-300.

[241] Cf. Kośa, III, p. 182-185.

Śāriputra, the traces of attachment (*rāgavāsanā*) in *Nan t'o* (Nanda) and the traces of pride (*māna*) in *Pi ting k'ia p'o ts'o* (Pilindavatsa).[242]

They are like a man in fetters who, as soon as he is released, begins to walk unceasingly.

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[242] Examples of saints who, having eliminated their dominant affliction, still keep the outer gestures. The Saṃgraha, p. 300, mentions the case of Maudgalyāyana, who had been a monkey for 500 existences and who, having become arhat, still leaped about like a monkey whenever he heard music. The same text also speaks about a pratyekabuddha who, having been a courtesan for numerous existences, continued to put on makeup (cf. Chavannes, *Contes*, I, p. 393; the story of the bhikṣu who flirted before dying). See also the story of the inattentive listeners in the Dhammapadaṭṭha, III, p. 360-362 (tr. Burlingame, *Legends*, III, p. 127-129). The Mppś, which will give more examples later (k. 26, p. 251b; k. 27, p. 260c), is content to mention here the case of Śāriputra, of Pilindavatsa and of Nanda. Since it does not develop the latter, we will summarize it briefly:

Nanda, the half-brother of the Buddha, was affianced to Janapadakalyānī (or married to Sundarī), when the Buddha, by a stratagem, met him at Nyagrodhārāma, near Kapilavastu, and had him forcibly ordained by Ānanda. The memory of his wife continued to haunt Nanda who tried to escape from the monastery. His attempt failed miserably. To cure him of this love, the Buddha transported him to the Trāyastriṃśa gods and showed him the celestial maidens incomparably more beautiful than Janapadakalyāyanī; he promised him one of these maidens if he would undertake to remain in the monastery for the rest of his life. Nanda agreed willingly. The Buddha returned with him to the Jetavana and told the whole story to the disciples: Nanda was obliged to endure the sarcasm of his colleagues. He succeeded in renouncing his love and quickly became arhat. In the course of an earlier lifetime when he had been a donkey, Nanda had been kept harnessed up by his master, the merchant Kappata, who had promised him a female donkey as reward.

The story of Nanda is one of the best-known of the "Golden Legends" in Buddhism. The artists of Andhra who have depicted it at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and at Amarāvatī - probably Nāgārjuna's homeland - had a marked preference for it. - It is easy to reconstruct it in its entirety by comparing the different sources where it is recorded in full or in part:

Pāli sources: Vinaya, I, p. 82; Udāna, III, p. 21-24 (tr. Seidenstücker, p. 34-38; Nidānakathā, p. 91 (tr. Rh. D., *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 128); Saṃgāmāvacarajātaka, in Jātaka, II, p. 92-94; Dhammapadaṭṭha, I, p. 96-105 (tr. Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, I, p. 217-223); Theragātha, v. 157-158 (tr. Rh. D., *Brethren*, p. 126-127); Manoratha, I, p. 315-318.

Sanskrit sources: Saundarānanda by Aśvaghoṣa, ed. and tr. E. H. Jehnston, Oxford-London, 1928-1932; Avadānakalpalatā, no. X: Sundarīmanadāvadāna, I, p. 308-351.

Chinese sources: P'ou yao king, T 186, k. 8, p. 536b-c; Fo pen hing tsi king, T 190, k. 56, p. 911b-914b (tr. Beal, *Romantic Legend*, p. 369-378); Tsa pao tsang king, T 203 (no. 96), k. 24, p.739b-740a; Che kia p'ou, T 2040, k. 2, p. 59c-61b (which repeats the P'ou yao king).

Tokharian sources: Sieg and Soegling, *Tocharische Sprachreste*, no. 89-143, p. 51-74.

Iconographical: Gandhāra: Foucher, *Art Gréco-bouddhique,* I, p. 464-473, fig. 234-238. - Amarāvatī: Burges*s, The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeṭa,* pl. XLI, 5; A. Foucher, *Les sculptures d'Amarāvatī*, RAA, V, 1928, p. 22, pl XI, 1; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Rūpam*, nos. 38-39 (April-July, 1929), p. 73, fig. 5. - Nāgārjunikoṇḍa: J. Ph. Vogel: *The Man in the Well and some other subjects illustrated at N*., RAA, XI, 1937, p. 115-118, pl. XXXIV-XXXV. - Ajaṇtā, cave XVI.

Nanda was known for his beauty; he had a golden-colored body, possessed thirty marks of the Great Man, and his height was only four fingers less than that of the Buddha. These benefits were the reward for his earlier merits. See below, k. 4, p. 92a.

At that time[243], the Buddha, having come out of samādhi, set out to walk followed by *Lo heou lo* (Rāhula). The Buddha asked Rāhula: "Why are you so thin (*kṛśa*)?" Rāhula replied with this stanza:

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[243] This story is drawn from the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya, Che song liu, T 1435, k. 61, p. 463c-464a: The Buddha was dwelling at Śrāvastī. A vaiśya invited the Buddha and the saṃgha to dine at this house the next day. The Buddha accepted by remaining silent. The vaiśya, having understood that the Buddha had accepted, was silent, arose, prostrated at the feet of the Buddha and returned home. During the night, he prepared all sorts of food. Early the next morning, he arranged the seats and sent a messenger to the Buddha to say: "The meal is ready. The Sage knows the time." The saṃgha with their robes and begging bowls (*pātracīvaram ādāya*) entered the home of the vaiśya, but the Buddha remained at the monastery (*vihāra*) to take his meal. The vaiśya, seeing the saṃgha well-seated, proceeded with the ablutions, placed abundant and excellent morsels before the elders (*sthavira)*, but to the recently ordained monks (*navabhikṣu*) and novices (*śrāmaṇera*) he distributed only rice (*śāli*) cooked for 16 days, a nasty sesame soup (*hou ma* = *tila*) and cooked vegetables. Having given the vaiśyas and the saṃgha abundant and excellent dishes, he proceeded to the [second] ablutions, took a low seat and sat down in the midst of the saṃgha to hear the Dharma. When the sthāvira Śāriputra had preached the sermon, he arose and went away. At that time, Rāhula was still a novice. Having eaten, he went to the Buddha, prostrated at his feet and sat down at one side. Buddhas have the custom of asking, after the bhikṣus have had their meal, whether the food was sufficient. And so the Buddha asked Rāhula: "Was the saṃgha's meal sufficient?" Rāhula replied: "For those who had it, it was enough; for the others, it was not enough." The Buddha asked: "Why do you say that?" Rahula answered: "Before the vaiśyas and the elders they placed abundant and excellent morsels, but to the recently ordained monks and the novices they gave only rice cooked for sixteen days, a nasty sesame soup and boiled vegetables." At that time, Rāhula was thin and weak. The Buddha, knowing that, asked Rāhula: "Why are you so thin and weak?" Rāhula answered with this stanza:

He who eats oil (*taila)* gains strength;
He who eats butter (*ghṛta*) gains fine color;
He who eats sesame and bad vegetables has neither color nor strength.
The Buddha, god among gods, ought to know that.

The Buddha, who knew it, asked Rāhula: "In this community, who is the elder?" Rāhula replied: "It is the *upādhyāya* Śāriputra." The Buddha said: "The bhikṣu Śāriputra does not have the right to eat [better than the others]." When the āyuṣmat Śāriputra heard that the Buddha had said that he did not have the right to eat, he vomited up his food and went away. Until the end of his life, he refused every invitation to dine and every gift to the saṃgha. He accepted only food that he begged. The prominent people and the vaiśyas nevertheless wished to offer meals to the community. Wanting to have Śāriputra amongst them, they said to the Buddha: "We would like the Buddha to order Śāriputra to accept our invitations again." The Buddha answered them: "Do not ask that Śāriputra accept your invitations again. Śāriputra has a [stubborn] nature. He keeps what he has accepted and abandons what he has rejected. Śāriputra will not go to your house. The stubborn nature that he has now, he had formerly. Listen: Many generations ago, the king of the realm was bitten by a poisonous snake. A master who could cure venomous bites performed the *chö k'ie lo* (*cāgala*) conjuration and forced the venomous snake to come; having previously prepared a large fire, he said to the snake: "Do you prefer to enter the fire or to swallow your venom?" The poisonous snake thought thus: "Since my saliva is exhausted, what use is my life to me? This is why, in regard to your proposal that I take back what I have spit out, I will not swallow it back, I prefer to die in the fire." Having thought thus, it threw itself into the fire. - The Buddha said to the assembled people: "That snake is now Śāriputra. In his past lives, this man kept what he had accepted and abandoned what he had rejected. Now he does the same."

Whoever eats oil (*taila*) gains strength;

Whoever eats butter (*ghṛta*) gains good color;

Whoever eats bad vegetables has neither color nor strength.

The venerable Buddha should know that.

The Buddha asked Rāhula: "Who is the Elder (*sthavira*) in this community?" Rāhula replied: "It is the *upādhyāya* Śāriputra."[244] The Buddha said: "Śāriputra eats impure food (*aviśuddāhāra*)." Then Śāriputra who had returned and had heard these words, immediately spit up his food and made the following oath: "Starting from today. [71a] I will no longer accept any invitations (*adhyeśanā*)." Then king *Po sseu ni* (Prasenajit) and the *āyuṣmat Siu ta to* (Sudatta)[245] went to Śāriputra and said: "The Buddha does not accept invitations without reason. Venerable Śāriputra also does not accept invitations. How will we lay people (*avadātavasana*) acquire the great purity of faith (*śraddhāviṣuddhi*)?" Śāriputra answered: "My great teacher, the Buddha, has said that I eat impure food. Henceforth I will accept no further invitations." Then Prasenajit approached the Buddha and said to him: "The Buddha never accepts any invitations and neither does Śāriputra. How will our minds gain great faith (*śraddhā*)? We would like the Buddha to order Śāriputra to accept invitations again." The Buddha replied: "Decisions are firm with Śāriputra. It is not possible to change them." Then, [to explain Śāriputra's stubbornness], the Buddha cited this episode from one of his previous lives (*jātakanidāna*):

"Once there was a king who was bitten by a poisonous snake (*sarpa*). As the king was going to die, doctors were called to cure the poison. The physicians said: "The snake itself must swallow the very last drop [of poison that it has injected]." Then, with the help of magical formulas (*mantra*), the doctors brought to the king the snake that had bitten him and, gathering kindling, they started a fire and ordered the snake to swallow its poison or else to enter into the fire. The snake said to itself: "How could I swallow the poison that previously I spit out? I prefer death!" Thinking this, it persisted in its decision and entered into the fire. This snake was none other than Śāriputra: from age to age, his decisions have been firm (*dhruva*) and unchangeable (*acala*)."

The same story occurs in the Wen fen liu, Mahīśāsaka Vinaya, T 1421, k. 29, but in two separate sections. The complaint of Rāhula to the Buddha is told on p. 179b-c, whereas the apologue of the snake that threw itself into the fire is on p. 173c. The latter has been translated in Chavannes, *Contes*, II, p. 349-350.

The Visavantajātaka of the Pāli collection (Jātaka no. 69, I, p. 310) also mentions the apologue of the snake as proof of Śāriputra's stubbornness, but the introduction is quite different: Some people had brought wheat cakes to the monastery and when the monks who were assembled there had eaten some, it was proposed to keep the remainder for those who were absent. And so it was done. But a young colleague of Śāriputra who came late did not receive his share because Śāriputra had eaten it. In his confusion, Śāriputra swore never to eat wheat cakes again (*ito patthāya piṭṭakhādaniyaṃ na khādissāmi)*. To give an example of Śāriputra's stubbornness, the Buddha then told the story of the snake, the Pāli text of which follows: *Atīte Bārāṇasiyaṃ Brahmadatto rajjaṃ.... mā kañci viheṭhehīti vissajjesi.*

244 Indeed it was Śāriputra who had ordained Rāhula (Vinaya, I, p. 82) and had initiated him into the ascetic practices (Mahārāhulovādasutta in Majjhima, I, p. 421 sq. and Tseng ti a han, T 123, k. 7, p. 581c).

245 Elsewhere called Anāthapiṇḍada.

In his turn, the *āyuṣmat Pi ling k'ia p'o ts'o* (Pilindavatsa) always suffered from eye disease. To beg his food, he usually crossed the Ganges river (*gaṅgā)*. Having come to the edge of the river, he snapped his fingers and said to [the Ganges]: "Vatsala (little slave)! Stop flowing!" Then he crossed the river between two walls [of water] and went to beg his food. The goddess of the Ganges went to the Buddha and said: "The disciple of the Buddha, Pilindavatsa, always insults me by saying: 'Vatsala, stop flowing.' The Buddha said to Pilindavatsa: "Apologize for your fault (*deśana kāraṇiyā*) to the goddess of the Ganges." Then Pilindavatsa, joining his palms, said to the goddess of the Ganges: "Vatsala, little slave, don't be angry. I confess my fault." Then the great assembly made fun of him: "Why do you still insult her [by calling her Vatsala] when you are confessing your fault?" The Buddha said to the goddess of the Ganges: "Do you see this Pilindavatsa who, with his palms joined, confesses his fault to you? He apologizes and it is not out of malice (*avamāna*) that he calls you this. Know that it is not his fault. For five hundred years, this man has always taken birth in a brahmin family; always haughty, he has reviled other men. He has retained the language he formerly used, but his heart is free of scorn."[246]

Thus, although they have destroyed the fetters (*saṃyojana*), the arhats still keep the traces (*vāsanā*). But the Buddha Bhagavats, whether their arms are slashed with a knife or whether they are anointed with sandalwood oil (*candana*), do not blink an eye and their heart is as free of hatred (*dveṣa*) as it is of love (*anunaya*), for they [71b] have definitively effaced all traces of [the passions].

The brahmani *Tchan tchö* (Ciñcā) with her wooden disc slandered the Buddha and in the midst of the great assembly (*mahāsaṃgha*) said to him: "You have made me pregnant. Why do you pitilessly refuse me clothing (*vastra*) and food (*āhāra*)?" She did this shamelessly (*lajjā*) to deceive the others. The five hundred brahmin masters at once raised their hands and shouted: "That is true, we know this affair." The Buddha did not change color at this event and did not redden with shame. When this trick was discovered, the earth trembled and the devas honored the Buddha by overwhelming him with praise and with flowers. But when the devas glorified the Buddha's qualities, he did not take on the appearance of joy.[247] When the

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246 Probable source: Mo ho seng k'i liu, T 1425, k. 30, p. 467c. - In the Pāli sources, it is the monks, his colleagues, whom Pilindavatsa addresses as slaves (*vasala*). Cf. Udāna, III, 6, p. 28-29 (tr. Seidenstücker, p. 43); Dhammapadaṭṭha, IV, p. 181-182 (tr. Burlingame, *Legends*, III, p. 300-301); Manoratha, I, p. 276-278. Here is the story in the Udāna: *evam me suraṃ. ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā Rājagahe.... brāhmaṇo so samaṇo bhikkhū 'ti*.

247 According to the Dhammapadaṭṭha, wishing to damage the Buddha's reputation, the heretical scholars went to a young nun of their sect, Ciñca, who pretended to go and spend the nights at the monastery of the Buddha and declare to anyone who wanted to listen that she had shared Gautama's room. She went so far as to fake pregnancy by wrapping her belly in linens (*pilotika*), and then attaching a wooden plate (*dārumaṇḍalika*) to her belly. She entered the assembly where the Buddha was in the process of preaching the Dharma and bitterly reproached him for abandoning her and having no interest in the baby that was about to be born. The Buddha remained calm: "Whether what you say is true or false, sister, you and I are the only ones who know." At the same moment, Indra appeared accompanied by four devaputras. The latter transformed themselves into four mice (*mūsika*) and gnawed the cords that held up the wooden disc. The dropping down of the disc uncovered Ciñcā's trick who fled in shame, pursued by the crowd. The earth opened up under her steps, fire enveloped her completely and she fell into the depths of hell. - The other versions of this story show considerable differences. *Ciñcā maṇavikā*, also called *Chaṇḍamanā,* the proud, or the Woman with many tongues, is sometimes a heretic nun, disciple of Keśakambala, sometimes a delinquent Buddhist nun. In some sources, she suffers no punishment,

Buddha ate oats (*yavā*), he expressed no anger[248], but when the king of the gods offered him food of one hundred flavors (*āhāra śatarasasaṃpanna*) [as compensation], he felt no joy.[249]

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in others she falls into hell; in one story, she is condemned to be burned, but the Buddha intercedes for her and she is simply banished. Cf. Dhammapadaṭṭha, III, p. 178-183 (Burlingame, *Legends*, III, p. 19-23; Kern, *Histoire*, I, p. 161-164; Jātaka, III, p. 298; IV, , p. 187-189; Apadāna, I, p. 299; Itivuttaka Comm. I, p. 69; Udāna Comm., p. 263 sq.; Cheng king, T 154 (no. 9), k.1, p. 76a-b; Hing k'i hing king, T 197 (no. 8), k. 2, p. 170c; Pen k'i king, T 199, p. 201c19; Ta pao tsi king, T 310, k. 28, p. 154c18; P'ou sa tc'ou t'ai king, T 384, k. 7, p. 1055c; Ken pen chouo... yao che, T 1448, k. 18, p. 95b; Fa hien tchouan, T 2085 (tr. Legge, p. 60); Hiuan-tsang, *Si yu ki*, T 2087, k. 6, p. 900a (tr. Beal, II, p. 9; tr. Watters, *Travels*, I, p. 392).

According to some theories opposed by the Mppś, the slander of Ciñcā was one of the punishments of the nine sins of the Buddha, cf. below, k. 9, p. 121c.

See L. Feer, *Ciñcā-māṇavikā Sundarī,* JA, Mar.-April, 1897, p. 288-317.

248 In the twelfth year of his ministry, the Buddha was visited by a brahmin called Verañja in the Pāli soutces, or more often Agnidatta in the Chinese sources. He wanted to know why the Buddha did not bow to the aged monks and, having asked a series of questions, he invited the Buddha and his monks to spend the rainy season at Verañja (cf. Vinaya, III, p. 1-6; Aṅguttara, IV, p. 173-179; Tchong a han, T 26 (no. 157), k. 40, p. 679b-680b). When the Buddha, accompanied by 500 monks, went to Verañja, the brahmin who was at the same time the king of that region, did not receive him in his palace. He was too busy with his pleasures and, according to some sources, Māra had disturbed his mind. As there was a famine occurring at that time, the monks returned with empty bowls from their alms round. Some horse dealers (*aśvavaṇij-*) gave them some oats (*ma me*), according to the Chinese expression, "dry grain measured in patthas" (*patthapatthamūlaka*) according to the Pāli sources. For three months the monks were satisfied with this coarse food, but when the Buddha ate it, the gods gave flavor (*ojā)* to each mouthful that he took. At the end of three months, the Buddha gave notice of his departure to Verañja or Agnidatta. The latter excused himself for his lack of hospitality, offered the monks a grand feast and gave a gift to each of them. - According to the Upadāna, the Buddha was condemned to eating the oats for three months because in the course of one of his previous existences, at the time of the Buddha Phussa, he forbade monks to eat rice and had advised them to eat oats.

This story occurs in many texts but with notable differences. - Pāli sources: Vinaya, II, 1-11 (tr. Horner, I, p. 1-1); Dhammapadaṭṭha, II, p. 153-157 (tr. Burlingame, *Legends*, II, p. 193-194); Cullasukajātaka (Jātaka 430, III, p. 494-495; Apadāna, I, p. 300, v. 25-26; Milinda, p. 231; Samantapāsādikā, I, p. 176 sq.; Suttanipāta Comm., I, p. 154; Udāna Comm., p. 265. - Chinese sources: In the Vinayas, Che song liu, T 1435, k. 26, p. 187b-189a; Wou fen liu, T 1421, k. 1, p. 1-2; Sseu fen liu. T 1328, k. 1, p. 568c-569c; Ken pen chouo... yao che, T 1448, k. 18, p. 96a-13-14. See also Ta fang pien fo pao ngen king, T 156, k. 3, p. 137a6-7; Tchong pen k'i king, T 196 (no. 15), k. 2, P. 162c-163c; Hing k'i hing king, T 197 (no. 9), k. 2, p. 172a-c; Ratnakūta in Ta pao tsi king, T 310, k. 28, p.154c20-21; P'ou sa tch'ou t'ai king, T 384, k. 7, p. 1056a; Ta tche tou louen, T 1509, k. 9, p. 121c; k. 27, p. 261a; k. 38, p. 341b; King liu yi siang, T 2121, k. 5, p. 20a-c.

The same brahmin appears again in another anecdote which we will meet later (Mppś, k. 22, p. 225a-b). For two days in a row, a brahmin filled the Buddha's bowl; the third day, he lost patience. The Buddha in several stanzas praised the continuity of generosity; the brahmin filled his bowl again once, but the Buddha refuses food given to him as a result of a sermon. As nobody else could eat it, the brahmin threw it into the river which began to boil immediately. Struck by this miracle, he became a believer. The Mppś, which places this second story in Śrāvastī in the house of the brahmin *P'o lo touo che* or Bhāradvāja (the name of a famous brahmin clan; cf. Malalasekara, II, p. 373), seems to take its information

[The Buddha] is single-minded (*ekacitta*), without duality (*advaya*). In all things, whatever they may be, food and drink (*āhāra*), robes and clothing (*paṭavasana*), beds and seats (*śayāsana*), praise and blame (*varṇanavijṛmbhā*), mistrust and respect (*vitaṇḍanagaurava*), the Buddha's mind remains indifferent. It is like pure gold which, even when burned, melted, beaten or polished, shows no increase or decrease. [On the contrary], the arhats, although they have broken the bonds (*bandhana*) and have found the Path, still retain the traces (*vāsana*) [of the passions]; this is why they cannot be called Bhagavat.

Question. - Bhagavat is one name, but the Buddha has other epithets.

Answer. - Since the qualities (*guṇa*) of the Buddha are innumerable (*apramāṇa*), his epithets also are innumerable. These epithets include all his glory, for people understand it in many ways. The Buddha possesses still other names: he is called Tathāgata, etc.

TATHĀGATA[250]

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from the partial translation of the Saṃyuktāgama, T 100 (no. 80), k. 4, p. 401 b-c, where the brahmin is also called *P'o lo t'ou chö* (Bhāradvāja). - On the other hand, in the complete translation of the Saṃyuktāgama, T 99 (no. 1157), k. 42, p. 308 a-b, the hero of the story is the brahmin *Houo yu* (86; 134 and 8) from Rājgṛha. Now *Houo yu* is the literal translation of Agnidatta, the name of the brahmin from Verañjā. - Finally, in the corresponding passage in the Pāli Saṃyutta, I, p. 174-174, the same brahmin is called *Udaya*. The result of all this is that Bhāradvāja, Agnidatta-Verañjā and Udaya are all one; Buddhaghosa has already noticed this, and he notes in his Samantapasādikā, I, p. 111, that the real name of the brahmin was Udaya but that he was called Verañjā because he was born and lived in Verañjā.

In short, the brahmin who, at Verañjā, forced the Buddha to eat oats and who, at Śrāvastī or at Rājagṛha, ended up by filling his bowl three times, had, as his personal name *Udaya*, as the name of his clan, *Bhāradvāja*, as his surname, *Verañjā* (because he was born and lived in Verañjā), and was called *Agnidatta* (because as brahmin, he worshipped fire).

Finally, we note that the Mahāvastu (III, p. 108, l. 17-109, l. 4) puts into the mouth of Udayīn the stanzas addressed to Udaya in the Saṃyutta, I, p. 174, which is probably an error.

249 The gods often augmented the nutritive value (*ojā*) of the Buddha's food, cf. Milinda, p. 231: *sabbakālaṃ, bhante Nāgasena,.... patte ākianti*. And the Milinda remembers that they maintained Buddha's health in this way at Verañjā. See also Majjhima, I, p. 245; Lalitavistara, p. 264, where the gods suggest to the Bodhisattva that they introduce strength through his pores: *te romakūpair ojaḥ prakṣhepsyāmaḥ*.

250 Eight explanations in Buddhaghosa, Sumaṅgala, I, p. 59-67. Many attempts at interpretation by recent writers. E. W. Hopkins, *Buddha as Tathāgata*, J. Philol., 1911, p. 205-209, mentions the epic use of *tathāgata*, "in so (grievous) a condition", "as good as dead", "dead". - R. Chalmers, *Tathāgata*, JRAS, 1898, p.113-115, comments that this epithet is not applied solely to the Buddha. - Rhys Davids, *Dialogues*, I, p. 73, II, p. 1, notes the confusion that exists between the two concepts, Buddha and Arhat. - R. O. Franke, WZKM, IX, P. 347, n. 1; first translates "zur Wahrheit gelangt"; but in his study on the Tathāgata (*Dīghanikāya in Auswahl*, Gottingen, 1913, p. 287-301): "der so Gegangene", "derjenige, der diesen Weg zurückgelegt hat". - C. Rhys Davids, *Manual of Psychological Ethics*, London, 1923, p. 270: "he who has won truth". In her *Manual of Buddhism for Advanced Students*, London, 1932, p. 116, she remarks that at the beginning, Tathāgata does not designate Śākyamuni particularly, but any disciple whatsover. - M. Walleser, *Zur Herkunft des Wortes Tathāgata*, Taisho Gakuho, Apr. 1930, p. 21-33: Tathāgata according to Buddhaghosa's interpretation (which glosses *sattva*) means "Mensch" or "Lebewesen" in common language, and it is better translated by "Wiedergekerter" or "Vollendeter". - L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Dogme et Philosophie*, Paris, 1930, p. 169: In classical Buddhism, the Buddha is

Why is he called *To t'o a k'ie t'o* (*tathāgata*)?

1. He preaches the natures of the dharmas (*dharmalakṣaṇa*) in the way (*tathā*) that he has understood (*gata*) them.

2. In the way that the [previous] Buddhas have gone by the path of safety (*yogakṣemamārga*), thus (*tathā*) the [actual] Buddha is going (*gata*) and will not go on to new existences (*punarbhāva*).[251]

ARHAT[252]

The Buddha is also called *A lo ho* (*arhat*). Why is he called Arhat?

1. *Ara* means enemy (*ari*) and *hat* means to kill (*han*). The expression therefore means "killer of enemies".[253] Some stanzas say:

The Buddha has patience (*kṣānti*) as his armor (*varman*),

Energy (*vīrya*) as his helmet (*śīrṣaka*),

Discipline (*śīla*) as his great steed (*mahāśva*),

Dhyāna as his bow (*dhanus*),

Wisdom (*prajñā*) as his arrows (*śara*).

Outwardly, he destroys the army of Māra (*mārasena*).

Inwardly, he destroys the passions (*kleśa*), his enemies.

He is called Arhat.

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qualified as *arhat*, but the word *arhat* also designates the disciple who has acquired sainthood. On the other hand, the disciple, the arhat, is never qualified as Buddha. - E. J. Thomas, *Tathāgata and Tathāgaya*, BSOS, VIII, p. 781-788: The words Tathāgata, arhat, are prior to Śākyamuni and Buddhism. Tathāgata is the Sanskritization of a Prâkrit form that has nothing to do with *tathā* and *gata*. Prior to the Singhalese etymologists, there was no thought of explaining, by way of Sanskrit or Pāli, these words which are perhaps aryan. - The Chinese and Tibetan traditions of the epithet 'Tathāgata" also merit attention. For the Chinese equivalents, U. Wogihara, *Etymology and Meaning of the word Tathāgata* (in Japanese), Taisho Daigaku Gakuho, Apr. 1930; for the Tibetan equivalents, F. O. Schrader, *On some Tibetan Names of the Buddha*, IHQ, IX, 1933, p.16-48.

[251] Cf. Sumaṅgala, I, p. 60-62 (second explanation).

[252] Cf. Buddhaghosa's explanations. Sumaṅgala, I, p. 146; Visuddhimagga, I, p. 198: *Tattha ārakattā arīnaṃ.... Bhagavā arahan ti veditabbo* " Because he is far away (*āraka*) [from the passions], because he has destroyed the enemies (*ari*) [i.e., the passions], because he has broken the spokes (*ara*) [of the wheel of existence], because he is worthy (*araha*) of receiving the necessities, because he stays apart from evil actions, for all these reasons the Blessed One is called Arahant." See also Majjhima, I, p. 280; Aṅguttara, IV, p. 145.

[253] Cf. Visuddhimagga, p. 198: *Te ca anena kilesārayo maggena hatā ti arīṇaṃ hatattā pi arahaṃ*.

2. Furthermore, *A* marks negation and *rahat* means 'to be born'. The expression means, therefore, "unborn". The seeds *(bīja*) of the mind of the Buddha (*buddhacitta*) 'do not arise' in the field of rebirths (*punarbhavakṣetra*), for ignorance (*avidyā*) in him has been dissolved.

3. Finally, *Arhat* means worthy (*arhat*) of receiving worship (*pūja*). The fetters (*saṃyojana*) have been cut in the Buddha, he has attained omniscience (*sarvajñāta*); therefore he merits receiving the worship of beings in heaven and on earth. This is [71c] why the Buddha is called Arhat.[254]

SAMYAKSAṂBUDDHA

He is also called *San miao san fo t'o* (*samyaksaṃbuddha*). Why?

1. *Samyak* means perfectly, *sam* means fully, and *budh* means understanding. The expression thus means "He who understands all dharmas perfectly and completely". [255]

Question. - How does he understand perfectly and fully?

Answer. -

He understands suffering (*duḥkha*) as suffering (*duḥkhalakṣaṇa*),

He understands the origin (*samudaya*) as origin,

He understands cessation (*nirodha*) as cessation,

He undertands the Path (*mārga*) as the Path.

Therefore he is called Samyaksambuddha.

2. Furthermore, he knows that all the dharmas are truly unchangeable (*abhedya*), without increase or decrease. Why are they unchangeable? When the functioning of the mind (*cittapravṛtti*) is stopped (*sthita*) and destroyed (*niruddha*), when the path of speech (*abhilāpamārga*) is cut, he understands that dharmas are motionless (*acala*)[256], like nirvāṇa itself. This is why he is called Samyaksaṃbuddha.

3. Finally, the languages (*adhivacana*) of all the universes (*lokadhātu*), the ten directions (*daśadiś*), the languages of beings (*sattva*) in the six destinies (*gati*), the history of previous lives (*pūrvajanmanidāna*) of beings and their birthplaces (*utpādasthāna*) in future generations (*anāgatajanma*), the natures of the mind (*cittalakṣaṇa*) of all beings in the ten directions, their fetters (*saṃyojana*), their roots of good (*kuśalamūla*)

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[254] Ibid., p. 201: *Aggadakkhiṇeyyattā ca cīvarādipaccaye.... na te aññattha pūjaṃ karonti*. - This is the only valid etymological explanation.

[255] Cf. Visuddhimagga, p. 201: *sammā sāmañ ca sabbadhammānaṃ pana buddhattā sammāsambuddho*.

[256] We know that the Mahāyana schools equate saṃsāra and nirvāṇa. Cf. Madh. vṛtti, XXV, v. 19-20, p. 535 (Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, p. 205; Lav., *Madhyamaka*, MCB, II, 1933, p. 29; Laṅkāvatāra, p. 42,; Madhyāntavibhaṅga, p. 160; Saṃgraha, p. 127, 265.

and their outcome (*niḥsaraṇa*): all the dharmas of this kind he knows in detail.[257] This is why he is called Samyaksaṃbuddha.

VIDYĀCARAṆASAṂPANNA

He is also called *Pi tch'e tchö lo na san pan na* (*vidyācaraṇasaṃpanna*), i.e., endowed with knowledges (*vidya*) and practices (*caraṇa*).[258] Why is he called thus?

The three knowledges (*vidyā*) are: 1) the memory of former existences (*pūrvanivāsānusmṛti*), 2) the divine eye (*divyacakṣus*), 3) the destruction of the impurities (*āsravakṣaya*)[259].

Question. -What differernce is there between the superknowledges (*abhijñā*) and the knowledges (*vidyā*)?[260]

Answer. - The abhijñā knows the previous past existences (*atītapūrvajanma*), the vidyā knows the past actions (*atītakarman*) that are the cause. - The abhijñā knows that such and such a being will die here and be reborn there, the vidyā recognizes [in these deaths and rebirths] the unfailing result of the actions (*carita*) that are its cause (*hetupratyaya*). - The abhijñā knows that [such and such a being] has destroyed the fetters (*saṃyojana*), but does not know if he will be reborn again or will never be reborn again; the vidyā knows that once the impurities (*āsravakṣaya*) have been destroyed, one is no longer reborn. These three vidyās [are not the prerogative exclusively of the Buddha]; they are also attained by the great arhats and the great pratyekabuddhas.

Question. - If that is so, how are they different from the Buddhas?

Answer. - Although they have these three vidyās, their knowledge is not complete (*paripūrṇa*). In the Buddhas, the knowledge is complete: that is the difference.

Question. - What is incomplete knowledge (*aparipūrṇā vidyā*)? What is complete knowledge (*paripūrṇā vidyā*)?

Anwer. - By means of their knowledge of previous existences (*pūrvanivāsānusmṛtijñāna*), the arhats and pratyekabuddhas know themselves and know others in an incomplete way only. Some arhats remember

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257 The Buddha derives these consciousnesses from his abhijñās. There is a short bibliography of the abhijñās in Saṃgraha.

258 Cf.Visuddhimagga, p. 202: *Vijjāhi pana caraṇena ca sampannattā vijjācaraṇasaṃpanno*. For the three *vijjā*, it refers to the Bhayabheravasutta (Majjhima, I, p. 22) and for the eight *vijjā* to the Ambaṭṭhasutta (Dīgha, I, p. 100). - For the *dvandva vijjācaraṇa*, Dīgha, III, p. 97, 98, 237: Saṃyutta, I, p. 153, 166; II, p. 284; V, p. 197; Aṅguttara, II, p. 163; IV, p. 238; V, p. 237; Suttanipāta, v. 163, 289, 442.

259 These are the three vidyās acquired during the three watches under the Bodhi tree: Dīgha, III, p. 220, 275; Majjhima, I, p. 22, 248; Aṅguttara, V, p. 211. The Kośa, VII, p. 108, defines them: *aśaikṣī pūrve.... āsravakṣayajñānasākṣātkriyāvidyā*.

260 Acording to the Kośa, VII, p. 108, among the six abjiñās cited by these sūtras (e.g., Dīgha, III, p. 281), the last three are vidyās: the memory of previous existences, the divine eye and the destruction of the impurities.

one, two or three generations, [72a] ten, a hundred, a thousand or ten thousand kalpas, even 80,000 kalpas, but beyond that, their memory stops and they know no more. This is why they do not have the complete knowledge of the divine eye (*divyacakṣurvidya*). [Their knowledge] of future generations (*anāgatajanma*) likewise [is imperfect]. On the other hand, the Buddha knows the time of arising (*utpāda*), duration (*sthiti*) and cessation (*bhaṅga*) contained in a single moment (*ekakṣaṇa*), the time of arising of the fetters (*saṃyojana*), the time of their duration and the time of their cessation. He knows which fetters are cut during the stage of patient acceptance of suffering (*duḥkhe dharmakṣaṇti*) and the patient acceptance of the cognition of suffering (*duḥkhe dharmakṣāntiḥ*). He knows that by freeing oneself thus from the fetters (*saṃyojanavimocanā*), liberation of conditioned dharmas (*saṃskṛtadharma*) is obtained in such and such a place, and liberation of unconditioned dharmas (*asaṃskṛtadharma*) is obtained in another place, and so on up to the patient acceptance similar to the Path (*mārgopamakṣaṇti*) and the fifteen mind-moments of the path of seeing the truths (*satyadarśanamārga*).[261] All of this is unknown to the śrāvakas and the pratyekabuddhas because their time is limited. It is thus that the Buddha knows the history (*nidāna*) of past beings (*atītasattva*) and the [moment of the] destruction of their impurities (*āsravakṣaya*). He knows the future (*anāgata*) and the present (*pratyutpanna*) in the same way. This is why he is said to be "endowed with the knowledges and the practices."

By practices (*caraṇa*) we mean here physical and vocal acts k*Kāyavākkarman*).[262] For the Buddha alone, physical and vocal acts are perfect (*saṃpanna*)[263]; in all others, they present faults. He is therefore called Vidyacaraṇasaṃpanna.

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[261] The Path proper is the path of abandonment of the passions (*prahāṇamārga*). It begins with the Path of seeing (*darśansmārga*) consisting of the understanding (*abhisamaya*) of the four truths. It is composed of sixteen thoughts, four thoughts for each truth. Let us take as example the cognition of the truth of suffering (*duḥkhasatya*). At the first moment, the ārya takes hold of the truth of the suffering of kāmadhātu by means of a patient acceptance called *duḥkhe dharmakṣānti*. At the second moment, he cognizes this same truth by means of a knowledge called *duḥkhe dharmajñāna*. By this very fact, he cuts the possession (*prāpti*) of a certain category of afflictions (*kleśa*), then he takes possession of the destruction of these afflictions. At the third and the fourth moments, through a new patient acceptance and a new knowledge, he takes hold of and then grasps the truth of the suffering of rūpa- and ārūpyadhātu, and expels, in two times, the category of afflictions relative to them. The same exercise is repeated four times for the other three truths, which makes a total of sixteen moments, involving a total of eight patient acceptances and eight knowledges. At the sixteenth moment, the ārya obtains the fruit of entry into the stream (*srotaāpatti*); he is assured of arriving at liberation. But before attaining nirvāṇa, he must still travel the Path of meditation (*bhāvanamārga*) and destroy the passions which the seeing of the truths had not been able to extirpate. - For further details, see Lav., *Note sommaire sur le Chemin*, Kośa, V, p. IV-XI; *Notes sur le chemin du Nirvāṇa*, Bull. de la Cl. des Lettres de l'Ac. Roy. de Belgique, 1924, p. 282-296; 1925, p. 15-34; *Morale*, p. 93-117.

[262] By *caraṇa*, the Visuddhimagga, p. 202, means: discipline (*sīlasaṃvara*), sense restraint (*indriyesu guttadvāratā*), moderation in eating (*bhojane mattaññutā*), vigilant zeal (*jāgariyānuyoga*), the seven virtues (*satta saddahmmā*, cf. Aṅguttara, IV, p. 3-7) and the four dhyānas of the material realm (*cattāri rūpāvacarajjhānāni*).

[263] See below, k. 26, p. 247b-c: the physical, vocal and mental acts of the Buddha are preceded by knowledge and are in conformity with knowledge (*sarvakāyavāgmanaskarma jñānapūrvaṃgama jñānānuparivarti*). This is one of the 18 special attributes of the Buddha (*āveṇika buddhadharma*).

SUGATA[264]

He is also called *Sieou k'ie t'o* (*sugata*). *Su* means 'good' and *gata* means either 'to go' or 'speaking' (*gad*). Therefore the expression means the 'Well-gone' or the 'Well-spoken'.

The Buddha has transcended by all kinds of deep concentrations (*gambhīra samādhi*) and numberless great wisdoms (*apramāṇā mahāprajñā*). Thus a stanza says:

> The Buddha has omniscience (*sarvajñāna*) as his chariot,
>
> By means of the eightfold noble Path, he has gone to nirvāṇa.

This is why he is called Sugata, well-gone.

2. He is Sugata, well-spoken, because he preaches the doctrine according to the true nature (*satyalakṣaṇa*) of the dharmas and without being attached (*abhiniveśa*) to the doctrine. Taking into account the degree of wisdom (*prajñābala*) of his disciples, he uses every skillful means (*upāya*) and the power of his superknowledges (*abhijñā*) to convert them (*parināṃa)*. He alone knows who can be saved, who is sick or weakened, what each one needs to be saved, to whom it is suitable to preach generosity (*dāna*) or discipline (*śīla*) or nirvāṇa, to whom he can expound the system (*dharma*) of the five elements (*pañcaskandha*), the twelve causes (*dvādaśahetupratyaya*) or the four truths (*caturāryasatya*), etc., in order to introduce them into the Path.

It is under aspects such as these that he knows the extent of knowledge (*jñānabala*) of his disciples and that, consequently, he preaches the doctrine. This is why he is called Sugata, well-spoken.

LOKAVID[265]

He is also called *Lou kia pai* (*lokavid*). *Loka* means world and *vid* means to know. The expression thus means 'Knower of the world'.

Question. - How does he know the world?

Answer. - 1. He knows two kinds of worlds: *(i)* the animate world (*sattvaloka*), *(ii)* the inanimate world (*asattvaloka*) in their true nature (*satyalakṣaṇa*). He knows the world (*loka*), its cause (*hetu*), its destruction (*nirodha*) and the supraworldly Path (*lokottaramārga*).

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264 Four explanations in Visuddhimagga, p. 203: *Sobhanagamanattā sundaraṃ ṭhānaṃ gatattā sammāgatattā sammā ca gadattā Sugato*. "He is Sugata because his path is noble, because he goes to a good place, because his walk is correct, and because he speaks (*gad*) correctly,"

265 Visuddhimagga, p. 204: *Sabbathā pi viditalokattā pana Lokavidū*. The Buddha knows the world of the formations (*sankhāraloka*), the world of beings (*sattaloka*) and the world of space (*okāsaloka*) with all their subdivisions.

2. Furthermore, his knowledge of the world is not like conventional knowledge (*saṃvṛtijñāna*) or like heretical knowledge (*tīrthikajñāna*); he knows that the world is suffering (*duḥkha*) because it is transitory (*anitya*), and non-substantial (*anātmaka*) because it is suffering.

3. Finally, he knows that the world by its nature is neither eternal (*śāśvata*) nor non-eternal (*aśāśvata*), neither finite (*antavat*) nor infinite (*ananta*), neither changing (*cyuta*) nor unchanging (*acyuta*). He is not attached (*abhiniviśate*) to such characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*). Pure (*viśuddha*), eternal (*nitya*), unalterable (*avipraṇaśa*), [the world] is like space (*ākāśasama*). This is why he is called Lokavid.

ANUTTARA[266]

[72b] He is also called *A neou to lo* (*anuttara*), i. e., Without superior. Why is he Anuttara?

1. Nirvāṇa is the highest dharma. The Buddha alone knows this nirvāṇa; he has not learned it from another. Besides, he guides beings and leads them to nirvāṇa. Just as nirvāṇa is without superior among all the dharmas, so the Buddha is without superior among beings.

2. Furthermore, no-one is his equal and, *a fortiori*, surpasses him in discipline (*śīla*), samādhi and wisdom (*prajñā*). This is why he is called Anuttara.

3. Furthermore, *A* indicates negation and *uttara* means refutation. All the systems of the heretics (*tīrthika*) can be refuted and destroyed because they are false (*asatya*) and impure (*aviśudda*). But the doctrine of the Buddha cannot be either refuted or destroyed because it escapes any discussion (*sarvavivādasamatikrānta*); it is true (*satya*) and pure (*viśuddha*). This is why he is called Anuttara.

PURUṢADAMYASĀRATHI[267]

He is also called *Fou leou cha t'an miao so lo t'i* (*puruṣadamyasārathi*). *Puruṣha* means man, *damya* means to be converted and *sārathi* means the leader of a caravan. The expression thus means 'Leader of the caravan of men to be converted'.

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[266] Visuddhimagga, p. 204: ibid., p. 207: *Attanā pana guṇehi visiṭṭhatarassa kassaci abhāvato natthi etassa uttara ti Anuttaro* "There is no-one better endowed with qualities than him; no-one surpasses him."

[267] Visuddhimagga, p. 207: *Purisadamme sāreti ti .... pi amanussapurisā pi*. According to this explanation, the *puruṣa*s that the Buddha converts are male beings, whether they are animals (*tiracchāna*), human (*manussa*) or *amanuṣya*s. The Visudhimagga gives as example some conversions of animals: *Apalāla* (Divyāvadana, p. 348, 385; Samanatapāsādikā, IV, p. 742; Mahāvamsa, XXX, v. 84; Hiuan-tsang, tr. Beal, I, p. 122; Fa hien, tr. Legge, p. 29). *Cūlodara* and *Mahodara* (Mahāvamsa, I, v. 45 seq; Samanatapāsādikā, I, p. 120); *Aggisikha* and *Dhūmasikha* (Samanatapāsādikā, I, p. 120); *Āravāla* (Mahāvamsa, XII, v. 9-20; Samantapāsādikā, I, p. 65); *Dhanapālaka* (this is the well-known elephant (*Nālāgiri*). - Conversions of amanuṣyas, e.g., *Ālavaka* (Sarattha, I, p. 317; Suttanipāta Comm. I, p. 217-240); *Sūciloma* and *Kharaloma* (Saṃyutta, I, p. 207 seq; Suttanipāta, II, 5). *Sakka* (Dīgha, II, p. 263 sq.).
We will see below that the Mppś gives a broader extension to the word *puruṣa*; it sees in it not only 'males' but any human being whatsoever, male, female or hermaphrodite.

1. With his great loving kindness (*mahāmaitri*), his great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*) and his great wisdom (*mahājñāna*) he uses a voice that is sometimes sweet (*śakṣṇa*), sometimes harsh (*paruṣa*), sometimes lukewarm (*śakṣṇaparuṣa*) so that the caravan (*sārtha*) does not lose its way.[268] Some stanzas say:

> The doctrine of the Buddha is a chariot, the disciples are the horses,
>
> The true dharmas are the merchandise, the Buddha is the leader.
>
> When the horses stray from the path and wander from the way,
>
> The Buddha corrects them and controls them.
>
> If they do not spurn his orders,
>
> He carefully sets them back onto the narrow path.
>
> But if they are incorrigible, he abandons them.
>
> This is why he is a peerless leader.

2. Furthermore, there are five kinds of leaders (*sārathi*): *(i)* the law of one's parents, brothers and sisters and the family, *(ii)* the law of the village head, *(iii)* the law of the mandarin. These three laws govern the present life. *(iv)* King *Yen lo* (Yama) governs the future life, *(v)* the Buddha ensures the well-being (*hita*) [of beings] by present happiness (*ihatrasukha*), future happiness (*paratrasukha*) and the happiness of nirvāṇa (*nirvāṇasukha*). This is why he is the supreme leader. People do away with the [first] four laws soon enough; they are unable always to observe them. The Buddha governs (*tche*) men by means of the threefold Path (*mārgatraya*). He never abandons them along the way. Just as the self-nature (*svalakṣaṇa*) of fire (*tejas*-) accompanies fire until it is extinguished (*nirodha*), so the Buddha, who procures good dharmas (*kuśaladharma*) for men, follows them up to their death and does not abandon them. This is why the Buddha is called Puruṣadamyasārathi.

Question. - The Buddha converts (*vinayati)* women (*strī*) also and makes them fond of the Path. Why is it a question of men only [in the name puruṣadamyasārathi]?

Answer. - 1. Because men are noble whereas women are lowly, because the woman follows the man and because the man [alone] is master of his actions.

2. Furthermore, women encounter five hindrances (*āvaraṇa*): they cannot become cakravartin king, or Śakradevarāja, or Māradevarāja, or Brahmādevarāja.[269]. This is why the Buddha does not say it [here].

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[268] Allusion to Kesisutta of the Aṅguttara, II, p. 112 (cf. Tsa a han, T 99, no. 923, k. 33, p. 234b-c): *Ahaṃ kho Kesi.... pi vinemi*.

[269] The source is Majjhima, III, p. 65-66 (missing in Tchong a han, T 26, k. 47, p. 723; Aṅguttara, I, p. 28; Vibhaṅga, p. 336; Nettipakaraṇa, P. 93: "It is impossible that in the present and the future a woman should become a perfectly enlightened arhat (= the Buddha), a cakravartin king, Śakra, Māra or Brahmā. That does not happen." (*aṭṭhānam etaṃ anavakāso.... n'etaṃ thānaṃ vijjati*). Thus there are five impossibilities for a woman: she cannot be Buddha or cakravartin or Śakra (Indra) or Māra or Brahmā.

3. Finally, if one said that the Buddha is the leader of the caravan of women (*strīsārathi*), this would be disrespectful. By saying that he is [the leader of the [72c] caravan] of men, all classes of [human beings] are included. When [one says] "The king is coming", one knows that he is not coming alone but is accompanied by his retinue (*parivāra*)[270]; in the same way, when one speaks of men (*puruṣa*), [mentally] one includes hermaphrodites (*ubhayavyañjanaka*), asexual beings (*avyañjanaka*) and women (*strī*). This is why [only] men are spoken of [here]. For these reasons the Buddha is called Puruṣadamyasārathi.

ŚĀSTĀ DEVAMANUṢYĀṆĀM[271]

He is also called *Chö to t'i p'o ma neou chö nan* (*śāstā devamanuṣyāṇām*). *Śāstā* means teacher, *deva* means gods and *manuṣyāṇām* means men (in the genitive case). The expression thus means "Teacher of gods and men". Why is he called teacher of gods and men? The Buddha shows [gods and men] what should be done and what should not be done, what is good (*kuśala*) and what is bad (*akuśala*). Those who follow his instructions do not abandon the doctrine of the Path and acquire liberation from their passions (*kleśhavimokṣa*) as reward (*vipāka*). Thus he is called Teacher of gods and men.

Question. - The Buddha [does not save only gods and men]. He can save also the beings who have fallen into other destinies (*gati*) such as the nāgas, the asuras, etc.[272] Why is it said only that he is the teacher of gods and men?

Answer. - 1. The Buddha rarely saves beings belonging to the other destinies, whereas he frequently saves those who are reborn among gods and men. [This is why it is said that he only saves gods and men.] Just as when a man is white in color, even if he has black stains on his face, he is not described as a negro, because the black is insignificant.

The Saddharmapuṇḍarikā, p. 264, retains this rule, but modifies its formulation slightly: *Pañca sthānāni stry adyāpi.... pañcamam avaivartikabodhisattvasthānam*. There are exceptions to the rule: thus it is known, p. 263, that the daughter of Sāgara, king of the nāgas "is capable of reaching the state of fully accomplished Buddhahood" (*sā samyaksaṃbodhim abhisaṃbodhiṃ samarthā*).

The Mppś, which is familiar with the case of Sāgara's daughter to which it will allude below, (k. 4, p. 92b) sees here the impossibility of maintaining the canonical formula in its integral text. As a good exegetist, it resorts to a compromise that consists of retaining the textual plan while completely emptying it of its content: it recognizes that a woman encounters five impossibilities, but it enumerates only four of them: women cannot be cakravartin, Śakra, Māra or Brahmā.

This omission is deliberate and is not to be explained by a mere omission for, later on (k. 9, p. 125a6), it will say that a woman cannot become a cakravartin king or Śakradevendra or Māradevarāja or Brahmādevarāja, but it carefully omits saying that she cannot be Buddha.

[270] The same comparison in Atthasālini, p. 67: *Yathā rājā āgato.... yeva āgato ti paññāyati*.

[271] Cf. Visuddhimagga, p. 208: *Diṭṭhadhammikasamparāvikaparamatthehi.... c'etaṃ vuttaṃ*.

[272] See above the examples of conversions among animals and amanuśyas. Visuddhimagga, p. 208-209, tells the story of the frog Maṇḍaka which, at Campā, was listening to Buddha preaching, when a cowherder, leaning on his stick, crushed his head; it was reborn among the Trāyastriṃṣa gods (cf. Vimānavatthu, V, 1; Vimāna Comm., p. 216 sq.; Milinda, p. 350; Samantapāsādikā, I, p. 121).

2. Furthermore, the fetters (*saṃyojana*) among men (*manuṣya*) are light and detachment (*nirvedacitta*) is easy to attain (*sulabha*). Wisdom (*prajñā*) is sharp (*tīkṣṇa*) among the gods. This is why the Path is easily found in these two states. This is not the case in the other destinies (*gati*).

3. Furthermore, by saying 'gods', all the heavenly (*svarga)* beings are included; by saying 'men', all the beings on the earth (*pṛthivī*) are included. Why? Because in the heavens, the gods are the principal (*adhimātra*) beings, and on earth, men are the principal beings. Therefore by saying "gods" all the beings in the heavens are included, and by saying 'men' all the beings on the earth are included.

4. Furthermore, among men, moral discipline (*śīlasaṃvara*), the path of seeing the truths (*satyadarśanamārga*), the path of meditation (*bhāvanāmārga*), and the fruits of the path (*mārgaphala*) are found. In the other destinies, these benefits cannot be found according to some or very rare according to others.

On the other hand, they are easy to obtain and very frequent among gods and men. This is why the Buddha is the teacher of gods and men.

5. Finally, among men, the causes of happiness (*sukhahetu*) are frequently cultivated; among gods, the fortunate reward (*sukhavipāka*) is common. The causes [73a] of happiness are all the good dharmas (*kuśaladharma*); happiness (*sukha*) is the reward (*vipāka*) of these good dharmas. In destinies [other than those of gods and men], the causes of happiness and fortunate reward are rare. This is why the Buddha is the teacher of gods and men.

BUDDHA[273]

He is also called *Fo t'o* (*buddha*) [in the language of Ts'in, scholar]. What dharmas does he know? He knows all dharmas, past (*atīta*), future (*anāgatā*) and present (*pratyutpanna*), animate and inanimate (*sattvāsattvasaṃkhyāta*), permanent and impermanent (*nityānitya*). He knew them all completely under the bodhi tree (*bodivṛkṣa*). This is why he is called Buddha.

Quesion. - Other individuals also know all the dharmas, e. g., *Mo hi cheou lo* (Maheśvara) [in the languag of Ts'in, Great Lord]: he has eight arms (*aṣṭabhuja*), three eyes (*trinetra, tryakṣa*) and he is mounted on a white bull (*vṛṣavāhana*) [Nandi]. Or also the god *Wei nieou* (Viṣṇu) [in the language of Ts'in, *Pien wen*, Univeral Eye]: he has four arms (*caturbhuja*), holds a conch (*śaṅka*) and a wheel (*cakra*), and rides a golden-winged bird (*garuda*). Or also the god *Kieou mo lo* (Kumāra): he holds a cock (*kukkuṭa*), a bell (*ghaṇṭā*), a red standard (*lohitapatākā*) and is mounted on a peacock (*śikhigata*).[274]

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[273] The Visuddhimagga, p. 209, gives four explanations of which here is the first: *Yaṃ pana kiñci ñeyyaṃ nāma. sabbass' eva buddhattā vimokkhabtikañāṇavasena Buddho*. Cf. Mahāniddesa, p. 457-458; Paṭisambhida, I, p. 174: *n'etaṃ nāmaṃ mātarā kataṃ.... yadidaṃ Buddho ti*. - Hobogirin, *Butsu*, p. 191-192, refers to the definitions of the Mppś, T 1509, k. 70, p. 552b; Nirvāṇasūtra, T 375, k. 16, p. 712b; Kośa, I, p. 1; Buddhabhūmiśāstra, T 1530, k. 1, p. 291b; Vibhāṣā, T 1545, k. 143, p. 735b; T 1851, k. 20B, p. 864c.

[274] Maheśvara,Viṣṇu and Kumāra, that is, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā are the gods of the brahmanical trimūrti.

1) Maheśvara or Śiva - Jou ta tch'eng louen, T 1634, k. 2, p. 46b: When one has purified the tenth level, one acquires immense and infinite dhāraṇis and upāyas, one realizes all the pratisaṃvids and all the vaśitas, one becomes Maheśvaradevaputra, one is also the support of all the universes. Question. - Is this Mahesvara of whom you speak the same as or different from the Maheśvara [known] in the world? Answer. - This Iśvara of the pure abodes (*śuddhāvāsa*) is not the Iśvara [known] in the world. He has the same name as your Iśvara but he is not the same individual. There is a Maheśvara of the pure abodes and there is also a demon Maheśvara (*piśacamaheśvara*). - Maheśvara and Viṣṇu are often mentioned together, e.g., in the Nāgārjuna's Madhyamakaśāstra, T 1564, k. 1, p. 1b; Āryadeva's Śataśāstra, T 1569, k. 1, p. 168a (tr. Tucci, *Pre-Diṅṅāga*, p. 1; the Kośavyākhyā, p. 7. - In his Comm. on the Kośa, T 1821, K. 7, p. 140a, P'ou Kouang, in speaking of Rudra, says: Rudra means violent. This is a synonym for Maheśvara. The god Maheśvara has, as a whole, a thousand names, but here below in the phenomenal world, he has sixty and Rudra is one of them. The heretics *T'ou houei* (Pāṃśupata, Paśupata?) say that Iśvara transcends the three worlds (*trailokyātikrānta*) and that he has three bodies: (i) a body of the law (*dharmakāya*) which fills the dharmadhātu; (ii) a body of enjoyment (*saṃbhogakāya*) that abides at the summit of the form realm (*rūpadhātu*) in the palace of the Īśvaradevas. In the Buddhist texts, it is said that the god Maheśvara has three eyes and eight arms and that his body is 6000 *yojana*s in height; (iii) an apparitional body (*nirmāṇakāya*) that adapts its form [to beings] of the six destinies (*gati*), teaches them and converts beings in every way. - In his Treatise on the nirvāṇa of the heretics, T 1640, p.157c (tr. Tucci, T'oung Pao, 1925-26,p. 25 sq.), Āryadeva says: The fruit is a result of Maheśvara; Brahmā is the cause; Maheśvara is but one nature of three parts: Brahmā, Nārāyaṇa (= Viṣṇu) and Maheśvara. The earth (*pṛthivi*) is his support. The god Maheśvara is the master of the earth. All animate and inanimate beings in the three worlds have come from the god Maheśvara. Maheśvara's body has space (*ākāśa*) as its head, the waters (*āpaḥ*) as urine, the mountains (*parvata)* as excrement; all beings are the worms in his belly; the wind (*vāyu*) is his vital [breath]; fire (*tejaḥ*) is his warmth; sins and merits *(āpattipuṇya*) are his actions. These eight things comprise the body of Maheśvara. The god Maheśvara is the cause of production and destruction. Everything comes from the god Maheśvara and is destroyed by him: he is called nirvāṇa. This is why teachers of the school of Maheśvara say that the god Īśvara produces all things and is the cause of nirvāṇa. - Ki tsang (549-623), of Parthian origin, in his commentary on the Śataśāstra, T 1827, k. 1, p. 244a, adopts these teachings: The beings of the six destinies, gods and terrestrial substances, are the body of the god Īśhvara. This is why the god Īśvara manifests in all three bodies: body of Īśvara, body of Nārāyana and body of Brahmādeva. The body of the god Èśvara has eight parts: the ether is his head, the sun and moon are his eyes, etc. [as above]. - The Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, translated by Dharmarakṣema (385-433) which lasted a long time in Central Asia and Kaśmir, has a text important for the origins of Śaivism, T 374, k. 19, p. 476b: Actually, there is a great teacher called *Kia lo kieou t'o kia tchen yen* (Krakudha-Kātyāyana). He knows everything (*sarvajñā*), sees everything (*savadṛś*) and knows the three worlds. In one instant he could see innumerable infinite universes and so could his disciples (*śrāvaka*). He causes beings to eliminate their faults. Just as the Ganges purifies all sins whatever they may be, inner or outer, so this great kind teacher can efface the inner and outer sins of all beings. He teaches these disciples the following doctrine: If a person kills all beings and experiences no remorse (*hrī*), he will not fall into the evil [destinies]: he is like space (*ākāśa*) impermeable to dust and water. But those who experience remorse will enter into hell (*naraka*): they are like the great oceans that flood the earth. All beings are creatures of the god Èśvara. The god Èśvara is the joy and happiness of beings. He is angry with the sufferings of beings. Sins (*āpatti*) and merits (*puṇya*) of all beings are controlled by this Īśvara. How could one say that men are responsible for sin or merit? When a craftsman constructs a wooden robot, this robot walks, sits and lies down, alone it cannot speak. It is the same for beings: the god Īśvara is like the craftsman, beings are like the wooden robot.

Except for the eight arms, the description of Śiva given here by the Mppś corresponds to the epithets *tryakṣa, trinetra, ṣaḍardhanayana* "three-eyed god" [Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 219-220), *Vṛṣavāhana* 'Seated on a bull' [Bhavagiriśa,

1, 197, 21). On the other hand, it is rather far from the traditional iconographical type: The ascetic generally has four arms; the two upper hands hold a drum (*ḍhakkā*) and a deer (*mṛga*), the two lower arms make the gesture of generosity (*varadahasta*) and absence of fear (*abhayahasta*). As well as his two human eyes, he has a third eye in the forehead. As clothing, he wears only a tiger skin, and as a necklace, a live snake. On his high brahmanical head-dress he wears the crescent moon, a skull - the fifth head of Brahmā - and the siren of the Ganges (R. Grousset, *Civilizations de l'Orient*, II, L'Inde, Paris, 1930, p. 171-172; see also *Mythologie asiatique illustré*, Paris, 1928, p. 93-98). - This traditional type of Śiva is decribed precisely in an anonymous undated text, the Che eul t'ien kong yi kouei (*Dvādaśadevpūjākalpa*?), T 1298, p. 386a: In the north-west, the god Īśana, also called Maheśvaradeva. He is seated on a yellowish bull (?) His right hand holds a *kie po pei* (*kapāla*, i.e., a skull) full of blood; his left and holds a *san ki tch'ouang* (*triśula*, or trident). The color of his body is light blue. His three eyes are blood-shot. He has two fangs sticking upward, and skulls as necklace (*keyūra*), on his head-dress, the crescent moon.

2) Viṣnu. See below, k. 8, p. 116a; k. 10, p. 128a and Hobogirin, *Bichu*, p. 76-68. - His main hands hold the wheel (iron wheel with a thousand spokes, symbol of the sun); they give him the epithet *Śaṅkhacakradhara* (Mahābhārata, 3, 189, 40). For his physical aspect in the epic, Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 204-207; for his mount, the garuḍa, ibid., p. 108, 203. Illustrations, *Mythologie asiatique illustré*, p.103 sq.

3) Kumāra. According to Ki tsang, in his commentary on the Madhyamakaśāstra, T 1824, k. 1, p. 14c, Kumāra means 'young man'; this is none other than king Brahmā of the first dhyāna (cf. Kośa, III, p. 2-3), called thus because he has the aspect of a young man. He is also called Nārāyana, that is, the origin of beings. - According to the Pi tsang ki cited in the Bukkyo daijiten, p. 310b, the god Kumāra has the form of a young man with six faces, yellow in color, holding a sword and seated on a peacock. - In Brahmanism, this is the god Skanda (cf. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 227-231). God of war, he is Sanatkumāra, 'Ever youthful', one of Brahmā's sons (Mahābhārata, 12, 37, 12). In the eulogy to Śiva (ibid., 13, 14, v. 378), he appears beside Umā, seated on a peacock and holding a bell and a spear. His birth is told in the Mahābhārata, 9, 43-46. Nursed by the Kṛttikās (Pleiades), he developed six mouths in order to suckle them, hence his epithet of the six-faced god (*ṣaḍānana, ṣaṇmukha*).

We may ask why Nāgārjuna talks about three gods here, Maheśvara, Viṣnu and Kumāra, whereas in the Madhyamakaśāstra (T 1564, k. 1, p. 1b) he mentions only the first two. The question has been asked by Li tsang in his commentaries on the Madhyamakaśāstra (T 1824, k. 1, p.14c) and Āryadeva's Śataśāstra (T 1827, k. 1, p. 243c-244a). He answers in the following way: (i) The three gods of the heretics take the place for them of the three kāyas: Īśvara is the root, like the dharmakāya; Viṣṇu is the enjoyment, like the saṃbhogakāya; Brahmā is produced by emanation in Viṣṇu's navel, and he is comparable to the nirmāṇakāya. But the Mahāprajñāparamitāśāstra teaches three bodies; this is why it mentions three gods. [This is a mistake; the Mppś teaches only two bodies; see Hobogirin, *Busshin*, p. 181]. The Madhyamaka and the Śataśāstra teach only two bodies, that of the law and that of enjoyment; this is why they mention only two gods. (ii) Brahmā is found in Viśṇu's navel; there is no need to mention him separately.

The trinitarian notions implied by the Brahmanical trimūrti doctrine and the Buddhist theory of the trikāya mark the end of a long evolution. In both systems it appears that dualism probably preceded trinitarianism. The epics formulate the trimūrti only late in time and in a single passage: Mahābhārata, 3, 272, 47. The late epic poems present Viṣṇu and Śiva as two aspects of the same god; they do not try to establish a trinitarian theology (Cf. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 231). Similarly in Buddhism, the Hīnayāna scriptures and many important Mahāyāna texts recognize only two bodies for the Buddha, the fleshly body born from father and mother, and the body of the law. The theories of the trikāya mark the end of a long evolution. - Besides, the Brahmanical trimūrti is well known to the Buddhist masters; allusion is made to it, e.g., T 1640, p. 157c; T 1003, k, 2, p, 611; T 1796, k. 2, p. 595b.

Answer. - 1. They cannot be omniscient. Why? Because their mind remains attached (*abhinivișța*) to hatred (*dveșa*) and pride (*abhhimāna*). Some stanzas say:

Gods of painting and sculpture,

Gods of tradition and the hymns!,

These four kinds of gods

All of them brandish a weapon in one hand.

Out of weakness they fear others

Or out of spite they dread them.

Whether they fear others from necessity

Or they dread them from weakness,

The gods are all eternal cowards,

Unable to escape from the suffering of death.

Those who revere and honor them

Can fall into a sea of misery.

Those who distrust and scorn them

Can enjoy good fortune here below,

We should know that these gods are false, unreal.

This is why the wise man does not believe in the gods.

Beings in the world

Wander about as a result of their actions:

By virtue of merits, they are reborn in the heavens.

By virtue of mixed actions, they are reborn among humans

The destiny of the world depends on causes and conditions;

This is why the wise man does not depend on the gods.[275]

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[275] By affirming that the gods are false and without reality, that the wise man does not believe in the gods, these stanzas depart somewhat from Buddhist tolerance.

1) Buddhism is atheistic in the sense that its entire system rests on karma and retribution. All beings transmigrate as a result of their actions: these are their past deeds which determine their good or unfortunate destiny. Action takes the place of fate. There is no place for a creator distributing good and evil among his creatures. Buddhism has always opposed theistic systems (*aiśvarika*) that make out of their god a Lord (*Īśvara*) creator and controller of everything. - Aṅguttara, I, p. 174 (= Tchong a han, T 26 (no. 13), k. 3, p. 435b): Those who reduce everything to creation of the Lord

(*issaranimmāna*) no longer have any inclination to act, make no effort to do this and avoid it. - Śāntideva in Bodhicaryāvatāra, IX, v. 119-126 (tr. Lav., p. 135-137): "God is the cause of the world." - What do you mean by 'God'? The elements? Then it's not worth the trouble for a matter of words (*nāmamātra*) to take so many pains to prove the existence of God. – Are you saying that God is too great for us to be able to understand him? His qualities also transcend the mind and how can the quality of maker of the world be attributed to him? Moreover, we will ask what he wishes to create (*sraṣṭum*). Would it be the ātman, the 'self' of the creatures? But this is eternal. Would it be the elements? They are eternal. Would God create himself? He is eternal. Besides, consciousness is not created by God since, at all times, it comes from the object; suffering and pleasure proceed from action. Then what is it that God has created? - If God acts without wishing, he is evidently subject to another; if he acts by wishing, he is subject to desire. Therefore if he acts, he is not sovereign (*īśa*). - The debate in Kośa, II, p. 311-313: V, p. 19, continues as follows: That things are produced by a single cause, by God, Mahādeva or Vāsudeva, is inadmissible for many reasons: (i) If things were produced by a single immutable cause, they would all arise at the same time; but everyone knows that they arise successively. If the order of their production depended on causes external to God, God would no longer be the sole cause. (ii) God creates out of his own satisfaction or for that of his creatures. If he creates for his own satisfaction, he has something to gain and he is not God. If he creates for the satisfaction of beings, how can you explain that the latter are victims of all the sufferings? (iii) To affirm the creative activity of God is to unwarrantedly posit an invisible and uncontrollable Cause and to neglect the visible causes the efficacy of which can be proven.

[On Buddhist atheism, Lav., *Atheism*, ERE, p. 183; *Morale*, P. 12-14; Oltramare, *Théosophie*, p. 228-231].

2) Atheistic insofar as Buddhism rejects any belief in a Supreme Being, it is theistic insofar as it welcomes gods of all kinds into its pantheon. The threefold world is populated with gods. Theologically speaking, it is understood that the deity has but a temporary nature, for the gods are subject to transmigration: an animal can be reborn in a divine form just as a god can reincarnate in the world of humans or animals. But with this exception, Buddhism, the connections of which with popular religions are many, seems to be very favorable towards gods. In his previous existence, the Buddha Śākyamuni was king of the Tuśita gods. It was at the request of Brahmā Sahāṃpati that he agreed to preach the Dharma. During his ministry, he dwelt for three months among the gods in order to preach the Abhidharma to his mother. A quick reading of the Lalitavistara allows one to appreciate the importance of the rôle played by the *deva*s and the *devatā*s in the biography of the Buddha. They form a backdrop in front of which the heroic achievement of the Buddha is played out. From the beginning, they are represented on religious monuments where the faithful offer them worship. For the Buddhist pantheon, see A. Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, Oxford, 1928; Rh. D., *Buddhist India*, p. 210 sq.; Lav., *Dogme et Philosophie*, p. 173); but the oldest texts insist on the existence of the gods and their beneficence to the faithful. - Majjhima. II, p. 212-213: Saṅgārava asks the Buddha: Do the gods exist? "I know with certainty, O Bhāradvāja, that the gods exist" (*ṭhānnaso me taṃviditaṃ yaditaṃ atthi devā*). Why did you not say that at the beginning? "Because everybody knows very well (*ucce saṃmataṃ lokasmim*) that the gods exist." - Dīgha, II, p. 88 (cf. Tch'ang a han, T 1, k. 2, p. 12c): Where man has established his dwellings, he supports with his gifts good men who know how to control their senses; he brings offerings to all the gods of that place. The gods, revered and honored by him, honor and revere him in turn. They surround him with their tenderness like a mother to the child born from her womb. The man who enjoys the favor of the gods sees only happiness around himself. - Aṅguttara, III, p. 77: The son of good family with his wealth.... honors, respects, reveres and pays homage to the deities who are worthy of his offerings (*balipaṭiggāhikā devatā*). Thus honored, these very kind deities have compassion for him and say: "Long life to you. May your long life be protected." The son of good family, pitied by the gods, can attain prosperity and not decline. - The good deities are all converted to Buddhism. They seve as the messengers of the Buddha (cf. Dīgha, III, p. 14; Majjhima, I, p. 497), and often go to recommend his doctrine to people. Thus they went to find the householder Ugga to tell him: "The Dharma has been well-

2. Furthermore, the three gods [Maheśvara, Viṣṇu and Kumāra] wish the fulfillment of all their desires for those who love them; to those whom they hate, they wish the seven destructions. The Buddha is not like that. While he was still the Bodhisattva, he offered his flesh *(māṃsa*), his head (*śiras*-), his eyes (*nayana*), his marrow (*majjā*) and his brain (*mastaka*) to his enemies (*amitracaura*) who had come to kill him.[276]

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preached by the Buddha." (*svākhāta, gahapati, Bhagavatā dhamma*); Ugga answered them ironically: "O deities, whether you recognize it or not, the Dharma has been well-preached by the Blessed One." [This episode is given by Aṅguttara, IV, p. 211, and the Chinese version of the Madhyamāgama, T 26 (no. 38), k. 9, p. 481a) - In a passage from the *Kṣitigarbhasūtra* cited in the Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 89, all the gods, from the *deva*s to the *piśāca*s, give the following assurance to the Buddha: Whoever will observe the holy doctrine and bring fame to the Three Jewels, we will protect him, we will preserve him and make him prosperous in ten ways. We will prolong his life and will always dispel the obstacles that threaten him. We will increase his health, his position, his wealth, his enjoyment and his pleasures, his sovereignty, his glory, his good friendships and the perfection of his wisdom.

We must bear in mind the whole Buddhist tradition in order to appreciate the exact extent of the attacks directed at the gods "of painting, sculpture, tradition and hymns." It is not the deities attacked here by Nāgārjuna, it is the foolishness of their sectarians who claim to raise them to the rank of a supreme Being.

276 Miracles of generosity accomplished by the Buddha in his past existences. Similar enumerations, below, k. 12, p. 146b3, 150b2; k. 17, p. 180a23. By borrowing these jātakas from the "Golden Legends" from Northwestern India, the Mppś shows its acquaintance with southern Buddhism. The first four miracles cited here are commemorated in the "four great stupas of northern India" mentioned by Fa hien, T 2085, p. 858c11 (tr. Legge, p. 32). The Chinese pilgrims who passed through Uḍḍiyāna and Gandhāra - Fa hien about the year 400, Dong yun about 520, Hiuan tsang about 630 - did not fail to visit them; their location has been precisely determined by archeologists (cf. Foucher, *Art Gréco-bouddhique*, I, p. 8-9).

(i) The "gift of the body" will be retold by the Mppś, k. 16, p. 170b26-28: Seeing a tigress about to devour her babies, he gave her the gift of his body. From other sources, mainly the Suveṇaprabhāsa, we know that the Bodhisattva was called Mahāsattva, son of Mahāratha, king of the Pañcalas. His brothers were Mahāprāṇada and Mahādeva.

Sanskrit sources: Suvarṇaprabhāsa, ch. 18: *Vyāgrīparivarta* (ed. Hokei Odzumi, p. 185-213; ed. Nobel, p. 201-240; Jātakamālā, ch. 1: *Vyāghrījātaka* (ed. Kern, p. 2-8); Avadānakalpalatā, ch. 51, v. 28-59 (ed. Chandra Das, II, p. 53-61).

Chinese sources: Lieou tou tsi king, T 153*2 (no. 4), k. 1, p. 3*2b (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, I, p. 15-17); P'ou sa pen hing king (T 155, k. 3, p. 119a25; Pen cheng man louen, T 160 (no, 1), k. 1, p. 332b-333b; P'ou sa t'eou sseu ngo hou k'i t'a yin yuan king, T 172, vol. III, p. 424b-428a; Hien yu king T 202 (no. 2), k. 1, p. 352b-353b (tr. Schmidt, *Der Weise und der Thor*, p. 21-26); Kin kouang ming king (T 665 (no. 26), k. 10, p. 450-456; King liu yi suang (T 2121, k. 31, p. 162).

The stūpa of the "gift of the body", on Banj peak in the south-east of Mahaban, was visited by Fa hien, T 2085, p. 858b9 (tr. Legge, pg. 32), by Song yun, T 2092, k. 5., p. 1020b7 (tr. Chavannes, *Voyage de Song Yun*, BEFEO, III, p. 411), and by Hiuan tsang, T 2087, p. 885c14-20 (tr. Beal, I, p. 145-146; Watters, I, p. 253).

Iconography: Mathurā, J. Ph. Vogel, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, Paris, 1930, p. 62 and pl. XX. - Central Asia, A. Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, Berlin 1912, fig. 446. 447; A. von Le Coq - E.Waldschmidt, *Budd. Spätantike*. VI, 24-25. - Formosa, G. Ecke - P. Demiéville, *Twin Pagodas of Zayton*, Cambridge, Mass., 1935, pl 41.

(ii) The "gift of flesh" will be fully told below, k. 4, p. 87c-88.

(iii) The “gift of the head": King Candraprabha of Bhadraśilā (according to other sources, King Mahāprahāsa of Vāraṇasī) is renowned for his generosity. The brahmin Raudrākṣa comes to ask him for his head. The ministers Mahācandra and Mahīdhara offer him a head made of precious substances; the brahmin does not accept; the king attaches his hair to a tree

And so, now that he has become Buddha, he will even less spare his life. This is why only the Buddha can bear the name Buddha. One must pay homage (*namas-*) [73b] to the Buddha, take the Buddha as teacher and not serve the gods.

SARVANAROTTAMA

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and cuts his head off himself to give it to the brahmin. - The Chinese pilgrims locate the scene near Takṣaśilā, the name of which, says Chavannes, must have given rise to the legend by a false etymology: Takṣaśira = 'cut-off head', in place of Takṣaśilā = 'cut-off rock'. - At any rate, the future Buddha renewed the gift of his head during a thousand successive births.

Sanskrit sources: Divyāvadāna, ch. 22, p. 314-328; Avadānakalpalatā, ch. 5, (vol I, p. 154-175).

Chinese sources: Lieou tou tsi king, T 152 (no. 5), k. 1, p. 2b-c (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, I, p. 17-19(; P'ou sa pen yuan king, (T 153 (no. 5), k. 2, p. 62c-64c; Ta fang pien fo pao ngen king T 156, k. 5, p. 149b-150b; Yue kouang p'ou sa king, T 166, vol III, p. 406-408 (corresponds to Divyāvadāna); Hien yu king, T 202 (no. 31), k. 6, p. 387b-390b (cf. Schmidt, Der Weise und der Thor, p. 174-183); P'i p'o cha, T 1545, k. 114, p. 593a26; King liu yi siang, T 2121, K. 25, p. 137a-c. The stūpa of "the gift of the head" at Takṣaśilā near Shah-Dheri, was visited by Fa hien, T 2085, p. 858b7-8 (tr. Legge, p. 32) and by Hiuan tsang, T 2087, k. 3, p. 884c21-23 (tr. Beal, I, p. 138: Watters, I, p. 244).

(iv) The "gift of the eyes": King Śibi gives his eyes to Śakra who transformed himself into a vulture (or a brahmin). The gift is rewarded and he soon recovers his sight.

Pāli sources: Śibijātaka, no. 499 (Jātaka, IV, p. 401-412); Cariyāpiṭaka, I, 8, p. 77-78 (tr. Law, p. 99-100); Milinda, p. 119 sq. (tr. Rh. D., p. 179).

Sanskrit sources: Avadānaśataka, I, p. 182-186 (tr. Feer, p. 124-127); Jātakamalā, chap. 2: *Śibijātaka*, p. 6-14 (tr. Speyer, p. 8-19).

Chinese sources: Siuan tsi po yuan king, T 200 (no. 33), k. 4, p. 218a-c; Hien yu king, T 202 (no. 32), k. 6, p. 390b-392c (cf. Scmidt, *Der Weise und der Thor*, p. 288-300). The stūpa of "the gift of the eyes" at Puṣkarmavati near Carsadda was visited by Fa hien, T 2085, p. 858b4-5 (tr. Legge, p. 31) and by Hiuan tsang, T 2087, k. 2, p. 881z23-24 (tr. Beal, I, p. 110; Watters, I, p.215).

(v) The "gift of marrow": When he was king Utpala, the Bodhisattva wrote a text of the Dharma with one of his broken bones as pen, his marrow as ink and his skin as parchment. This episode is told in the Kien yu king, T 202, k. 1, p. 351b (cf. Schmidt, *Der Weise und der Thor*, p. 15; P. E. Foucaux, *Grammaire de la langue tibétaine*, Paris, 1858, p. 211-212); P'ou sa pen jing king, T 155, k. 3, p. 119b16. The scene occurred at the Monastery of the Lentils (*masūrasaṃghārāma*) at Gumbatai, near Tursak, in Buner, and was visited by Song Yun, T 2092, k. 5, p. 1020b11-14 (tr. Chavannes, BEFEO, III, p. 412) and by Hiuan tsang, T 2087, k. 3, p. 883a12-13 (tr. Beal, I p. 124; Watters, I, p. 233-234). This episode is also told in the Mppś, k. 16, p. 178c and k. 49, p. 412a, but the hero is the brahmin *Ngai fa* (Dharmarakta) or *Lo fa* (Dharmarata); besides, he writes the stanza "with his skin as parchment and his blood as ink"; there is no mention of marrow. Thus it is possible that the Mppś, speaking of the "gift of marrow" was not thinking of this episode.

In the "gift of marrow", I [Lamotte] rather see an allusion to the jātaka where prince Candraprabha "broke one of his bones and pushed out the marrow to cure a sick man." This deed is told by the Mppś below, k. 12, p. 146b. It is also known to the Ratnakūta where the prince, like the ṛṣi mentioned above is called Utpala (cf. Ta pao tsi king, T310, k. 111, p. 631a; Maitreyaparipṛicchā, T 349, p. 188c; King liu yi siang, T 2121, k. 10, p. 55b).

Moreover, the Buddha possesses two things: (i) great qualities (*guṇa*) and the power of the superknowledges (*abhijñā*), and (ii) an absolutely pure mind (*paramaśuddhacitta*) and the destruction of the fetters (*saṃyojananirodha*). Although the gods have an accumulation of merit (*puṇyasaṃbhāra*) and miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*), their fetters are not destroyed and consequently their mind is not pure. Since their mind is impure, their miraculous power is decreased. Among the śrāvakas and the pratyekabuddhas, the fetters are destroyed and the mind is pure; nevertheless, as their accumulation of merit (*puṇyasaṃbhāra*) is reduced, their power (*prabhāva*) is weak. In the Buddha, the two qualities [merit and purity of mind] are perfected (*paripurṇa*). This is why he is called Sarvanarottama, Superior to all men. He is the only one to surpass all men.

OTHER EPITHETS

Bhagavat means endowed with qualities, as has been said above. He is also called:

A so mo (asama) [in the language of the Ts'in, Without equal],

A so mo so mo (asamasama) [ibid., Equal to that which is without equal].[277]

Lou kia na t'a (lokanātha) [ibid., Protector of the world].

Po lo k'ie (pāraga) [ibid., Having reached the other bank].

P'o t'an t'o (bhadanta) [ibid., Venerable one].

Che li k'ie na (śrīguṇa) [ibid., Perfection of beauty].

These are his innumerable epithets. His parents named him *Si ta t'o* (Siddhartha) [in the language of the Ts'in, Profit-realized one]. When he found the Path and understood all dharmas, he was called Buddha. When he accepted the worship of gods and men, he was also called by the names Bhadanta, Śrīguṇa. Thus, in various ways, names are given to him according to his qualities.

THE OMNISCIENT BUDDHA

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277 Asamasama, epithet found, e.g., in the Saddharmapuṇḍarikā, p. 456, the Mahāvastu, III, p. 231, the Mahāvyutpatti, no. 529, 6379. Burnouf and Kern translate it as 'equal to that which has no equal'; but the early interpretations vary: (i) completely incomparable (T 1718, k. 10, p. 1712); (2) the Buddhas are not the same (*asama*) as beings but the dharmakāya is the same (*sama*) in nature (T 1522, k. 2); (3) There is no equality (*asama*) between Buddha and non-Buddha, there is only equality (*sama*) between Buddha and Buddha (T 1775, k. 1; T 1721, k. 12); (4) in the nine spheres, the mind of beings cannot succeed in equalizing things; it is only in the Buddha sphere that he can; the mind of the Buddha is thus equal (*sama*) to the unequaled (*asama*) (T 1728, k. 10). In the same way, the six pāramitās are equal to the unequaled Buddha (T 1509, k. 40). These different interpretations have been gathered together in Hobogirin, *Ashamashama*, p. 38.

Question. - You are a partisan of the Kṣatriya clan! As son of king Śuddhodana, the Buddha was called Siddhārtha. It is out of [flattery] that you are decorating him with great names and that you call him omniscient (*sarvajñā*). He is not an omniscient one.

Answer. - Not at all! Rather, it is you, maliciously, are jealous and slander the Buddha. The omniscient one truly exists. Among all beings the Buddha is unequaled for his beauty (*rūpa*), grace (*prasāda*) and perfection (*ṛjutva*). By his characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*), his qualities (*guṇa*) and his brilliance (*āloka*), he surpasses all men (*sarvanarottama*). Humble people who saw his physical marks (*kāyalakṣaṇa*) recognized him to be omniscient (*sarvajñā*) and, *a fortiori*, the Great Man *(mahāpuruṣa*).

Thus in the *Fang nieou p'i yu king* (Gopālakāvadānasūtra)[278], it is said:

The king of *Mo k'ie t'o* (Magadha), *P'in p'o so lo,* invited the Buddha and his five hundred disciples for three months. The king required fresh milk (*navanīta kṣīra*) and cream (*sarpais-*) to offer to the Buddha and the assembly of monks (*bhikṣusaṃgha*). He ordered the cow-herders (*gopālaka*) to establish themselves in the neighborhood and to bring fresh milk and cream every day. At the end of the three months, the king, out of compassion for these cow-herders, said to them: "Come and see the Buddha, and then you can go back and keep your herds." The cow-herders, while coming to the Buddha, talked to one another along the way: "We have heard it said that the Buddha is omniscient (*sarvajñā*). We are lowly and humble, how could we judge if he is really omniscient? The brahmins, who love cream, always come to visit the cow-herders; they are friendly to us. Through them, the cow-herders have heard speak of all kinds of works and brahmanical texts. They have spoken to us about the four *Wei t'o* (Vedas) and the knowledge [73c] they contain: therapeutic (*bhaiṣajya*) and military arts (*kṣatradharma*), astronomy (*jyotiṣa*),

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[278] The craft of cow-herding and in particular the eleven rules to be observed for the well-being of herds have been described in almost identical terms by many texts. The documents can be classified into two groups: the *Mahāgopālakasutta* and the *Gopalalāvadāna*.

1) The *Mahāgopālakasutta* is attested by two Pāli editions and four Chinese versions:

(i) Majjhima, I, p. 220-224 (tr. Chalmers, I, p. 157-159; Neumann, I, p. 514-523.

(ii) Aṅguttara,V, p. 347-353 (tr. Woodward, V, p. 224-227; Nyanatiloka, V, p. 514-518).

(iii) Chinese Saṃyukta: Tsa a an, T 99 (no. 1248), k. 47, p. 342.

(iv) Chinese Ekottara: Tseng yi a han,T 125, k. 46, p. 794.

(v) A single sūtra transl. by Kumārajiva under the title Fang nieou king, T 123, , p. 546.

(vi) A single sūtra transl. by Hiuan tsang under the title Yuan k'i king, T 124, , p. 547.

2) The Gopālakāvadāna, development of the preceding sūtra which has come down to us in Sanskrit fragments and two Chinese collections:

(vii) Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, ed. Lüders, p. 177-178

(viii) Ta tchouang yen louen king, T 201 (no, 61), k. 11, p. 316b-319a (tr. Huber, *Sūtrālaṃkāra*, p.308-313).

(ix) Ta tche tou louen, T 1509, k. 2, p. 73b-74c.

The translation of the eleven rules of the ox-herder present some difficulties. S. Lévi has compared the Pāli text with the Chinese versions no. iii, iv and viii (Aśvaghoṣa, *Le Sūtrālaṃkāra et ses sources*, JA, July-Sept., 1908, p. 140-144). The comparison of all these sources would take us too long, but here below we will give the Sanskrit and Pāli text of the eleven rules.

sacrificial rites (*yajñadharma*), chants (*gītā*), teaching (*upadeśa*), dialectic (*codyadharma*): in brief, the sixty-four arts (*kalā*) in use in the world.[279] The son of Śuddhodana (the Buddha) is wise and learned (*bahuśruta*); if he knows these things, we cannot object to him in any way. But he has not kept cows from the time he was born [like we have]. We will ask him about the secrets of breeding. If he knows them, he is truly omniscient."

While they were talking thus, they entered into the *Tchou yuan* (Veṇuvana) and saw the rays of the Buddha which lighted up the woods. They approached the Buddha and saw him seated under a tree; he was like a golden mountain in size; like a butter-lamp, he shone with great brilliance; like molten gold, he spread a golden light over the Veṇuvana. The cow-herders could not take their eyes off him; their hearts felt great joy. They said to one another:

This lion of the Śākyas,

Is he omniscient or not?

When one sees him, one is forced to rejoice,

The investigation is already conclusive.

His rays of light are extremely luminous,

His aspect is noble and grave,

His physical marks majestic, his qualities perfect.

He is saluted by the name of Buddha.

His marks are quite evident

His power is complete,

His merits and his qualities are intertwined

Those who see him are compelled to love him.

A halo (*vyomaka*) surrounds his body.

Those who contemplate him cannot be surfeited.

If the omniscient one exists

He must necessarily possess these qualities.

All the paintings,

Jewelry, ornaments and images

That would try to imitate this wondrous body

Are unable to equal it.

[279] These 64 worldly arts are enumerated in the Sūtrālaṃkāra, tr. Huber, p. 311-312.

He can fulfill those who contemplate him

And cause them to find supreme happiness.

[74a]By seeing him, one has absolute conviction

That he is certainly omniscient.

Having thought thus, they greeted the Buddha and sat down. They asked him: "How many rules for the cow-herder (*gopālaka*) should be kept so that his herd (*gogaṇa*) prospers (*spātīkṛ*-), how many rules should he neglect for his herd to decrease and lose its prosperity (*yogakṣema*)?" The Buddha answered: "If he observes eleven rules, the cow-herder is able to make his herd prosper (*ekādaśabhir aṅgaih samnvāgato gopālako bhavyo gogaṇaṃ pariharitum spjātīkartum*). What are these eleven rules?[280] (1) He knows their colors (*rūpaṃ jānāti*). (2) He knows the distinctive marks (*lakṣaṇāni jānāti*). (3) He knows how to brush them (*āśātikāḥ śātayati*). (4) He knows how to heal their wounds (*vraṇaṃ praticchādayati*). (5) He knows how to make smoke [for them] (*dhūmaṃ kartā bhavati)*. (6) He knows the good paths (*vīthiṃ jānāti*). (7) He knows what the herd needs (*pīthaṃ jānāti*).[281] (8) He knows the fords (*tīrthaṃ jānāti)*. (9) He knows the good pasturs (*gocaraṃ jānāti)*. (10) He knows how to milk them (*sāvaśeṣadohī bhavati*). (11) He knows how to pay respect to the leaders of the herd (*ye ca te ṛṣhabhā gavāṃ patayas tān atirekapūjāya pūjayitā hoti*). The cow-herder who observes these eleven rules can make his herd prosper. In the same way, the bhikṣu who knows eleven rules can make his good dharmas (*kuśaladharma*) progress (*vardhayati*).

(1) How does he know the colors? The cow-herder knows the black (*kṛṣṇa)*, white (*avadmata*) or mottled colors [of his herd]. In the same way, the bhikṣu knows that all matter is made up of the four great elements (*mahabhūta*) or of matter derived from the four elements (*upādāyarūpa*).[282]

(2) How does he know the distinctive marks? The cow-herder knows the favorable and unfavorable marks. When his animals mix with other herds, he recognizes them by these marks. In the same way, the bhikṣu, finding in someone the mark of good actions, recognizes him to be a wise person (*paṇḍita*), finding in someone else the mark of bad actions, recognizes him to be a fool (*bāla*).[283]

(3) How does he know how to brush them? The cow-herder brushes (*śātayati*) them and destroys the insects (*āśātikā*) that drink the blood [of his animals] and aggravate their wounds. In the same way, the

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[280] I [Lamotte] have borrowed the Sanskrit equivalents of these 11 rules from the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, p. 177. They correspond exactly to the Pāli text (Majjhima, I, p. 222; Aṅguttara, V, p. 351; only the order differs: (1) *rūpaññū hoti, ...* (11) ... *atirkapūjāya ekapūjāya pūjetā hoti*.

[281] *Pītaṃ jānmati,* in Sanskrit, *pīṭhaṃ jānati,* presents some difficulties. In Pāli, *pīta* means drink; and Buddhaghosa (Papañca, II, p. 259) comments on this rule by saying: *gopālakena.... jānaitabbaṃ hoti*. - In Sanskrit, *pīṭha*, which also means 'water' or 'drink', can also mean "time' or 'epoch'. At least this is the meaning Kumārajiva gives the expression in the various translations he has made of the Sūtra of the cow-herders: T 123: He knows the cows that are in heat (*ngai nieou*). - T 291: He knows the rule that makes the cows go into and out of rut. - T 1509: He knows what the herd needs.

[282] Cf. Aṅguttara, V, p. 351: *bhikkhu yaṃ kiñci.... yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti*.

[283] Ibid., p. 351: *bhikkhu kammalakkhaṇo.... pajjānati*.

bhikṣu chases away the insects of perverse views that drink the blood of the roots of good (*kuśalamūla*) and aggravate the wounds of the mind (*cittavaraṇa*). When he has chased them away, there is safety (*yogakṣema*).

(4) How does he heal their wounds? The cow-herder, with the help of cloth (*paṭa),* herbs *(tṛṇa) or* leaves *(parṇa),* heals the small stings caused by mosquitoes (*maśaka*). Similarly, by means of the holy Dharma (read *yi tcheng fa*, *saddharmeṇa*), the bhikṣu heals the wounds inflicted by the six sensory pleasures. He does not allow himself to be stung by these bad insects called desire (*rāga*), hatred (*dveṣa*) and ignorance (*moha*).

(5) Why does he know how to make smoke? [By making smoke, the cow-herder] drives away the mosquitoes (*maśaka*); seeing the smoke at a distance, the cows go towards his house. Similarly, the bhikṣu preaches the Dharma according to the teachings he has received (*yathāśruta*)284 and drives away the mosquitoes of the fetters (*saṃyojana*). By the smoke of their preaching (*dharmadeśana*) they invite beings to enter into the abode of the non-self (*anātman*), of the true nature (*satyalakṣaṇa*) and of emptiness (*śūnya*).

(6) How does he know the paths? He knows the the good paths to be used and the bad paths to be avoided by the herds. In the same way, the bhikṣu knows the eightfold noble path (*āryāṣṭāṅgika mārga*) that leads to nirvāṇa; he avoids the bad paths of nihilism (*uccheda*) or eternalism (*śāśvata*).

(7) How does he know the needs of the herd? The cow-herder acts in such a way that his animals multiply and are not sick. In the same way the bhikṣu, when the Dharma is preached to him, experiences the pure joy of the Dharma (*viśuddhadharmaveda)* and his roots of good (*kuśalamūla*) increase. 285

(8) How does he know the fords? The cow-herder knows the places easy of access, easy to cross, sheltered from the waves (*taraṅga*) and from nasty insects (*kṛmi*). In the same way, the bhikṣu goes to the wise monks (*bahuśruta*) and questions them on the Dharma. Preachers (*dharmabhāṇaka*) who know in advance if the mind (*citta*) of their listeners is keen (*tīkṣṇa*) or dull (*mṛdu*), if their passions (*kleśa*) are light or heavy, [easily] lead them to good fords and have them cross safely (*yogakṣema*).286

(9) How does he know the pastures? The cow-herder knows the places sheltered from ferocious beasts like tigers (*vyāghra*) and lions (*siṃha*) and nasty insects (*kṛmi*). Similarly the bhikṣu knows the safety (*yogakṣema*) of the four foundations of mindfulness (*smṛtyupasthāna*) sheltered from the wild beasts that are the passions (*kleśa*) and the evil māras. When he has penetrated there, he knows safety free of unhappiness.

(10) How does he know how to milk them? It is because the cow (*vatsā*) loves her calf (*vatsa*) that she gives it her mlk. Also when the cow-herder [refrains from depleting her completely] and leaves her some milk, the cow is happy and the calf is not left thirsty. The owner of the herd and the cow-herder are both

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284 Ibid., p. 352: *bhikkhu yathāsutaṃ yathāpariyattaṃ dhammaṃ vitthārena paresaṃ desitā hoti.*

285 Ibid., p. 352: *bhikkhu yathāgatappavedite.... pāmujjaṃ*. - According to Buddhaghosa (Papañca, I, p. 173) -*veda*, in the expression *dhammaveda* is synonymous with joy (*somanassa*).

286 Ibid., p. 352: *bhikkhu ye te bhikkū bahussutā.... kaṅkhaṃ paṭivinodenti*.

benefitted each day. Similarly, when the farmers (*vaiśya*) and the lay people (*avadātavasana*) give the bhikṣu garments (*cīvara*) and food (*āhāra*), he knows how to stay within bounds (*mātra*) and not deplete them entirely.287 Thus the generous patrons (*dānapati*) are content, their faith (*śraddhācitta*) remains intact, and the [monk] who enjoys their gifts (*pratigrāhaka*) is not wearied [by their alms].

(11) How does he know how to pay respect to the leader of the herd? Specially designated big cows watch over the herd. It is necessary to take care of them and watch that they do not get thin. The cow-herder gives them oil (*taila*), decorates them rings (*keyūra, niṣka*) and gives them an iron horn (*ayaḥśṛṅga*) as a sign. He brushes them, flatters them and calls them [by their name]. In the same way, as is customary (*yathāyoga*), the bhikṣu serves (*satkaroti)* and venerates (*pūjayati)* the high individuals of the community (*saṃgha*) who protect (*pālayanti)* the Buddhadharma, conquer (*abhibhavanti*) the heretics (*tīrthika*) and lead the eightfold community to plant (*avaropaṇa*) the seeds of good (*kuśalamūla*).288

When the cow-herders heard these words, they had the following thought: "[Of all these rules] we ourselves knew only three or four. Our masters themselves only know five or six. And so, hearing these words of the Buddha, we cry out at the miracle (*adbhuta*). If the Buddha knows the craft of cow-herding, he also knows everything else. He is truly omniscient (*sarvajñā*), there is no doubt about it."

This sūtra has been recited here fully. By it, we know that the Omniscient one exists.

Question. - There cannot be an omniscient one in the world. Why? Because nobody has seen the Omniscient one.

Answer. - That is not correct. Just because one cannot see something, one cannot say that it does not exist.

1. A thing really exists, but since it is hidden (*gūḍha*), one does not see it. Thus the origin of the clan (*gotra*) of a man, the weight (*gurutva*) of the Himālayas, the number of grains of sand of the Ganges (*gaṅgānadīvālukāsaṃkhyā*) really exist but one cannot cognize them.

2. A thing does not exist and, because it does not exist, one does not see it, for example, a second head (*dvitīya śīrṣaka*) or a third hand (*tṛtīya hasta*); it is not because they are hidden that one does not see them.

Thus, because the Omniscient one is hidden, you do not see him; but nonetheless, he exists. Why is he hidden? [Because those who ought to see him] do not possess the required four kinds of faith289, and their minds are attached (*abhiniviśate*) to error. It is because he is hidden to you that you do not see the Omniscient one.

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287 Ibid., p. 352: *bhikkhu saddhā gahapatikā.... mattaṃ jānāti paṭiggahaṇāya*.

288 Ibid., p. 353: *bhikku ye te bhikkhū therā rattaññā.... paccupaṭṭhāpati √vī c'eva raho ca*.

289 These are the four types of faith that accompany the awareness of the Buddhist truths which are called *avetyaprasāda*: faith relating to the Buddha, the Dharma , the Saṃgha and the disciplines held by the saints (*āryakāntāni śīlāni*). Cf. Dīgha, III, p. 227; Majjima, I, p. 37, 46; II, 51; III, p. 253; Saṃyutta, II, p. 99; IV, p. 271, 304; V, p. 343, 409; Aṅguttara, I, p. 222; II, p. 56; III, p. 212, 332, 451; IV, p. 406; V, p. 183; Avadānaśataka, II, p. 92; Madh. vṛtti, p. 487; Mahāvyutpatti, no. 6823; Bodh. bhūmi, p. 161, 327; Kośa, VI, p. 292; Kośavyākhyā, p. 605.

Question. - There is no Omniscient one because the things that he must know (*jñeya*) [to be omniscient] are numberless. The dharmas are innumerable (*apramāṇa*) and infinite (*ananta*). If many men together cannot know them, how could one single man know them? Therefore there is no Omniscient one.

[74c] Answer. - If the dharmas are innumerable, the wisdom (*prajñā*) of the Buddha itself is immense (*ananta*). It is like an envelope: if the letter is big, the envelope is large; if the letter is short, the envelope is small.

Question. - The Buddha himself has preached the Buddhadharma, but he has not spoken about the other sciences, medicine (*bhaiṣajya*), geography (*bhūgolavidyā*), astronomy (*jyotiṣa*), arithmetic (*gaṇanā*), politics (*nīti*), etc. If he is omniscient, why has he not spoken of all these sciences? Therefore we know that he is not omniscient.

Answer. - 1. He knows everything, but he talks about it when it is useful and does not talk about it when it is useless. If he is questioned, he speaks; if he is not questioned, he says nothing.

2. Furthermore, he has spoken of everything in general (*samāsataḥ)* as being of three types: (i) conditioned phenomena (*saṃskṛtadharma*), (ii) unconditioned phenomena (*asaṃskṛtadharma*), (iii) inexpressible phenomena (*avācyadharma*). These three categories include all the dharmas.

Question. - We know that the Buddha is not omniscient because he did not reply to fourteen difficult questions.290 What are these fourteen difficult questions?

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290 These fourteen difficult questions are often referred to in scholasticism by the term "Fourteen reserved or non-defined points" (*caturdaśāvyākṛtavastūni*). Cf. Madh. vṛtti, p. 446; Madh. avatāra, p. 250-251 (tr. Lav. Muséon, 1911, p. 297-298; Kośa, V, p. 43. The Pāli canon and the Chinese translation of the Madhyamāgama (T 26) list only ten reserved points. (1-2) *Sassato loko, asassato loko*. (3-4) *Antavā loko, anatavā loko*. (5-6) *Taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sarīraṃ, aññaṃ jīvaṃ aññaṃ sarīraṃ*. (7-10) *Hoti tathāgato paraṃ marāṇā, na hoti tathāgato paraṃ maraṇā, hoti ca na ca hoti tathāgato paraṃ maraṇā, neva hoti na na hoti tathāgato paraṃ marāṇā*. This formula, the most frequent, occurs in Dīgha, I, p. 187-188; Majjhima, I, p. 157, 426, 484; Saṃyutta III, p. 213-216; III, p. 258; IV, p. 280. 391-392; V, p. 418. The same formula is repeated in Tchong a han, T 26 (no. 221), k. 60, p. 804b (corresponding to Majjhima, I, p. 426).

But most of the Chinese Nikāyas are already familiar with these fourteen points. As a general rule, when a Pāli sutta enumerates ten points only, the corresponding sūtra in the Chinese Saṃyukta counts fourteen: Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 962), k. 34, p. 245c (corresponds to Majjhima, I, p. 484); ibid., (no. 963), k. 34, p. 246 (corresponds to Saṃyutta, III, p. 258); ibid., (no. 968), k. 34, p. 248c (corresponds to Aṅguttara, V, p. 186); ibid., (no. 408), k. 16, p. 109a-b (corresponds to Saṃyutta, V, p. 418). - The fourteen points are also in the abridged version of the Chinese Saṃyukta, T 100 (no. 196), k. 10. p. 445a; (no. 202), k. 11, p. 448c. - The Chinese version of the Dīrgha also has sixteen points by adding two supplementary points to nos. 13 and 14 of the formula of fourteen points: Tch'ong a han, T 1 (no. 28), k. 17, p. 111a (corresponds to Dīgha, I, p. 187-188). - As do all the treatises of scholasticism, the Mppś adopted the formula of fourteen points. A few rare texts (Dīgha, I, p. 16; III, p. 137; Majjhima, II, p. 233) modify the fourteen point formula by adding *attā* in front of the word *loka* that appears in the first eight points. Thus they say: *sassato attā ca loka ca, asassato attā ca loka,* etc. - This modification has been adopted here by the Mppś. - [There is an aberrant formula in the Chinese version of the Ekottara, Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 43, p. 784b: Does the self exist? Does it not exist? Does it both exist and not exist? Is the world eternal? Is it non-eternal? Is the world finite? Is the world infinite? Is the soul the same thing as the body? Is it different from the body? Does the Tathāgata die? Does he not die? Is there death? Is there no death?]

(1-4) Are the world and the self eternal? Are they non-eternal? Are they both eternal and non-eternal? Are they neither eternal nor non-eternal? (*śāśvato lokaś cātmā ca, aśāśvato lokah cātmā ca, śāśvataś cāśāśhvatah ca lokah cātmā ca, naiva śāśvato nāśāśvataś ca lokah cātmā ca*).

(5-9) Are the world and the self finite? Are they infinite? Are they both finite and infinite? Are they neither finite nor infinite? (*Antavān lokaś cātmā ha, anantavān lokah cātmā ca, antavāmh ca lokaś cātmā ca, naivānantavān nānantavāṃś ca lokaś cātmā ca*).

(9-12) Does the Tathāgata [or the saint freed from desire] exist after death? Does he not exist after death? Does he both exist and not exist after death? Is it false that he both exists and does not exist after death? (*bhavati tathāgataḥ paraṃ māraṇān na bhavati tathāgataḥ paraṃ maraṇād bhavati ca na bhavati ca tathāgataḥ paraṃ maraṇāṇ naiva bhavati na na bhavati ca tathāgataḥ paraṃ maraṇāt*).

(13-14) Is the life-principle the same as the body? Is the life-principle different from the body? (*Sa jīvas tac charīram, anyo jīvo 'nyac charīram*).

If the Buddha is omniscient, why did he not answer these fourteen difficult questions?

Answer. - 1. These questions are futile and that is why the Buddha did not answer them. The eternity (*śāśvata*) of the dharmas is unnecessary (*ayukta*); their cessation (*uccheda*) is even more unnecessary. This is why the Buddha did not answer. If it is asked how many liters of milk (*kṣīra*) is given by a cow's horn, that is not a proper question and it is not necessary to answer it. Besides, the universe (*lokadhātu*) has no end (*anavastha*): like a chariot wheel (*rathacakra*), it has no beginning and no end *(apūrvācarama*).291

The Buddha always declined answering these questions and some Indianists have used this as an excuse to present him as an agnostic. Some are even of the opinion that his agnosticism conceals a total nihilism: if the Buddha refused to provide a solution to the great problems that preoccupy humanity, it is because he had answered in the negative *in petto*. de La Vallée Poussin, who has always argued in favor of the blessed nirvāṇa, has put forth and discussed these interpretations in his article *Agnoticisme*, ERE, I, p. 220-225, and in his work, *Nirvāṇa*, Paris, 1923, p. 85-129. Probably early Buddhism, more preoccupied with asceticism than with metaphysics, did not ask these questions, but when they were raised in the course of time, it thought they could be evaded by condemning them as irrelevant and even dangerous under the pretext that they were not directed towards the discipline of salvation.

291 The first point contains the answer to the first two series of questions: "Is the world eternal, etc.", "Is the world finite, etc."

The first question should be rejected because it clashes with the condemnation of the viewpoints of eternalism (*śāśvatadrṣṭi)* and nihilism (*ucchedadrṣṭi)*. Cf Udāna, p. 33: *ye hi keci samaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā.... bhavasmā'ti vadāmi.* - The same text is given in the Tibetan Udānavarga XXXII, 40, p. 136: *dge sbyoṅ bram ze sñed pa/.... brjod par bya*/ - Madh. vṛtti, p. 530: *Ye kecid bhikṣavo bhavena.... vibhave tṛṣṇā ca*.

The second question is also to be rejected because the world does not admit a limit and by that very fact avoids the categories of finite and infinite.

[By 'world' (*loka*) the universe is meant here. But Kośa, IX, p. 267, tells us that, by *loka*, some mean the soul (*ātman*), others, transmigration (*saṃsāra*).]

2. Furthermore, there is no advantage in answering these questions, but there is the disadvantage of leading [the questioner] into error.292 The Buddha knows that these fourteen difficult points hide the four truths (*catur āryasatya*) and the true nature (*satyalakṣhaṇa*) of the dharmas endlessly. If there are noxious insects at a [75a] ford, people should not be invited to cross there. A place should be safe (*yogakṣema*) and without danger (*anupadrava*) so that people can be invited to cross.

3. Furthermore, some say that these questions can be understood only by the Omniscient one; since [other] men cannot understand them, the Buddha does not reply.293

4. Furthermore, some people call existent (*sat*) that which is non-existent (*asat*), and call non-existent that which is existent. They are not 'omniscient'. The Omniscient one does not call non-existent that which exists, does not call existent that which does not exist; he preaches only the true nature (*satyalakṣaṇa*) of the dharmas. Why should he not be called omniscient? The sun (*sūrya*) does not create the mountains and the valley nor does it create the plains, but it does illuminate everything uniformly. In the same way, the Buddha does not make non-existent that which exists, does not make non-existent that which does not exist. He always speaks the truth (*satya*) and the brilliance of his wisdom (*prajñāloka*) illuminates all the dharmas. He is like a unique path (*ekamārga*). When people ask the Buddha if the twelve-membered law (*pratītyasamutpāda*) was created by the Buddha or by another, the Buddha answers: "I have not created the twelve-membered law nor has anyone else created it. Whether Buddhas exist or do not exist, birth (*jāti)* is the cause and condition (*hetupratyaya*) of old age and death (*jarāmaraṇa*): that is the eternal and enduring law."294 The Buddha teaches that birth is the cause and condition of old age and death, and coming to the end [of the causal chain], that ignorance (*avidyā*) is the cause and condition of the formations (*saṃskāra*).

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292 This second point concerns the fourth series of questions: "What is the nature of the life-principle?" The answer depends on the intention of the questioner. Vacchagotta, who believes in the existence of the soul, receives an answer different from Phagguna who disbelieves in it. See above.

293 Some Buddhists gladly confine themselves to 'the charcoal-burner's faith' without trying to understand the mysteries. Cf. Saṃdhinirmocana, VII, 19, p. 200: Some beings do not understand the Buddhist formulas correctly; however, they stick to it and are faithful to it. They say: "The sermons preached by the Lord are profound... We don't understand their meaning... But the intellect of the Buddhas is profound, the nature of things is also profound. The Tathāgata knows, we don't know. The preaching of the Tathāgata penetrates into each being according to their various levels of faith." - Ratnakūta cited inthe Śikṣasamuccaya, p. 55: *yeṣu cāsya gambhīreṣu buddhir... pravartatata iti*.

294 Later (k. 32, p. 298a), the Mppś will return to this sūtra and will indicate the reference to it: As is said in the Tsa a han (Saṃyuktāgama), a bhikṣu asked the Buddha if the twelve-membered law had been made by the Buddha himself or by someone else. The Buddha said to the bhikṣu: “It is not I who made the twelve-membered law and nobody else has made it. Whether Buddhas exist or do not exist, this dharma-nature of the dharmas, this subsistance of the dharmas, is stable” (*utpādād vā tathāgatānām anutpādād vā tathāgatānām sthitaiveyaṃ dharmāṇāṃ dharmatā dharmasthititā*). As a result, that being, this is; by the production of that, this is produced, namely, the formations originate from ignorance; from the formations consciousness originates, and so on up to: [from birth] originates old age, suffering and moaning, sadness, grief and despair. This is the origin of this mass of suffering (*yad uta asmin satīdaṃ bhavati.... duḥkhaskandhasyotpādo bhavati*). Conversely, that not being, this is not; from the cessation of that, this ceases, namely, by the cessation of ignorance, the formations cease; by the cessation of the formations, consciousness ceases, and so on

5. Furthermore, to reply to the fourteen difficult questions would be to commit a fault. If you ask of what type is the size or the physique of a son of a barren woman and a eunuch (*vandhyāpaṇḍakaputra*)295, that would not deserve an answer, for such a son does not exist.

6. Furthermore, these fourteen difficult questions are wrong views (*mithyādṛṣṭi*), are not realities (*satya*). Now the Buddha is occupied only with realities. This is why he stops (*sthāpayati*) and does not answer.

7. Finally, to be silent and not answer is an answer. There are four ways of answering (*vyākaraṇa*): (i) answering in a categorical way (*ekāṃśena vyākaraṇa*): [this is how he answers when it concerns], for example, the Buddha, the absolute (*parama*), nirvāṇa and salvation (*yogakṣema*); (ii) answering by distinguishing (*vibhajyavyākaraṇa*); (iii) answering by asking a question (*paripṛcchāvyākaraṇa*); (iv) answering by not replying (*sthāpanīyavyākaraṇa*). Here the Buddha answers by not replying.296

You say that there is no omniscient one! Such a statement is absurd and consitutes a serious falsehood (*mṛṣāvāda*). In fact, the Omniscient one exists. Why? Because he has attained the ten powers (*bala*), he knows what is possible (*sthāna*) and what is impossible (*asthāna*), he knows the causes and conditions (*hetupratyaya*) and the retribution of actions (*karmavipāka*), he knows the samādhis and the deliverances (*vimokṣa*), he knows the good or bad faculties of beings (*sattvendriyavarāvara*), he knows the various kinds of deliverances from desire (*nānāvidharāganirmokṣa)*, he knows the innumerable lineages (*sing*, 38 and 5) of all the types of universes (*nānāvidhalokadhātva-pramāṇagotra*), he knows all the abodes (*vihāra*) and their paths (*mārga*); he knows the conduct (*caryā)* and the thoughts (*manasikāra*) [of beings] in their previous existences (*pūrvajanma*), he has acquired the discrimination of the divine eye (*divyacakṣurvyakti*), he knows the cessation of all the impurities (s*arvāsravakṣaya*), he distinguishes

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[by the cessation of birth] old age and death, suffering and moaning, sadness, grief and despair cease. This is the cessation of all this mass of suffering (*tatrāvidyānirodhāt ,,,,, nirodho bhavati*)."

This sūtra, which is absent in the Pāli Saṃyuttanikāya, has its exact correpondent in the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama (Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 299), k. 12, p. 85b-c) which situates it at *Kiu-lieou-cheou Tiao-nieou-tsiu-lo* (Kuruṣu Kalmāṣadamyanigama). This sūtra has nothing new in it except its beginning, where the Buddha affirms that the pratītyasamutpāda has not been made by him or by any other person; the rest is an accumulation of stock phrases endlessly repeated in the canonical scriptures, both Pāli and Sanskrit. The well-known formula *utpādād vā tathāgatānām* ... occurs with several variations in Saṃyutta, II, p. 25 (cf. Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 296), k. 12, p. 84b); Aṅguttara, I, p. 286; Visuddhimagga, p. 518; Śalistambasūtra in Lav., *Théorie des douze causes*, Gand, 1913, p. 73; Aṣṭāsāhasrikā, p. 274; Laṅkāvatāra, p. 143; Kośavyākhyā, p. 293; Madh. vṛtti, p. 40; Pañjikā, p. 599; Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 14. Daśabhūmika, p. 65. – L. de La Vallée Poussin (o.c, p. 109) also has found it in brahmanical sources: Bhāmatī ad II, 2, 19; Tantravārtitika (BSS, p. 163).

295 On this comparison, see above.

296 These four ways of answering a question (*pañhavyākaraṇa*) are mentioned in Dīgha, III, p. 229; Aṅguttara, I, p. 197; Milinda, p. 144; Tch'ang a han, T 1, k. 8, p. 51b1; Tchong a han, T 26, k. 29, p. 609a. These texts distinguish *ekaṃsavyākaṇiyo pañho*, *vibhajjavyākaraṇīyo paṇho*, *paṭipucchāvyākaraṇīyo*, *ṭhāpanīyo pañho*. The Sanskrit text reproduced here is taken from the Mahāvyutpatti, no. 1658-1661. - Definitions and examples in Kośa, V, p. 44-47.

NOTE: The lengthy Pāli and Sanskrit quotations have been abbreviated.

clearly between good (*śubha*) and bad, he preaches a supreme doctrine (*agradharma*) in all the universes, he has acquired the taste of ambrosia (*amṛtarasa*), he has found the middle path (*madhyamā pratipad*), he knows the true nature of all conditioned (*saṃskṛta*) or unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*) dharmas, he has rejected forever all desire of the three worlds (*trailokyarāga*). It is for these reasons that the Buddha is omniscient.

[75b] So be it! The Omniscient one exists, but who is it?

Answer. - It is the supreme one (*parama*), the Great Man *(mahāpuruṣa*), the one who is venerated in the three worlds (*trailokyajyeṣṭha*): he is called Buddha.

Thus the *Tsan fo kie* (Buddhastotragāthā) say:

First-born (*mūrdhaja*) and king cakravartin,

The Buddha is like the light of the sun and moon.

He belongs to the noble line of the Śākyas

He is the crown prince of king Śuddhodana.

At the moment of his birth, he moved three thousand Sumerus and stirred up the water of the ocean.

In order to destroy old age, sickness and death,

Out of compassion, he came to the world.

At his birth, he took seven steps,
His rays filled the ten directions.
He gazed four times and uttered a great cry:
“My births”, he cried, “are finished.”

Having become Buddha, I will preach a marvelous doctrine
I will beat the drum of the Dharma loudly,
By that I will awaken beings
And the world out of the sleep of ignorance."

In many forms, such were the miracles (*adbhuta*) that appeared.
Gods and men,
Seeing them, rejoiced.

The Buddha had a body adorned with the marks.
A great light shone on his face.
All men and women
Could not get enough of seeing him.

When the child was nursed and fed,

His strength surpassed that of a nayuta of *gandhahastin.*
The power of his *ṛddhipāda* was extreme,
That of his *prajñā* immense.

The great rays of the Buddha
Illuminated his body outwardly.
In the midst of his rays, the Buddha
Was like the moon in its splendor.

The Buddha was criticized in many ways,
He experienced no sorrow from that;
The Buddha was praised in many ways,
He experienced no joy from that.

His great *maitrī* is extended to all,
Enemies and friends alike, without distinction.
All classes of intelligent beings
Know all the effects of that.

By the power of his *kṣānti*, *lajjā*, *maitrī* and *karuṇā*,
He conquers the whole world.
In order to save beings,
From age to age, he accepts the effort and the pain.

His mind is always concentrated
On doing good for beings.
He has the ten powers (*bala*) of knowledge (*jñāna*)
And the four fearlessnesses (*vaiṣāradya*).

He possesses the eighteen special *(āveṇika*) attributes
And a treasury of immense qualities (*guṇa*).
Such are the innumerable
Powers of his prodigious qualities.

Like a fearless lion
He destroys the heretical systems,
[75c] He turns the peerless wheel of Dharma,
He saves and delivers the threefold world.

His name is Bhagavat. The meaning (*artha*) of this word is immense (*apramāna*) and if one wanted to explain it fully, other points would have to be neglected. This is why we have spoken of it in general (*samāsataḥ*).

CHAPTER V: RĀJAGṚHA

Sūtra: The Buddha was dwelling in the city of Rājāgṛha (*rājagṛhe viharati sma*).

Śāstra: This phrase must be explained now.

Question. - Why is it said that the Buddha was dwelling at Rājagṛha instead of describing the teachings of the Prajñāpāramitā directly?

Answer. - The author mentions the place (*deśa*), the time (*kāla*) and the individuals (*pudgala*) so that people will trust (*śraddhā*) his story.

VIHĀRA

What is meant by dwelling?

1. The four bodily positions (*īryāpatha*)[297]: sitting (*niśadana*), lying (ś*ayyā)*, walking (*gamana*) and standing (*sthāna*) are called dwelling. The Buddha takes up these positions to frighten Māra's troops (*mārasena*) and so that his disciples will rejoice (*pramodante*) and enter into all kinds of *dhyāna*s.

2. Furthermore, there are three dwellings: divine abodes (*divyavihāra*), the abode of Brahma (*brāhmavihāra*) and the abode of the saints (*āryavihāra*).[298]

The divine abodes are the abodes of the six classes of the gods of desire (*kāmadeva*).

The brāhmavihāras are the abodes of the Brahmā gods, etc., up to the gods who are neither with nor without perception (*naivasaṃjñānāsaṃjñāyatanadeva*).

The abodes of the saints are the abodes of the Buddhas, the pratyekabuddhas and the arhats.

Of these three types of abodes, the Buddha chooses the āryavihāra. But [here], out of compassion (*anukampa*) for beings (*sattva*), he abides in the city of Rājagṛha.

3. Furthermore, three things, generosity (*dāna*), discipline (*śīla*) and good thoughts (*kuśalacitta*) constitute the divyavihāra.

[76a] The four limitless minds (*apramānacitta*): loving-kindness (*maitrī*), compassion (*karuṇā)*, joy (*muditā*) and equanimity (*upekṣā*) constitute the brāhmavihāras.

The three s*amādhi*s, namely, emptiness (*śūnyatā*), signlessness (*ānimitta*) and wishlessness (*apraṇihita*) are called *āryavihāra*. The Buddha dwells in the *āryavihāra*s.

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[297] On the four *īryāpatha*s, see, e.g., Saṃyutta, V, p. 78; Divyāvadāna, p. 161: c*aturvidham īryāthaṃ kalpayati tadyathā caṅkramyate tiṣṭhati niṣīdati sayyāṃ kalpayati*.

[298] Dīgha, III, p. 220: *Tayo vihāra: dibbo vihāro, Brahmavihāro, ariyo vihāro*.

4. Finally, there are four kinds of abodes: *divyavihāra*, *brāhmavihāra*, *āryavihāra* and *buddhavihāra*.[299] We have already spoken about the first three. As for the *buddhavihāra*s, these are the innumerable *samādhi*s such as the heroic walk (*śūraṃgama*), the ten powers (*bala*), the four fearlessnesses (*vaiśāradya*), the eighteen special attributes (*āveṇikadharma*) of the Buddha, omniscience (*sarvajñāna*) and wisdoms (*prajñā*) of all kinds. It is also the 84,000 baskets of the Dharma (*dharmapiṭaka*), the means of saving men.[300] These various Buddha-qualities are the places inhabited by the Buddha: the Buddha abides there.

The brief description of the vihāras is finished.

RĀJAGṚHA

Question. - The great cities such as *Chö p'o t'i* (Śrāvastī), *Kia p'i lo p'o* (Kapilavastu) and *Po lo nai* (Vārāṇasī) are all royal residences (*rājagṛha*). Why does this city alone bear the name of Rājagṛha?

Answer.[301] - 1. Some people give the following explanation: A king of *Mo k'ie t'o* (Magadha) had a son who, although he had but a single head, had two faces and four arms. The people took this as a bad omen; the king therefore cut off the baby's head and abandoned the body in the jungle (*kāntāra*). *Li lo* (Līlā) rejoined the two parts of the body and nursed the child with her own milk. In the course of time, he grew up and became a man; his strength was so great that he was able to conquer the kings of other kingdoms; he owned the whole world and took all the kings, in the number of 18,000 men, and estabished them in the midst of five mountains;[302] by means of his great power, he governed *Yen feou t'i* (Jambudvīpa). This is why the inhabitants of Jambudvīpa give these mountains the name 'City of the kings' residence' (*rājagṛha*).[303]

2. Others say the following: In the city in which the king of Magadha lived, there were fires; each time the city burned down, it was rebuilt. This happened seven times. The people of that country were overwhelmed by the work imposed upon them. Saddened and fearful, the king assembled all the wise men (*paṇḍita*) and asked their advice. Some said that he should change the location of the city. The king therefore sought out a place where he could settle; he saw these five mountains which formed an enclosure like a wall; he built

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[299] Cf. Bodh. bhūmi, p. 90: *tatra śūnyatānimittāpraṇihitavihāra.... vihāra ity ucyate*. - Same definition in Saṃgraha, p. 137.

[300] This is the 80,000 or 84,000 dharmaskandhas taught in order to heal the four types of adepts: cf. Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya (Przyluski, *Concile*, p. 155) Theragāthā, v. 1024; Sumaṅgala, I, p. 24; Avadānaśataka, II, p. 155; P'i p'o cha, T 1545, k. 74, p. 385; Kośa, I, p. 45-47.

[301] In this paragraph Lamotte follows the translation of E. Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apoplogues,* III, p. 285-290, with a few modifications.

[302] These five mountains were called in Pāli Vebhāra, Paṇḍava, Vepulla, Gijjhakūta and Isigli. Cf. Majjhima, III, p. 68 (= Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 32, p. 723a); Suttanipāta Comm., III, p. 285-290). But previously they bore another name.

[303] Same explanation in Suttanipata Comm., II, p. 413; Rājagṛha is called thus because many kings, such as Mandhātā and Mahāgovinda, lived there.

his palace (*rājakula*) there and settled in the center of this place. This is why this place is called 'City of the king's residence' (*rājagṛha*).[304]

3. Here is another explanation: In times past, there was in this kingdom a king called *P'o seou* (Vasu) who renounced worldly things (*lokadharmanirviṇṇa*), went forth from home (*pravrajita*) and became a recluse (*ṛṣi*). At that time, the brahmins who were still householders (*gṛhasthabrāhmaṇa*) and the hermits who had left the world (*pravrajirarṣi)* had a debate. The gṛhastabrāhmaṇas said: "According to the sacred texts, in the offerings to the gods (*devayajña*), living beings must be killed and their flesh must be eaten (*māṃsa*)."[305] The pravrajitarṣis answered: "When sacrifices are made to the gods, living beings must not be killed and their flesh should not be eaten."[306] The debate went on betweeen them. The pravrajitarṣis said: "There is a great king here who has left the world to become a recluse. Would you trust (*śraddhā*) him?" The gṛhasthabrāhmaṇas replied that they would trust him, and the others said: "We will take this man as arbitrator and tomorrow we will go to question him."

That same night, the gṛhastatabrāhmaṇas went in advance to the hermit Vasu and, after having asked him all the questions about customs, they said to him: "In [76b] tomorrow's discussion, you must help us." Thus, the next day at dawn, at the beginning of the discussion, the pravrajitarṣis asked the hermit Vasu: "In the sacrifices to the gods, should or should one not kill living beings and eat their flesh?" The hermit Vasu answered: "The rule of the brāhmans is that living beings must be killed in sacrifices to the gods and their flesh eaten." [307] The pravrajitarṣis replied: "According to your own judgment, should living beings be killed and their flesh eaten or not?" The hermit Vasu answered: "As it is a matter of sacrifice to the gods,

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304 This tradition is also related by Hiuan tsang, Si yu ki, T 2087, k. 9, p. 923a (tr. Beal, II, p. 165-166): Frequent fires erupted at Kuśāgra, former capital of Magadha, which totally destroyed the city. After having rebuilt it many times, king Bimbasāra, on the advice of his ministers, issued an edict banishing any inhabitant in whose house the fire had broken out and forcing him to withdraw into the *Śītavana*, the 'Cold Forest', used until then as a cemetery. A new fire having erupted in his own palace, the king abdicated in favor of his son Ajātaśatru and withdrew into the *Śītavana*. His neighbor, the king of Vaiśalī, judged the time to be propitious to invade Magadha. The frontier princes fortified the Śitavana quickly and, as Bimbisāra was the main inhabitant, the new city was called the City of the king (Rājagṛha). - The old city, which Hiuan tsang called Kuśāgra because of its excellent vegetation, is better known by the name Girivraja (Vimānavatthu Comm., p. 82). It is also called Vasumatī (Rāmāyaṇa, I, 7, 32). Bārhadrapura (Mahābhārata, II, 24, 44), Bimbisārapurī and Magadhapura (Suttanipāta Comm., II, p. 584). - Hiuan tsang (l. c.) and Fa hien in his Account of the Buddhist Kingdoms (tr. Legge, p. 81; Giles, p. 49) tell another tradition attributing the founding of Rājagṛha to Ajātaśatru.

305 Śāṅkhāyana, II, 16, 1 permits the killing of animals on the occasion of the ceremony of reception of a host (*madhuparka*) [according to Monier-Williams, *madhuparka* is an offering of honey and milk] or of an offering of soma to the gods. In other cases, the killing of animals is prohibited.

306 On the prohibition of meat in the Vinayas, see the note by P. Demiéville in Benveniste, *Textes Sogdiens*, p. 189, n. 1.

307 "It was an argument of the brāhmins that one has the right to kill living beings for sacrifice because the animals thus burned are reborn in the heavens. In the Mo teng k'ie king (T 1300) where there is a strange discussion on the equality of the castes, this argument is cast in the teeth of the brāhmins: they should see that, in fact, if their claim is true, they ought to be all the more eager to sacrifice themselves or those dear to them since the bliss of the devas would thus be assured for them or their dear ones. For an analogous argumentation, see Sūtrālaṃkāra, story 24: Transl. Huber, p. 125-131." (Chavannes, *Contes*, IV, p. 241)

one should kill living beings and eat their flesh; indeed, these living beings, having died in sacrifice to the gods, will be able to be reborn in the heavens."

The pravrajitarṣis exclaimed: "You are greatly mistaken! Your words are untruthful (*mṛiṣāvāda*)!" and they spat upon him, saying: "Criminal, disappear!" Immediately the hermit Vasu sank into the earth up to his ankles (*gulpha*) because he had been the first to open the door to great sins (*mahāpatti*). The pravrajitarṣis said to him: "You should speak the truth; if you persist in lying, your whole body will sink into the earth." The hermit Vasu answered: "I know that it is not a sin to kill sheep (*eḍaka*) and eat their meat when it is done for the gods." Immediately he sank into the earth as far as his knees (*jānu*). In this way, he disappeared gradually as far as his thighs (*kaṭi*), then up to his neck (*kaṇṭha*). The pravrajitarṣis said: "Now your deceitful speech has received its punishment in this world. If, however, you decide to speak the truth, even though you are under the ground, we can pull you out and allow you to escape from punishment." Then Vasu thought thus: "As a noble person, I should not say two different things. Besides, in the *Wei t'o* (Veda) of the brāhmans, the sacrifices to the gods are made in all kinds of different ways. If I myself die, would that be worthwhile?" Then he said singlemindedly (*ekacittena*): "In the sacrifices to the gods, it is not a sin to kill living beings and eat their flesh." The pravrajitarṣis shouted: "You are a hardened sinner! Then disappear completely, we don't want to see any more of you." Then he was swallowed up completely by the earth. From that time until today, the rule given by the recluse Vasu has always been observed: When a sheep is killed in the sacrifices to the gods, at the moment when the knife descends on the animal, one says to it: "Vasu is killing you."[308]

Vasu's son was called *Kouang tchö* (Vipularatha?). He succeeded his father as king. In turn, he also renounced worldly things but he did not become a monk (*pravrajita*). Then he thought: "My father, the former king, was swallowed alive by the earth even though he had gone forth from home; if I continue to rule the world, I might render myself guilty of a great sin again. Where then should I go?"At the moment

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308 The Ta fang teng t'o lo ni king, T 1339, k. 1, p. 644, gives quite a different version of this story which the Hobogirin, *Baso*, p. 58 summarizes in these words: At the time when the Buddha was dwelling in Tuṣita heaven, Vasu was the head of 6,2000,000 merchants whom he was taking to sea to search for jewels. On their return, the fleet was assailed by the makaras, waves, wind and the yakṣas. Each of the merchants promised Maheśvara to sacrifice a being and in this way they avoided these four dangers. On their return, they wanted to go to the temple to fulfill their vow; but on the way, Vasu reproached them for being party to such an evil practice and proposed to save the sheep. To this end, he produced by metamorphosis a brāhmin and a monk; the brāhmin set himself at the head of the merchants; he was questioned by the monk who accused him of committing a sin by killing beings; the debate was brought before Vasu himself, changed into a Seer. Vasu ridiculed the monk who asserted that by making bloody sacrifices, rather than going to heaven, one falls into hell: "You will see that for ‚yourself", cried the monk, and at these words, Vasu fell into hell alive. Frightened, the merchants released the sheep and all became seers; in their subsequent lifetime they were born in Śrāvastī where the Buddha converted them. As for Vasu, he was drawn out of hell by the luminous power of the Buddha *Houa-tsiu* 'Flower-Collection' coming from the east. Vasu went to pay homage to the Buddha with the innumerable beings whom he had converted in the hells. To Śāriputra, who was astonished at having previously heard it said by the Buddha himself that Vasu had been condemned to remain in hell forever, the Buddha replied that such a belief is false; and he added various interpretations of the name Vasu, all tending to prove his non-infernal nature: *va* means 'heaven', *su* means 'wisdom'; a being who possesses heavenly wisdom cannot be infernal.

he had this thought, he heard in the air a voice that said to him: "If, as you travel, you see an extraordinary (*adbhuta*) place that is hard (*durlabha*) to reach, you should establish your home there." When these words had been spoken, the voice was silent. A little later, having gone out into the country to hunt, the king saw a deer (*mṛga*) that fled as swift as the wind; he ran after it but was unable to reach it. As he pursued it without resting, the members of his [76c] retinue were able to stay with him. In front of him he saw a place where five mountains formed a steep and well-sheltered basin; the ground there was level and produced fine soft grass; beautiful flowers covered the earth; there were forests of all kinds of perfumed trees which bore flowers and fruits in abundance; hot springs (*uṣṇodaka*) and cold pools (*śītaḍāga*) everywhere presented their purity; this was a marvelous place. On all sides there grew celestial flowers (*divyapuṣpa*) with heavenly perfumes (*divyagandha*) and celestial music (*divyatūrya*) was heard. When the gandharva musicians saw the king, they all withdrew. [The king thought]: "This place is extraordinary (*adbhuta*) and nobody has ever seen its like (*apūrvadṛṣṭa*). This is where I should establish my residence." When he had thought thus, all his ministers and his officials who had been following him arrived. The king declared: "The voice that I heard in the air told me: 'If you see on your journey an extraordinary place that is difficult to find, that is where you must establish your residence. Now I have just discovered this extraordinary place; it is here that I must establish my residence." Then he abandoned the city where he had lived previously and settled in these mountains. This was the first king to become established there and starting with him, his successors, one after the other, lived there. Since this king first had a palace built there, thence came the name 'City of the royal residence.'

The explanation of the origins of Rājagṛha in summary is finished.

GṚDHRAKŪṬAPARVATA

Sūtra: [The Buddha was dwelling] on the *K'i chö kiue chan* (Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata), the Vulture Peak mountain.

Śāstra: *Gṛdhra* means vulture and *kūta* means peak.

Question. - Why is it called Vulture Peak mountain?

Answer. - 1. The summit of this mountain resembles a vulture and the inhabitants of Rājagṛha, because of this resemblance, agreed to call it Vulture Peak mountain. This is why it is called Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata.

2. Furthermore, south of Rājagṛha, in the *Che t'o lin* (Śītavana), there were many corpses;[309] vultures commonly came to devour them and then went to perch on the peak of the [nearby] mountain.[310] The

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[309] Above, we saw that the Śītavana served as a cemetery of Kuśāgra, the old city. This detail has been confirmed by the Dīvyavadāna, p. 264, 268. Going there one day, Anāthapiṇḍika was seized by fear (Vinaya, II, p. 155).

[310] The twofold explanation given here is repeated in many places by Buddhaghosa, e.g., Papañca, II, p. 63: *tassa pabbatassa gijjhasadisam.... ti vuccati*.

people then named it Vulture Peak mountain.[311] It is the highest of the five montains [of Rājagṛha]. It abounds in precious forests and waters. The āryas live there.

THE BUDDHA'S FREQUENT SOJOURNS IN RĀJAGṚHA AND ŚRĀVASTĪ

Question. - We have understood the meaning of *Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata*. Why does the Buddha dwell at Rājagṛha? The custom of the Buddhas is to show their loving-kindness (*maitrī)* towards all. It is like the sun (*sūrya*) that illuminates everything (*dravya*); there is nothing that does not receive its light. But there are great cities like:

Ngeou tche ni (Ujjayinī),[312]

Fou leou na po t'an (Pūrṇavardhana),[313]

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[311] The Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata was visited by Fa hien (Legge, p. 82-83) and by Hiuan tsang (Watters, II, p. 151). Cunningham (CAGI, p. 534) identifes it with the modern Śailagiri, two and a half miles north-west of the old city.

[312] Ujjayinī, in Pāli Ujjenī, in Greek Ozene (Ptolemy, VII, i, v. 63; Periple of the Erythrean Sea, v. 48), capital of Avanti, situated at 77 degress E and 23 degrees N (Rh. D., *Buddhist India,* p. 40; CAGI, p. 560). Native city of several disciples of the Buddha, it was visited by Hiuan tsang (Beal, II, p. 270; Watters, *Travels*, II, p. 250).

[313] Pūrṇavardhana was a city and district of Bengal, the name of which is attested under different spellings;

a. The correct Sanskrit form is *Puṇḍravardhana,* 'Growth of sugar-cane', in Tibetan, *Li kha ra śiṅ ḥphel* or *Bu ram śiṅ ḥphel* (Mahāvyutpatti, no. 4113). It is found in the Sumāgadhāvadāna (Mitra, *Nep. Buddh. lit.*, p. 237, 238) and the Mahāvyutpatti, no. 4113). But it is the corresponding Prakrit form, Puṇḍavardhana, that is most frequent both in the Sanskrit texts and the Chinese transcriptions; cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 21, 402, 427; Mahāmāyūrī in S. Lévi, *Catalogue géographique des Yakṣa*, p. 40., v. 97; Avadānakalpalatā,. T II, p. 861, v. 4; Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, T 1447, k. 1, p. 1053; A yu wang king, T 2043, k. 3, p. 140b9 (where Puṇḍravardhana is transcribed as *Fen t'o po t'o*.

b. The Sanskrit form *Puṇyavardhana* 'Increase of merit' is attested by the Chinese translations Fou tseng (113 and 9; 32 and 12) in Sumāgadhāvadāna, T 130, p. 845c17, and *Tcheng tseng tch'ang* (77 and 1; 32 and 12; 168), in A yu wang king, T 2043, k. 3, p. 143b10. - The variant *Puṇṇavardhana* is attested by the following transcriptions:

Fou na p'an to (57 and 2; 163 and 4; 75 and 10; 162 and 9) in A yu wang tchouan, T 2042, k. 2, p. 107b25.

Fen na p'o t'o na (18 and 2; 163 and 4; 38 and 8; 170 and 5; 163 and 4) in A yu wang king, T 2043, k. 3, p. 143b16.

Pen na fa t'an na (37 and 6; 163 and 4; 9 and 4; 57 and 12; 163 and 4) in Hiuan tsang, Si yu ki, T 2087, k. 10, p. 927a15.

The Sanskrit form *Pūrṇavardhana* 'Full growth' is represented by the following transcriptions and Chinese translations:

Fou leou na po t'an (40 and 9; 75 and 11; 163 and 4; 157 and 5; 75 and 13) in Mppś, T 1509, k. 3, p. 76c22.

Fou leou na po t'o na (40 and 9; 75 and 11; 163 and 4; 157 and 5; 170 and 5; 163 and 4) in Saṃyuktāgama, T 99, k. 24, p. 170a2.

The translation *Man fou* (85 and 11; 40 and 9) occurs in the Ekottarāgama, T 125, k. 22, p. 660a5; the Sumāgadhāvadāna, T 128, p. 837c14; and the A yu wang tchouan, T 2042, k. 2, p. 105c1.

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According to the Divyāvadāna, p. 21 and the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, T 1447, k. 1, p. 1053a, *Puṇḍravardhana* marks the eastern limit of the Madhyadeśa; beyond that are the frontier lands (*pratyanta*) where the Buddhist discipline is more tolerant and allows the use of baths and shoes. By contrast, according to the Pāli sources, (Vinaya, I, p. 197; Jātaka, I, p.

A hi tch'ö to lo (Ahicchatra),[314]

49, etc.), the eastern limit of Madhyadeśa is the villages of *Kajaṇgala* and *Mahāsālā*. The latter information is confirmed by the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya, T 1435, k. 25, p. 182a (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, II, p. 264-265) which comments: In the region of the East, there is the village of *P'o lo* (38 and 8; 122 and 14 = [Mahā]sālā) whose surname is *K'ie lang* (9 and 5; 163 and 7 = *Kajaṅgala*); beyond K'ie lang are the frontier kingdoms (*pratyantajanapada*)." From the Avadānaśataka, II, p. 41, we know that *Kajaṅgala* has, as its Sanskrit correspondent, *Kacaṅgalā*. If one is content with comparing all this information, one is tempted to identify *Puṇḍravardhana* with *Kajaṅgala*. However, such is not the case; Hiuan tsang, who, in 638, visited western Bengal (Irana) and eastern Bengal (Puṇḍravardhana and Karṇasuvarna), informs us in the Si yu ki (T 2087, k. 10, p. 927a) that *Puṇḍravardhana* was 600 *li* farther east than *Kajaṅgala* (transcribed as *K'ie tchou wou k'i lo*: 123 and 10; 75 and 2; 30 and 10; 113 and 4; 122 and 14), and that he had to cross the Ganges to get from one city to the other. The pilgrim lingers over the description of Puṇḍravardhana: the region was 4,000 *li* and the city more than 30 *li*. It had 20 Buddhist monasteries sheltering 3000 monks of both the Greater and Lesser Vehicles. It had about 100 temples consecrated to the gods and the Digambara Nirgrantha (Jains) were especially numerous (cf. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, II, p. 194-195; Watters, *Travels*, II, p. 184-185).

For a long time, archeologists have hesitated about the exact site of Puṇḍravardhana; they agreed on placing it in the 'Bengal Presidency', but proposed identifying it sometimes with the modern district of Pabna (Cunnungham), sometimes with the present Rangpur (Fergusson). The discovery of an ancient inscription in Brāhmī which mentions the gifts made to the Ṣaḍvargikas by the inhabitants of Puṇḍranagara, has cleared all doubts: Puṇḍravardhana is the present Mahāsthān Gaḍ in the district of Bogra. [On this inscirption, see D. R. Bhandharkar, EI, XX, 2, p. 83; Idem., *Important fragmentary Inscriptions found at Mahāsthān, Bogr District,* IA, LXII, 1933, p. 177-178; B. M. Barua, *The old Brāhmī Inscription of Mahāsthān*, IHQ, X, 1934, p. 57-66. - For a description of the site, see P. C. Sen, *Puṇḍravardhana - its Site*, IHQ, IX, 1933, p. 722-735].

It is known from many texts that the Buddha, on the invitation of Sumāgadhā, the daughter of Anāthapiṇḍada, came by means of magic to Puṇḍravardhana, where he found the arhat Piṇḍola seated in a cave. On this occasion, the Buddha described to his monks a former lifetime of Sumāgadhā: At the time of the Buddha Kāśyapa, there lived Kañcanamālā, daughter of Kṛkin, the king of Benares; to ward off the bad effects of a wicked thought of her father, she offered herself as victim and submitted herself to the judgment of the Buddha Kāśyapa. - This story is the object of the Sumāgadhāvadāna (J. Filliozat, *Catalogue du Fonds Sanscrit*, Paris, 1941, p. 93, no. 156); the four Chinese translations (T 125, k. 22, p. 660a-665b; T 128; T 129; T 130) have been studied by T. M. Tokiwai, *Studien zum Sumāgadhāvadāna*, Darmstadt, 1898. Numerous allusions to this avadāna are found in the texts: Divyāvadāna, p. 402; Tsa a han T 99, k. 24, p. 170a; A yu wang tchouan, T 2042, k. 2, p. 105c; A yu wang king, T 2043, K. 3, p. 140b (cf. Przyluski, *Aśoka*, p. 266).

The same sources relate another incident that took place at Puṇḍravardhana at the time of Aśoka. The Nirgranthaputras who, as we know from Hiuan tsang were numerous in Puṇḍravardhana, had depicted images of the Buddha that showed him prostrating before the Nirgrantha. Aśoka became angry and sent an army of yakṣas and nāgas against them which, on a single day, put to death 18,000 Nirgranthas. Cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 427; A yu wang tchouan,T 2042, k. 2, p. 107b; A yu wang king, T 2043, k. 3, p. 143b (Przyluski, *Aśhoka*, p. 278).

[314] The Taisho texts has *A lan tch'ö to lo* (a70 and 5; 140 and 14; 159; 36 and 3; 122 and 14) which S. Lévi, *Alexandre et Alexandrie dans les documents indiens*, MSL, p. 418, n. 1, sees as Alexandria in Egypt. But the whole context indicates that it is not a matter of foreign cities but cities in India which the Buddha may have visited but where he did not reside for a long time. If *A lan tch'ö lo* transcribes Alexandria, it is not a matter of Alexandria in Egypt but some other Alexandria founded by the Macedonian conqueror during his expedition into India: Alexandria of Arie or Herat (Strabo,

Fou kia lo p'o yo (Puṣkarāvatī).[315]

XI, 524 sq; XV, 723; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, Vi, 61, 93); Alexandria of Arachosia or Kandahār; most likely Alexandria of Caucasia, i.e., of the Hindu-Kush (Arrien, Anabasis, III, 28. 4; IV, 22. 3; Diodorus of Sicily, XVII, 83; Quintus-Curcus, VII, 2, 22) which may be located at Parvān, the actual Djebel-Serādj (J. Hachkin, *Recherches archéologoques a Begram*, Paris, 1939, p. 4).

However, it is doubtful that *A lan tcho to lo* transcribes Alexandria. The Han of China knew Alexandria in Egypt under the name of *Li k'an* (93 and 8; 177 and 3) or *Li kien* (93 nd 8; 177 nd 9); on this subject see P. Pelliot in TP, 1915, p. 690; JA, 1921, p. 139. - On the other hand, the *Alasanda* of the Milindapañha (p. 82, 327, 333, 359) is transcribed in the Chinese versions by the three characters *A li san* (170 and 5; 140 and 6; 66 and 8) which implies an original *Alesan* (cf. P. Demiéville, *Les versions chinoises du Milindapañha*, p. 168, n. 2). All of this calls for further research, first of all to verify the spelling of the name. In the oldest manuscripts, Tempyo Mss. (A.D. 729), etc., the city is designated under the name *A hi* (164 and 11) *tchö to lo*, which immediately suggests *Ahicchatra*. This doubt is lifted by the Fan fan yu, T 2130, k. 8, p. 1038a9, which also transcribed *A hi* (30 and 9) *tchö to lo*, and, to avoid any confusion, adds the translation *Che san* (142 and 3; 120 and 12), i.e., 'Serpent-parasol', in Sanskrit, *Ahicchatra*. This city is mentioned in the Mahāmāyūrī, studied by S. Lévi in JA, 1915, p. 19-138.

Ahicchatra, 'capital of northern Pañcala; today Ramnagar, near Aonla, in the Barailly district of Rohilkand; it was part of the kingdom of Drupada, in Mahābhārata (I, 5516). Ptolemy records the Adeisattroi (VII, 1, v. 71) and the city of Adisdara (VII, 1, v. 53)' (S. Lévi, o.c., p. 95). Hiuan tsang visited *Wo hi chi ta lo*: "Outside the main city, there is a nāga pool beside which thre is a stūpa built by king Aśoka. It is there that the Tathāgata, while he was still in the world, preached the Dharma for seven days for the benefit of a nagarāja." (Si yu ki, Y 2087, k. 4, p. 893a; tr. Beall, I, p. 200-201; Watters, I, p. 331-332). E. Bazin-Foucher, *Sur une monnaie du Pañcāla*, ML, I, p. 145-153, compared this Buddhist story of the nāga with information given to Cunningham by the brahmins of Rohilkhand: "They told a strange story of a snake... An old tradition going back to the Mahābhārata, has it that Droṇa, the conqueror of Pañcāla, one day found Adi, the founder of the 'fort', asleep in a cradle formed by the hood of a cobra; his future elevation to the throne was then foretold; and it is this extraordinary occurrence that gave the city its name of Snake-parasol." The same writer sees in the form *Ahicchatra* the product of a popular etymology and proposes to read *Adicchatra*, 'Parasol of Adi', based on the reading *Adhicchatra* found in the *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* of Lüders and on the variant *Adisatra*, attested in a manuscript of Ptolemy (Paris, no. 4805). According to him, the nāga, the appointed protector of Ahicchatra (cf. Divyāvagāna, p. 435 sq.), was represented on a coin from northerm Pañcala showing an individual hitherto unknown but who is none other than a many-headed nāga (Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pl. VI, no. 15; CHA, pl. V, no. 3). - But the king of the snakes Ahicchatra is not linked indissolubly with the city bearing his name. In the Dhammapadaṭṭha, III, p. 241-247 (tr. Burlingame, *Legends*, III, p. 63-67), he lives in a great mound of sand (*mahāvālukārāsi*) erected by Aggidatta and his companions at the borders of the lands of the Aṅga-Magadhans and the kingdom of the Kurus (*Aṅgamagadhānañ ca Kururaṭṭhassa ca antara*). Moggallāna, sent by the Buddha to Aggidatta and his companions to convert them, upon not being received by the latter, wanted to take possession of the sand mound inhabited by the snake. A struggle ensued; by his magical power, Moggallāna triumphed over the snake and the next day, when Aggidatta and his friends came to the hill to see what had happened to Moggallāna, they found him sitting on the sand; Ahicchata, the snake king, set food around him and, spreading his hood to the size of a bell-tower, he held it above the head of the Elder (*nāgarājā vālukārāsiṃ.... upati dhāresi*).

[315] Puṣkārāvatī (Prāng, Cārsadda and Rājar), capital of Gandhāra, on the left bank of the Swāt river. This is the Poukelaītis, Peukelaotis or Peukolaītis of the Greeeks (cf. P. Chantraine, in Arrien, *L'Inde,* p. 24, n. 1). For the geography

All these great cities are populous and wealthy and nevertheless the Buddha did not reside there.[316] Why did he stay [so] often in the cities of *Wang chö* (Rājagṛha)[317] and *Chö p'o t'i* (Śrāvastī)[318]? Although he stayed sometimes at *Po lo nai* (Vārāṇasī)[319], at *Kia p'i lo po* (Kapilavastu)[320], at *Tchan p'o* (Campā)[321], at *So tch'e to* (Sāketa)[322], at *Kin chan pi* (Kauśambī)[323], at *Kieou leou* (Kuru)[324], etc., nevertheless he

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of Gandhāra, refer to A. Foucher, *Sur la géographie ancienne du G.*, BEFEO, I, 1901, p. 322; *Notes sur l'itinéraire de Hiuan tsang en Afghanistan*, in Études Asiatiques, 1923, I, p. 236; *De Kāpiśhī a Pushkaravatī*, BSOS, VI, 2, p. 341. - Puṣkarāvatī had a coinage representing, on the obverse side, the goddess of the city with the inscription *Pakhalavadi devada*; on the reverse side, the Indian bull with the inscription *TAYPOC, Uṣabhe*. The goddess bears a mural crown and holds a lotus in her right hand (cf. CHI, p. 557 and pl. VI, 10). - Her temple was outside the city near the western gate and, according to Hiuan tsang, her image worked miracles. See Si yu ki, T 2087, k. 2, p. 881a (tr. Beal, I, P. 109; Watters, I, p. 214). - The Greek kings who succeeded at Puṣkāravatī identified her with Artemis, for coins of the Artemis type (Indian bull) were struck by Artemidor and Peukolaos. - Hiuan tsang (l. c.) venerated a great stūpa north of the city (according to Foucher, the mound of Bālā-Hissar), built by Aśoka on the place where the Buddha gave the gift of his eyes.

316 According to Dīgha, II, p. 146, the six great cities at the time of the Buddha were Campā, Rājagṛha, Śrāvastī, Sāketa, Kauśambī and Vārāṇasī. According to the Mppś, the Buddha stayed mainly in eight cities, especially in Rājagṛha and Śrāvastī.

317 Rājagṛha, capital of Magadha (Bihar), the present Rajgir south of Patna. Its location has been definitively identified and excavated by Marshall, AR Arch. Survey, 1905-1906, 1925-1926. See B. C. Law, *Rājagṛha in Ancient Literature*, M. Arch. Survey, no. 58, Delhi, 1938. - The Buddha stayed there during the 1st, 2nd, 4th, 17th and 20th *varṣa* of his ministry (Buddhavaṃsa Comm., p. 3).

318 Śrāvastī, capital of Kośala (Aoude), the present village of Saheth-Maheth in U.P. Cf. Marshall, *Excavations at Sahet-Mahet*, AR Arch. Surv., 1907-1908, p. 82; 1910-1911, p. 3; B. C. Law, Śrāvastī in Indian Literature, M. Arch. Surv., no. 50, Dalhi, 1935. - For the 45 *varśa*s of his ministry, the Buddha spent 25 at Śrāvasti (See below, k. 9, p. 125c; Buddhavaṃsa Comm., p. 3).

319 Vārāṇasī or Kāśi, on the central Ganges, the actual Benares. - It was at Benares in the Deer Park that the Buddha preached his first sermon, the *Dharmacakrapravartanasūtra*. He returned there several times afterwards (cf. Vinaya, I, p. 189, 216, 289; Saṃyutta, I, p. 105; V, p. 406; Aṅguttara, I, p. 110, 279; III, p. 392, 300). There he converted Yasa and many outstanding people (Vinaya, I, p. 15).

320 Kapilavastu, in Nepal, principal city of the Śākya clan. Its location has been discovered near the village of Paderia, two miles north of Bhavanpur. Cf. P. C. Mukherji, *Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal: the region of Kapilavastu*, AR Arch Surv., 1901; V. A. Smith, *Kapilavastu*, in ERE, VII, p. 659. - The Buddha was born in the Lumbinī park (Rumindeī) east of the city; he stayed there until his departure for enlightenment. He returned during the first year of his ministry and made a large number of conversions (Ken pen chou... p'o seng che, T 1450, k. 9, p. 143 sq; Rockhill, *Life*, p. 51 sq.; Feer, *Extraits*, p. 50 sq.; Nidānakathā, p. 87 sq.). He returned again to pacify the conflict between Śakya and Koliya concerning the Rohinī river (Dhammapadaṭṭha, III, p. 254), and during the punitive expedition of Viḍūḍabha (Jātaka, IV, p. 144 sq.).

321 Campā, capital of Aṅga (Bengal), the location of which is probably marked today by the two villages, Campānagara and Campāpura, near Bhagalpur (CAGI, p. 3). The Buddha visited there several times (Vinaya, I, p. 312; Saṃyutta, I, p. 195; Aṅguttara, IV, p. 59, 168; V, p. 151, 189).

322 Sāketa, a city in Kośala, near Ayodhyā with which it may be confused. Its site has been identified with the ruins of Sukān Koy on the Sai, in the district of Unao of the present province of Aoude (Malasekera, II, p. 1086, It is the Sageda of Ptolemy (VII, 1, 71).

stayed most often at Rājagṛha and Śrāvastī. How do we know that he stayed especially in these two places? We see that the Buddhist sūtras are mostly located at these two cities and rarely in another.[325]

Answer. - 1. Although the great loving-kindness (*mahāmaitrī*) of the Buddha [77a] reaches all equally, the great cities like Ujjayinī, etc., are frontier-countries (*pratyantajanapada*). That is why the Buddha does not reside there.[326]

2. Moreover, criminals (*mleccha*) are numerous there and, as their roots of good are not ripe (*aparipakvakuśalamūla*), [the Buddha does not reside amonsgt them]. Thus some stanzas say:

The sun's rays shine equally [on all];

The mature flowers bloom at once,

But the flowers not yet in bloom

Do not necessarily open up.

In the same way, when the Buddha

Preaches the Dharma [to all] with the same feelings (*samacitta*) to all,

The roots of good that are already ripe blossom at once,

Those that are not so do not open up.

This is why the Bhagavat

Resides amongst those who show the three following qualities:

Keen knowledge (*tīkṣṇajñāna*), ripe roots of good (*paripakvakuśalamūla*),

Reduced fetters (*saṃyojana*) and reduced afflictions (*kleśa*).

3. Furthermore, it is out of gratitude that the Buddha frequently resides at Rājagṛha and Śrāvastī.

Question. - Why is it out of gratitude that he often stays in these two cities?

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323 Kauśāmbī, capital of the Vatsas, today Kosam on the Jumna, 50 km. from Allahabad. It had several parks, Kukkuṭa and Ghositārāma, where the Buddha frequently stayed.

324 Kuru is a country rather than a city. It is one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas listed in Dīgha, II, p. 200; Aṅguttara, I, p. 213, etc. The country corresponds to the district of Thānasar, capital of Indraprastha, near the present city of Delhi (CAGI,p. 379). In one of its villages, Kalmāṣadamya, the Buddha preached some of his most important sermons, such as the *Mahānidāna* and the *Mahāsatipatthānasutta*.

325 Woodward, *Kindred Sayings*. V, p. XVIII, has determined that among all the sūtras of the four Nikāyas, 871 were given at Śrāvastī, 9 in the Dīgha, 73 in the Majjhima, 736 in the Saṃyutta, 54 in the Aṅguttara.

326 Buddhist texts frequently express their distrust towards the frontier lands. Cf. Kāraṇaprajñapti in Lav., *Cosmologie*, p. 335: "Why is the Bodhisattva not born among the barbarian thieves of the frontiers? The people of the frontiers lack manners and doctrine: there would have been no common ground between the Bodhisattva and them." To live in a border-land is one of the conditions making it difficult (*akṣaṇa*) to practice the Buddhadharma (Dīgha, III, p.263-265; Aṅguttara, IV, p. 225-227).

Answer. - The kingdom of *Kiao sa lo* (Kośala) is the native land of the Buddha. This is why the Buddha one day replied to king *P'in p'o so lo* (Bimbasāra) with these stanzas:[327]

There is a wondrous country

Situated on the borders of the Himavat;

Opulent and rich in various treasures,

It is called Kośala.

Being of the solar clan and Śākya family,

I was born in that place.

Filled with disgust with old age, sickness and death,

I have left home to search for Buddhahood.

4. Moreover, the leader of Kośala, king *Pu sseu ni* (Prasenajit), lived in the great city of Śrāvastī, and the Buddha, in his quality of king of Dharma (*dharmarāja*) also lived in that city, for the two leaders should live in the same place.

5. Furthermore, Kośala is the country of the birth-body (*janmakāya*) of the Buddha, and it is out of gratitude that the Buddha often lives in Śrāvastī.

Question. - If it is out of gratitude that he often lives in Śrāvastī, why does he not often live also in Kapilavastu, which is closer to his birth-pace?

Answer. - Among the Buddhas, clinging (*bandhana*) has been extinguished; there are not even traces (*vāsanā)* of it left. When he goes to visit his parents (*bandhu*), he feels no emotion (*nāsti*

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[327] These stanzas are taken from the story of the first meeting between king Bimbasāra and the future Buddha when he was still a wandering monk. The oldest Pāli sources do not know this episode (cf. Thomas, *Life*, p. 69), but it is related in Pabbajāsutta of the Suttanipāta, III, i, v. 405-424 (tr. Fausboll, SBE, X, p. 67; Chalmers, p. 100); Nidānakathā, p. 66; Dhammapadaṭṭha, I, p. 85 (tr. Burlingame, *Legends*, I, p. 195); Mahāvastu, II, p. 198-200; Lalitavistara, ch. XVI, p. 237-243 (tr. Foucaux, p. 205-209); Buddhacarita, ch. X (tr. Johnson, p. 141-148); Fang kouang ta chouang yen king, T 187 (no. 16), k. 7, p. 578c-580a; Fo pen hing tsi king, T 190, k. 23, p. 758 (tr. Beal, *Romantic Legend*, p. 178-183); Tchong hiu mo ho ti king, T 191, k. 5, p. 947c-948a; Fo so hing tsan, T 192 (no. 10), k. 3, p. 19-20; Ken pen chouo... p'o seng che, T 1450, k. 4, p. 118b-119a (cf. Rockhill, *Life*, p. 27).

The stanzas cited here depart somewhat from the old tradition attested by the complete agreement between the Suttanipāta and the Mahāvastu:

Suttanipāta, v. 422-423: *Ujū janapado rāja.... na kāme abhipatthayaṃ*.

Mahāvastu, II, p. 199: *Nijajanapada rāja.... na kāmām abhiprārthaye*.

"At the side of the Himavat, O king, there live a people endowed with wealth and energy, the inhabitants of Kośala. They are of the solar race in lineage, Śākya by birth. From this family I have gone forth, having no attraction for the sense pleasures."

The corresponding stanzas of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya are in T 1450,k. 4, p. 118c-119a3.

nānātvasaṃjñā).[328] On the other hand, the majority of his Śākya disciples have not eliminated their desire (*avitārāga*) and, when they go home to their relatives, they feel attachment (*saṅgacitta*).

Question. - Why then does he not protect his disciples who are natives of Śrāvastī [from these emotions] but, on the contrary, often stays in Śrāvastī?

Answer. - *a*. The disciples [native] to Kapilavastu were numerous. When the Buddha returned for the first time to his own country, the [three] Kāśyapa brothers as well as the thousand bhikṣus who originally had followed the brahmanical rule and practiced austerities in the mountains, had a sad appearance. King (Śuddhodana), the Buddha's father, seeing them, found that these monks were not looking bright enough. Then the Bhagavat made a choice among the Śākya dignitaries and they were joined to the other less vigorous monks. Their families sent a message to restrain them from becoming monastics.[329] Some of them, well-disposed, tasted the joy of the Path; others found no joy in it. [Thus] these Śākya monks [from Kapilavastu] were not authorized to return to their [77b] native land, but this was not the case for the disciples originally from Śrāvastī. This is why the Buddha often resided in Śrāvastī but seldom in Kapilavastu.

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328 This absence of emotion is one of the eighteen special attributes (*āveṇikadharma*) of the Buddha.

329 To interpret this episode which told here in a very concise way, refer to Sūtrālaṃkāra, tr. Huber, p. 222: Shortly after the Buddha had attained enlightenment, the Buddha converted Uruvilvākāśyapa, his brothers and their followers, a thousand in number. They freed themselves from the kleśas and their hair fell out. [As Jaṭilas, they wore matted hair]. They accompanied the Sublime One to Kapilavastu as has been fully described in the Life of the Buddha. King Śuddhodana was converted and tamed, but the Śākyas were proud of their caste. As for the Buddha Bhagavat, one could never grow weary of looking at him whose body was perfect, neither fat nor lean. But the brahmins and the others who practiced mortificartion for a long time had become emaciated; inwardly they had intellect but outwardly they were very ugly. They were in no condition to follow the Buddhist practices. At that time, the king, the Buddha's father, had this thought: "If I make the Śākyas enter into the religious life, they will be in a condition to follow the Buddha." Having thought thus, he had the drum beaten and made this proclamation: "You would oblige me by sending one man from each family of the Śākyas to enter into the religious life." - See also the passage of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya translated by Feer, *Extraits*, p. 62-63.

The first return of the Buddha to Kapilavastu, the city of his birth, is told in detail in Mahāvastu, III, p. 112-117; Ken pen chouo... p'o seng che, T 1450, k. 9, p. 143 sq. It is represented at Sāncī (Foucher, *Beginnings of b. Art*,, pl IX, 2) and on the bas-reliefs of Gandhāra (Foucher, *Art Gréco-bouddique*, I, p. 459-464). Errors excepted, the Pāli sources say nothing of the edict issued by Śuddhodana requiring each family to send one son and that the number of forced recruits rose to five hundred: Mahāvastu, III, p. 176: *rāÁā Śuddhodana āha: kulāto kulāto ekaḥ.... abhiniṣkramanti pravrajyāyā*. The same edict is mentioned in the Fo pen hing tsi king, T 190, k. 53, p. 900b (transl. Beal, *Romantic Legend*, p. 353); Tchong hiu mo ho ti king, T 191, k. 13, p. 974b; Ta tchouang yen louen king, T 201 (no. 47), k. 8, p. 299b; Ken pen chouo...p'o seng che, T 1450, k. 9, p. 144b (cf. Rockhill, *Life*, p. 53). Hiuan tsang (Watters, *Travels*, II, p. 11) visited the place, near Kapilavastu, where the Buddha admitted "eight princes and five hundred Śhākyas" into the order. But it is probably necessary to distinguish the ordination of the 500 Śākyas from that of the eight princes along with the barber Upāli, which took place not at Kapilavastu but at Anupiya in the country of the Mallas where the Buddha stayed for some time after having left his natal city (Vinaya, II, p. 180; Dhammapadaṭṭha, I, p. 133; IV, p. 127; Manoratha, I, p. 191).

b. Moreover, according to the rules of the anchorites (*pravrajitadharma*), it is forbidden to have access to one's relatives, for attachment to relatives (*bandhaṅga*) is like a fire (*tejas*) or a snake (*sarpa*). If the disciples of the brāhmins staying at home (*gṛhasthabrāhmaṇa)* are unable to dwell in their native land during their training *(śikṣā*), what then can be said of the śrāmaṇas who have gone forth from their home (*pravrajitaśramaṇa*)?

c. Furthermore, Kapilavastu is not as big as Śrāvastī, which has 90,000 households.[330] If the Buddha stayed there only seldom, he could not have saved many people. This is why he stayed there often.

d. Furthermore, in Kapilavastu, the Buddha's native land, the inhabitants had practiced (*caryā*) for a long time, their roots of good were ripe (*paripakvakuśalamūla*) and their wisdom keen (*tīkṣṇaprajñā*). The Buddha stayed there only a short time to preach the Dharma. He did not have to stay there long and, once his work of salvation was done, he went away. But at Śrāvastī, some inhabitants had just started to practice, others had practiced for a long time; among some, the roots of good were ripe, among others they were not; some had sharp faculties (*tīkṣṇendriya*), others did not. Many of them, by the study of treatises of all kinds, had crushed their minds while trying to sharpen them and had entered into the stream of all kinds of wrong views (*nānāmithyādṛṣṭijāla*); they had served all kinds of teachers (*ācārya*) and venerated all kinds of gods (*deva*). People of mixed practice (*miśracaryā*) were numerous [amongst them]. This is why the Buddha stayed among them for a long time.

If a physician (*vaidya*) who is caring for an ulcer (*gaṇḍa, visphoṭa*) determines that the ulcer is already ripe (*paripakva*), he breaks it open, extracts the pus (*pūya*) and, having given a medication (*bhaiṣajya*), he goes away. If the ulcer is not yet ripe, he stays for a long time to smear it with ointment (*añjana*). The Buddha acts in the same way. If his disciples have roots of good that are ripe, he converts them by means of his Dharma, then he goes elsewhere. But if the disciples whom he must save have unripe roots of good, he must remain with them for a long time. If the Buddha appears in the world (*prādurbhavati*), it is precisely to save beings and lead them to the element of nirvāṇa (*nirvāṇadhātu*), to safety (*yogakṣema*) and to the blissful abodes (*sukhavihāra*). This is why he frequently resides in Śrāvastī and rarely in Kapilavastu.

e. The Buddha attained supreme perfect enlightenment (*anuttarā samyaksaṃbodhi*) and took on (*samanvāgata*) the *dharmakāya* in the kingdom of *Mo k'ie t'o* (Magadha) on the banks of the river *Ni lien cha* (Nairañjanā) in the village of *Wou leou louo* (Uruvilvā). This is why he frequently resides in Rājagṛha.

BUDDHA'S PREFERENCES FOR RĀJAGṚHA

Question. - Now we know the reasons why the Buddha often stayed in Rājagṛha and Śrāvastī. But of these two cities, why did he reside more often in Śrāvastī?

Answer. - 1. It is out of gratitude for the benefits of his native land that he stayed in Śrāvastī frequently. All beings think about their birthplace. A stanza says:

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330 See also below, k. 9, p. 125c. According to Buddhaghosa, Śrāvastī had 57,000 homes (Samantapāsādikā, III, p. 614) and its population was 18 'crores' (Suttanipāta Comm., I, p. 371).

All the teachers who teach (*upadeśācarya*)

Are attached to the system that they know.

In the same way, every person loves his homeland.

Even having gone forth from home (*pravrajita*), they still want it.

It is to repay the benefits of the country of his dharmakāya that the Buddha often stays at Rājagṛha. A stanza says:

[77c] The Buddhas of the past and the future

And the Buddhas of the present

Honor (*pūjayanti*) their dharmakāya

And pay homage (*vandana)* to it and venerate (*gurukāra*) it.

Since the dharmakāya prevails over the body of birth *(janmakāya*), it is at Rājagṛha that the Buddha resides more often.

2. Furthermore, [the Buddha stays more often at Rājagṛha] because the *Tso chan* (caityas) and the *Tsing chö* (vihāras) are more numerous there than elsewhere.

Thus Rājagṛha has five vihāras:

i. *Tchou yuan* (Veṇuvana)[331],

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[331] Actually Rājagṛha had many other stopping places. Besides those cited here, the Sītavana, the Ambavana of Jīvaka, the Pipphaliguhā, the Udumbarikārāma, the Moranivāpa with its Paribbājakārāma, the Tapodārāma, the Laṭṭhivana, the Maddakucchi, the Supatiṭṭhacetiya, the Pāsāṇakadetiya, the Sumagadhā pool (See Malasekera, s.v.).

The Veṇuvana, or Bamboo Park, was given to the Buddha by king Bimbasāra (Vinaya, I, p. 39 sq.; Kou k'iu hien tsai yin kouo king, T 189, k. 4, p. 651c; Tch'ou fen chouo king, T 489, k. 2, 767a; Sseu fen liu, T 1428, K. 33, p. 798b; Ken pen chouo... p'o seng che, T 1450, k. 8, p. 138b). - When he stayed at Veṇuvana, the Buddha settled by preference at Kalandaka or Karadakanivāpa (cf. Dīvya, p. 262, 143). According to some sources, this field was the property of a citizen of Rājagṛha called Kalandaka; he had made a gift of it to the heretics, but with the help of the yakṣas, he later recovered it and offered it to the Buddha (Fo pen hing tsi king, T 190, , k. 45, p. 860c-861b; Beal, *Romantic Legend*, p. 314-315; Tchong pen k'i king, T 196,k. 1, p. 163b; Hiuan tsang, in Beal, II, p. 160 and Watters, Travels, II, p. 156). - A king fell asleep in this field and, about to be bitten by a snake, awoke in time at the noise of a *kalandaka* (squirrel, jay or magpie). Out of gratitude, he planted the field with bamboo so that the *kalandaka*s living there would always have food (*nivāpa*). Hence the expression Kalandakanivāpa. The commentaries on the Udāna, I, p. 60, and on the Suttanipāta, II, p. 410, tell the story without mentioning the name of the king. But we know from the Chinese sources that it was Bimbasāra (Tchong hiu mo ho ti king, T 191, k. 11, p. 965b-c; Ken pen chouo... p'o seng che, T 1450, k. 8, p. 137c-138b; Rockhill, *Life*, p. 43).

The Veṇuvana was an ideal place of retreat for the monks, "neither too far nor too close to the city, good for coming and going, easy of access for those who wished to see the Buddha, not too busy during the day, sheltered from noise and shouting during the night, isolated and concealed from people, auspicious for meditation" (Vinaya, I, p. 39; Majjhima, III,

ii. *Sa to pan na k'ieou ho* (Saptaparṇaguhā)[332],

iii. *Yin t'o che lo k'ieou a* (Indraśilaguhā)[333],

iv. *P'i p'o lo po nou* (Vaibhāravana),

v. *Sa po chou houen tche kia po p'o lo* (Sarpaśuṇḍaikaprāgbhāra)[334].

The Veṇuvana is located on the flat plain.

There are not as many vihāras in the other places:

a) At Śrāvastī there is a stopping-place called *Tche houan tsing chö* (Jetavanavihāra).[335] There is another called *Mo k'ie lo mou t'ang* (Mṛgāramātṛprāsāda).[336] But there is no third stopping-place.

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p. 13; Tchong a han, T 26 (no. 145), k. 36, p. 655b). It was surrounded by a wall eighteen cubits high with a gate and towers (Samanata, III, p. 576; Suttanipāta Comm., II, p. 419).

332 The Vaibhāra was one of the five mountains surrounding Rājagṛha. At its foot was the Cave of Seven Leaves, Saptaparṇaguhā, in Pāli Sattapaṇṇiguha, where the first Council was held. The Sanskrit reading Saptaparṇaguhā is attested by the Mahāvastu, I, p. 70, l. 15.

333 Indrasālaguhā, or more likely, Indraśailaguhā. The reading*, Indrasālaguhā* ', 'Cave of the Indrasāla [tree]', has, as evidence, the Pāli form, *Indasālaguhā*, the inscription at Bārhut (2nd century B.C.) *idasālaguhā*, the inscription of Tch'ang a han T1, k. 10, p. 62c1, *Yin t'o so to k'ou*. - On the other hand, the reading Indraśailaguha, 'Indra's rock cave', is attested by the Sanskrit fragments (Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke*, p. 61, n. 2), by the Chinese transcriptions and translations *Yin t'o lo che che* (Tchong a han, T 26, k. 33, p. 632c29), *Yin t'o lo che lo kiu ho* (Hiuan tsang, Si yu ki, T 2087, k. 9, p. 925b4), *Che k'ou* (Fa hien, in T 203, k. 6, p. 476a). According to Waldscmidt, the Pāli form *Indasāla* should be the proper reading, and *Indraśaila* would be a faulty Sanskritization. Waldschmidt also mentions the reading 'Sālahöhle von Indraśaila' in *Tibetische Lebensbescreibung*, transl. by Schiefner, p. 255, where the two variants *śaila* and *sāla* are juxtaposed. This combined reading is probably a recent invention and was already known to Buddhaghosa who explained that the cave was between two mountains and an *indasāla* tree grew at its entrance (Sumaṅgala, III, p. 697: *sā dvinnaṃ pabbatānaṃ.... saṅkhaṃ gatā*). - When the Buddha was in this cave, Sakka (Indra) came to ask him a series of questions that are recorded in the *Sakkapañhasutta*. We have several versions: Sanskrit version in Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke*, p.58-113); Pāli version in Dīgha, II, p. 263-289; Chinese translations in Tch'ang a han, T 1 (no. 14), k. 10, p. 62b-66a; Tchong a han, T 26 (no, 134), k. 33, p. 632c-638c; Ti che so wen king, T 15; Tsa pao tsang king, T 203 (no. 73), k. 6, p. 476a-478b (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, III, p. 53-69. - The Chinese pilgrims who visited this cave found fragments of the Sakkapañhasutta engraved on the rock: Fa hien, p. 180; Watters, *Travels*, II, p. 173). - The visit of Indra has been represented on the monuments at Bārhut (Cunningham, *Bhārhut*, pl. XXVIII, 4), at Sāncī (Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. XI, XXIX, 1); at Bodhgayā (Coomarasamy, *Bodhgayā*, p;. XLVII, 1); at Gandhāra (Foucher, *Art Gréco-bouddhique*, I, fig. 246, 247; Hallade, *Composition plastique*, pl. XXI, 127; XXIV, 140; at Mathurā (Vogel, *Mathurā*, pl. LO, b; LIII b).

334 Sarpaśuṇḍikaprāgbhāra is a conjectural form. Only the Pāli reading is attested: *Sappasoṇḍikapabbāra*. The Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 252), k. 9, p. 60c, translated Che t'eou yen (142 and 5; 181 and 7; 46 and 29) or 'Slope of the Serpent's Head'. It is a large cave located in the Śitavana near Rājagṛha (Dīgha, II, p. 116; Saṃyutta, IV, p. 40). According to Buddhaghosa (Sārattha, II, p. 368) it was called thus because it resembled the hood of a snake (s*appaphaṇasadisatāya evaṃ laddhanāmaṃ pabbhāraṃ*).

b) In the region of *P'o lo nai sseu* (Vārānasī), there is only one stopping-place, the vihāra of *Lou lin* (Mṛgadāva) called *Li che p'an t'o na* (Ṛṣipatana).[337]

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[335] The Jetavana was offered to the Buddha by Anāthapiṇḍada who had first bought it from its owned, Jeta, for the price of its surface covered in pieces of gold. The story of the gift is in the Vinaya, II, p. 158 sq. (tr. Rh. D. - Oldenberg, III, p. 187-188); Wou fen liu. T 1421. k. 25, p. 167b; Sseu fen liu, T 1428, k. 50, p. 939b-c; Che song liu, T 1435, k. 34;, p. 244c; Ken pen chouo... p'o seng che, T 1450, k. 8, p. 139c; Nidānakathā, p. 92-93. - It is represented at Sāncī (north toraṇa, left abutment), at Bhārhut (Cunningham, *Bhārhut*, pl. LVII), at Gandhāra (Foucher, *Art Gréco-bouddhique*, I, fig. 239). - The Buddha stayed there for nineteen *varṣa*s (Dhammapadaṭṭha, I, p. 3) and, when the Mṛgāramātṛprāsāda was built, he stayed at Jetavana and at Mṛgāramātṛptāsāda alternately, spending the day at one and the night at the other (Suttanipāta Comm., I, p. 336). - The Jetavana was visited by Fa hien (tr. Giles, p. 31 sq.) and Hiuan tsang (Watters, *Travels*, I, p. 382) who found it in ruins. - On the actual state of the site, see P. Vogel, *Excavations at Sahet-Mahet*, AR Arch. Surv., 1907-1908, p. 81 sq.

[336] The monastery of Mṛgāramātṛprāsāda was built in the Pūrvārāma, east of Śrāvastī by Viśākhā, daughter-in law of Mṛgāra but her 'mother' in the Buddhadharma.

[337] Ṛṣipatana or Ṛṣivadana, on the outskirts of Benares where the Deer Park (Mṛgadāva or Mṛgadāya) is located. It is there that all the Buddhas must give their first sermon (Sumaṅgala, II, p. 424) and the Buddha preached the Dharmacakrapravartanasūtra to the five monks (Vinaya, p. 8); it is one of the four great pilgrimage places, determined by the Buddha (Dīgha, II, p. 140).

In the texts there are various explanations of the terms Ṛṣipatana, 'Fall of the Sages'.

i. According to Buddhaghosa (Manoratha, II, p. 180; Papañca, II, p. 188; Sārattha, III, p. 296), it is due to the fact that the ṛṣis (i.e., the Buddhas and Pratyekabuddhas) come down there (*patana*) to proclaim their Dharma and celebrate the *uposatha* (*buddhapaccekabuddhasaṃkhātānaṃ isīnaṃ.... ti attho*).

ii. A legend has been invented to explain the term: Mahāvastu, I, p. 357: "In a big forest half a yojana from Benares, there lived 500 pratyekabuddhas. They entered into parinirvāṇa after having each pronounced a stanza of the Khaggavisāṇasutta (Suttanipāta, v. 35-75). Rising up into the air, they changed into fire (*tejodhātuṃ samāpadyitvā*) and entered into full parinirvāṇa, In their own fire, their flesh and blood were consumed and their bodies fell to the ground." - Lalitavistara, p. 18-219: "Near Benares, in the Mṛgadāva at Ṛṣiptana, five hundred pratyekabuddhas who lived there, having heard the voice [announcing the conception of the Bodhisattva], rose up into the sky to the height of seven tāl trees and, having attained the region of 'fire like extinguished torches', entered into full nirvāṇa. Whatever bile, phlegm, sinews, nerves, bones, flesh and blood they had disappeared, completely consumed by the fire; the pure relics (*śarīrāṇi*) alone fell to the ground. And because the ṛṣis fell there in this way, from that time on this place was given the name of Ṛṣipatana" (tr. Foucaux, p. 20). The Lalitavistara precedes this legend with an identical story applied, not to 500 pratyekabuuddhas, but to one single one, the pratyekabuddha Mātaṅga; Fa hien (tr. Legge, p. 94) reproduces the latter version of the legend which he locates, not at the moment of the Buddha's conception, but seven days after his enlightenment. - Finally, the parinirvāṇa of the 500 pratyekabuddhas and the fall of their bodies are also told in the Fo pen hing tsi king, T 190, k. 6, p. 677a (tr. Beal, *Romantic Legend*, p. 25-26). - Luders, *Bhārhut u. d. buddh. Literatur*, p. 41-44, has identified this story on a relief at Bhārhut (Cunningham, *Bhārhut,* pl. XLII, 5). But apart from the reading *Ṛṣipatana*, there is often the reading *Ṛṣivadana*, 'Face of the Ṛṣi', for which no explanation, even legendary, has yet been found. See Mahāvastu, I, p. 43, 161, etc.; Divyāvadāna, p. 393, 464.

In the Ṛṣipatana there was the Mṛgadāva 'Deer Park' or Mṛgadāya 'Gift of the deer', which Hiuan tsang described minutely in *Si yu ki*, T 2087, k. 7, p. 905b (tr. Beal, II, p. 45; Watters, II, p. 48); the precision of his information has been brought to light by the series *Excavations at Sārnath* published by Marshall and Konow in AR Arch. Surv, 1904-1905.

c) At *P'i ye li* (Vaiśalī) there are two stopping-places: the first is called *Mo ho p'an* (Mahāvana) and the second *Mi heou tch'e ngan* (Markaṭahradatīra).[338]

d) At *Kieou chan mi* (Kauśambī) there is a stopping-place called *K'iu che lo yuan* (Ghoṣilārama).339

In all these regions, there was either a stopping-place having a vihāra or an empty (*śūnya*) forest. But Rājagṛha had many vihāras suitable for meditators (*dhyāyin*), and since these stopping-places were in safe (*yogakṣema*) areas, the Buddha stayed there frequently.

There is a legend explaining the name Mṛgadāva: "Two deer-kings led a herd of 500 deer. One of these kings was the Bodhisattva. The king of the country wanted to go hunting, so the two deer-kings begged him on bended knees to be content with two deer daily which they would send him for his kitchen. The agreement was made, and it was the turn of a pregnant hind to go to her death. Filled with compassion for her, the Bodhisattva, in the form of one of the deer-kings, presented himself in her place at the palace. The king of the country, ashamed to be less generous than a deer, forbade hunting in his kingdom and gave this forest to the deer under the name 'Deer Park' " (Chavannes). This legend occurs with some variants in detail in Pāli Jātaka, I, p.145 sq.; Mahāvastu, I, p. 359-366; Lieou tou tsi king, T 152 (no. 18), k. 3, p. 12b13a (cf. Chavannes, *Contes*, I, p. 68-71); Ta tchouang yen louen king, Y 201 (no. 69), k. 14, p. 338a-339a (tr. Huber, Sūtrālaṃkāra, p. 411-416); Tsa p'i yu king, T 207 (no. 20), p. 527a (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, II, p. 35-37); Hiuan tsang, Si yu ki, T 2087, k. 7, p. 906a-b (tr. Beal, II, p. 50-51; Watters, II, p. 54-55).

338 Vaiṣālī is the present-day Besarch on the Gandaki, in the district of Muzafferpur in Tirhut (Cf. V. Smith, JRAS, 1907, p. 267; J. Marshall, AR Arch. Surv., 1903-1904). Its main monastery was the Kūṭāgāraśālā 'Hall of the Belvedere", described at length in Sumaṅgala, I, p. 310; Papañca, II, p. 267. But whweas the Pāli textx locate it in the *Mahāvana* "Large Forest". The Sanskrit texts place it on the *Markaṭahradatīra* "Shore of the Monkey Pool". Thus, when a Pāli sutta beings with the phrase: *Bhagavā Vesāliyaṃ mahāvane kūṭāgārasālāyaṃ*, the corresponding Sanskrit sūtra (known by the Chinese Āgama) begins with *Bhagavān Vaiśālīm upaniṣritya viharati markaṭaheadatīre kūṭāgāraśālāyām.* (Compare, e.g., Pāli Saṃyutta, I, p. 29, with the Samskrit Saṃyukta in T 99 (no. 1274), k. 48, p. 359a, and T 100 (no. 272), k. 14, p. 290c, and T 100 (no. 34), k. 2, p. 384b). The same indication Markaṭahradatīre is also found in the post-canonical texts: Mahāvastu, I, p. 300;Divyāvadāna, p. 136, 200; Avadānaśataka, I, p. 8, 279. - However that may be, the Mppś says nothing here about the Kūṭāgāraśāla and mentions only the stops in the *Mahāvana*, the great forest extendoing from Vaiśālī to the Himālaya (Sumaṅgala, I, p. 309) and in the *Markaṭahradatīra*. This pool is thus called because it had been dug out by the Buddha for the monkeys. Hiuan tsang, who visited it (Si yu ki, T 2087, k. 7, p. 908b; tr. Beal, II, p. 68; Watters, II, p. 65) tells us that to the south of the pool there is a stūpa commemorating the offering of honey to the Buddha by a monkey. This episode is told in the Tchong a han, T 26 (no. 32), k. 8, p. 471a; Ken pen chouo… yao che, T 1448, k. 18; Ken pen chouo… p'o seng che, T 1450, k. 12, p. 163c; Mo ho seng k'i liu, T 1425, k. 29, p. 464a; Hien yu king, T 202 (no. 54), k. 12, p. 420c-430c (cf. I. J Schmidt, *Der Weise und der Thor*, chap. XL, p. 347); A. Schiefner, *Tibetische Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 302. It is represented at Sanchī (Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. X, XII, XXVI), at Bhārhut (Cunningham, *Bhārhut*, pl. XV and XXX), at Gandhāra (Foucher, *Art Gréco-bouddhique*, p. 1, p. 513, f. 254), and in Bepalses miniatures (Id., Iconographie bouddhique, pl. VII, X).

The Mppś also fails to mention the *Ambalālivana* given to the Buddha by the well-iknown courtesan, very close to Vaiṣālī (cf. Vinaya, I, p. 231-233; Fa hien, tr. Legge, p. 72; Hiuan tsang, tr. Beal, II, p. 68; Watters, II, p. 69).

339 Ghoṣila (in PaÈi Ghosaka) and the 500 ascetics of the Himavat whom he maintained had gone to Śrāvastī to invite the Buddha. When the latter accepted their invitation, they built dwellings at Kauśāmbī to receive him and his monks. The construction of Ghoṣila was called Ghoṣilārāma, in Pāli, Ghositārārma. Cf. Dhammapadaṭṭha, I, p. 207-208 (tr. Burlingame, *Legends*, I, p. 280); Papañca, II, p. 390.

3. Furthermore, at Rājagṛha there were six heretic teachers, *Fou na lo* (Pūraṇa), who claimed to be omniscient (*sarvajñā*) and were rivals of the Buddha.[340] There were also the brahmacārins *Tch'ang chao* (Dīrghanakha), *P'o ts'o sing* (Vatsagotra), *Kiu kia na ta* (Kokanada), etc., all the great heretical teachers (*tīrthikamahopadeśācārya*).[341] Finally, there was the *āyuṣmat Che li k'ou to* (Śrīgupta).[342] *T'i p'o ta to* (Devadatta), *A chö che* (Ajātaśatru),[343] etc., who wished to harm the Buddha, did not believe in the Buddhadharma and were filled with jealousy (*īrṣyā*).

[78a] Since these individuals were at Rājagṛha, the Buddha often stayed there. In this way, near a place where poisonous herbs (*viṣatṛṇa*) grow, there must be a medicinal herb (*oṣadhi)*. Some stanzas say:

If the lion (*siṃha*),

King of all the wild beasts,

Roars out against small insects (*prāṇika*),

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340 For Pūraṇa and the heretic techers, cf. B. C. Law, *Six heretical Teachers* in BS, III, p. 73-88; Barua, *History of Pre-Buddhist Philosophy*, Calcutta.

341 Dīrganakha has already been mentioned. - The conversion of Vatsagotra is recounted in detail in the three Vacchagottasuttas in the Majjhima (no. 71-73), I, p. 481-497. The last two may be found in the Chinese Saṃyukta, Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 962 and 964), k. 34, p. 245b sq. In the Saṃyukta, all these sūtras are located at Rājagṛha, in the Kalandakavenuvana, which confirms the assertion of the Mppś according to which Vatsagotra lived in Rājagṛha. On the other hand, in the Pāli Majjhima, the related suttas on the same individual are located respectively at Vaiśalī, Śrāvastī and Rājagṛha. - Kokanada is a parivrājaka who debated with Ānanda on the eternity of the world and the other reserved points. A Kokanadasūtra has been discovered in central Asia by Grünwedel, published by R. Pischel, *Bruchstücke des Sanskritkanons des Buddhisten aus Idykutsari* TP, SPAW, XXV, 1904, p, 820. Very close, the Chinese version of Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 967), k.34, p. *248b (*cf. S. Lévi*, Le Saṃtyuktāgama sanscrit et les feuillets de Grünwedel,* TP, 1904,p. 297-309). The corresponding Pāli sutta is in Aṅguttara, V, p. 196.

342 Śrīgupta, brother-in-law of Jyotiṣka and disciple of Pūraṇa. To avenge his teacher who had been ridiculed by Jyotiṣka, he invited the Buddha and his monks to dine, prepared poisoned food, had a ditch dug filled with hidden fire and threw his wife, Jyotiṣka's sister, into a dungeon. Disregarding the warnings of the devas, the Buddha accepted this invitation. Under his feet, the fire-filled ditch was changed into a pool covered with lotuses. Śrīgupta freed his wife and asked her to intercede for him with the Buddha, then he came himself and asked for pardon. The Buddha reassured him and ordered the monks to chant the *saṃprakyāta* which renders poisonous food harmless. Śrīgupta is well known to the Sanskrit and Chinese sources: Avadānakalpalatā, ch. VIII, (T i, p. 258-270); Tseng yi ahan T 125, k. 41, p. 773c; Ta tchouang yen louen king, T 201 (no. 67), k. 13, p. 327c-333a (tr. Huber, Sūtrālaṃkāra, p. 361-386); Tö hou tchang tchö king, T 545, vol. XIV, p. 840 sq. (Tibetan correspondent: Dpal sbas, Mdo XVI, 17; Csoma-Feer, p. 262; OKC, no. 883); Che song liu, T 1435, k. 61, p. 464b: Ken pen chouo... mou tö kia, T 1452, analyzed fully by S. Lévi, *Le Sūtrālaṃkāra et ses sources*, JA, July-Aug. 1908, p. 154-158; Hiuan tsang (tr. Beal, II, p. 151; Watters, II p. 150); Yi tsing (tr. Takakusu, p. 39). - In the Pāli sources, Sirigotta is a lay devotee, filled with devotion to the Buddha and scorned by the Nirgrantha. It is his friend Garahadinna who offers to the Buddha the poisoned food described above; cf. Dhammapadaṭṭha, I, p. 434-447 (tr. Burlingame, *Legends*, II, p. 92-99); Milinda, p. 350.

343 The traps laid for the Buddha by Devadatta and Ajātaśatru are well known. It suffices here to refer to the handbooks: Kern, *Histoire*, I, p. 186; *Manual*, p. 38; Thomas, *Life of Buddha*, p. 132; T. W. Rhys-Davids, *Devadatta*, in ERE, IV, p. 675-677.

He is laughed at by all.

If it is against the tigers (*vyāghra*), wolves

And other ferocious beasts

That he roars so powerfully,

He is valued by the experts.

The teaching masters are like the ferocious tigers,

But, in their midst, [the Buddha] fears nothing.

These great sages have seen much, heard much (*bahuśruta*),

But amongst them [the Buddha] is foremost.

Since these great sages (*mahāpaṇḍita*) and great learned one (*bahuśruta*) live at Rājagṛha, the Buddha often stays there..

4. Furthermore, king *P'in p'o so lo* (Bimbasāra) had gone to *K'ie ye sseu chö* (Gayaśīrṣa) to see the Buddha and his followers, the 1000 *Kie fa* (Jaṭilas) who [had become] arhats. Then the Buddha preached to the king who attained the state of *Siu t'o houan* (srotaāpanna, entry into the stream). After that, the king invited the Buddha in these words: "I would like the Buddha and his community (*saṃgha*) to come to my city of Rājagṛha and accept, for their lifetime, the clothing (*cīvara*), leather (*carman*), food (*āhāra*), beds and seats (*śayanāsana*) and medicines (*bhaiṣajya*) that I will furnish for them." The Buddha accepted his invitation and that is why he frequently resides at Rājagṛha.[344]

5. Furthermore, of the four directions (*diś)* in *Yen feou t'i* (Jambudvīpa), the east (*pūrvā dik*) is the foremost because the sun rises there; next are the south (*dakṣinā dik*), west (*paścimā dik)* and north (*uttarā dik*). In the west, the country of Magadha is the most powerful. In the country of Magadha, the city of Rājagṛha is the most powerful: it contains 120,000 households. After the Buddha's nirvāṇa, king *A chö che* (Ajātaśatru), whose lineage had weakened, abandoned the great city of Rājagṛha and built a small city one yojana in size nearby called *Po lo li fou to lo* (Pāṭaliputra).[345] If the latter prevails over all the other cities, what then should be said of Rājagṛha?

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344 For Bimbasāra's invitation, see above.

345 Pāṭaliputra, presently Patna, below the point where the Gandak from the north and the Sone from the south flow into the Ganges (L. A. Waddell, *Discovery of the exact site of Pātaliputra*, Calcutta, 1892; AR, Arch Surv 1912-1913). - In times gone by, the city was called Kusumapura or Puṣpapura "City of flowers' (Hiuan tsang, T 2087, k. 8, p. 910c; Dīpavaṃsa, XI, v. 28; Mahāvaṃsa, IV, v. 31; Mahābodhivaṃsa, p. 153; later it was called Pāṭaliputra following the wedding of a young brāhmin with a branch of *pāṭala* or begonia (Hiuan tsang, ibid., tr. Watters, II, p. 87). - Shortly before his death, the Buddha went to the village of Pāṭaligrāma where the ministers of Ajātaṣatru, Sunīdha and Varṣakāra, built a fortress to serve as defense against the Vṛjis. The Buddha foretold the greatness of that city from that time on, but declaring that it would be menaced by the threefold perils of fire, flood and disharmony. Escorted by the two ministers, he

6. Furthermore, at Rājagṛha there are many intelligent people (*medhāvin*) learned and wise, which is not the case in the other lands.

7. Furthermore, some men, before attaining the Path, wait for the time, the place and the wished-for individual. The Buddha knows in advance that *Che t'o houan yin* (Śakradevendra) and 80,000 devas should attain the Path at Magadha in the Rock Cave (*śailaguhā*).[346] That is why he often stayed at Rājagṛha.

8. Furthermore, this land is wealthy; when one begs for one's food, one obtains it easily. This is not the case in the other lands. This wealth is the result of three causes:

i. King Bimbasāra had given orders that food always be provided near his palace for 1000 bhikṣus.[347]

ii. *Chou t'i k'ie* (Jyotiṣka), born among humans, nevertheless possessed the wealth of a god.[348]

iii. *A po lo lo* (Apalāla), king of the nāgas, was converted because of a good thought (*kuśalacitta*) and became a disciple of the Buddha. To prevent famines (*durbhikṣa*), he caused an unceasing beneficial rain to fall. That is why this country is wealthy.[349]

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went to the Ganges; the gate through which he left the city and the place where he crossed the Ganges received the names of Gautamadvāra 'Gautama's gate' and Gautamatīrtha 'Gautama's ford' respectively (Vinaya, I, p. 226-230; Dīgha, II, p. 84-89); Udāna, VIII, 6, p. 85-90; Chinese versions of Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, T 1, k. 2, p. 12; T 5, p. 162b-c; T 6, p. 177c; Ken pen chouo... tsa che, T 14, k. 36, p. 384c; Rockhill, *Life*, p. 127). - Pāṭaliputra soon supplanted Rājagṛha and became the capital of Magadha under king Udāyin or Udāyibhadra, son of Ajātaśatru, the Kunika of the Jain sources (Vinaya, tr. Rh. D. - Oldenberg, II, p. 102). In any case, Muṇḍa, grandson of Ajātaśatru, made Pāṭaliputra his residence (Aṇguttara, III, p. 57; Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 24, p. 679a). However, according to Hiuan tsang, T 2087, k. 8, p. 911a. it was a certain Aśoka (Kālāśoka?), great-grandson of Bimbasāra, who changed the capital of Magadha from Rājagṛha to Pāṭaliputra. - Shortly after Kālāśika, the throne of Magadha passed to the Nanda dynasty, then to that of the Mauryas. Megasthenes, ambassador of Seleukos in the service of Candragupta, about 305 BC, has left for us a description of the city of Palimbothra (= Pāṭaliputra): "This city extends, on each side, in its greatest length, 80 stades (15 km.); in width, 15 stades (3 km.); a moat surrounds the entire city 6 plethres (180 m.) in width, 20 cubits (15 m.) in depth. The surrounding wall has 570 towers and 64 gates" (Arrien, X, 6; tr. P. Chartraine, *Les belles Lettres*, p. 37). These dimensions hardly agree with the information given by the Mppś which attributes to Pāṭaliputra a circumference of one *yojana*.

346 This is the Indraśailaguhā; see above.

347 See above.

348 For the story of Jyotiṣka and a description of this wealth, refer to the Dhammapadaṭṭha, p. 207-221 (tr. Burlingame, *Legends*, III, p. 319-331); Divyāvadāna, XIX, p. 262-290 (tr. H. Zimmer, *Karma, ein buddhistischer Legendenkrans*, München, 1925, p. 105-174); Fo wou po ti tseu, T 199 (n0. 17), p. 195; Chou t'i k'ie king, T 540, vol. XIV, p. 825; Ta pan nie p'an king, T 375, k. 28, p. 789a; Rockhill, *Life*, p. 65-70, 94-95.

349 Evidently this is the serpent Alāla, protector of Magadha. The story of his conversion is told in the P'ou sa pen hing king, T 155, k. 2, p. 116a-119a, and summarized in Hobogirin, *Aharara*, p. 10, in the following words: The pool of Yeou lien, near Rājagṛha, is the home of a dragon named Sundara which destroyed the crops in the Magadha. A brahmin subdued it by means his magic and the population rewarded him with gifts, but when the Buddha was about to establish Rajāgṛha, his beneficent activity sufficed to repress the activity of the dragon and the people stopped offering gifts to the brahmin. Irritated, he vowed to become a dragon along with his wife and two children; to be assured of the realization of this vow, he acquired the merit of offering a meal to the Buddha's four great disciples. Then he took the place of the

[78b] Thus, after the nirvāṇa of the Buddha, the sthavira *Mo ho kia chö* (Mahākāśyapa), wishing to gather together the scriptures, looked for a wealthy country where begging would be fruitful and where the scriptures could be quickly collected. After reflecting, he thought of Rājagṛha where, under the order of king Bimbasāra, food was always prepared for 1000 bhikṣus. True, the king was dead, but this custom had not been abolished. At Rāhagṛha food was easy to find and the scriptures could easily be collected there.[350] In other countries, this was not always the case: "When the alms-round is made, the heretics (*tīrthika*) would come to engage in debates; if one debated with them, the gathering of the scriptures would suffer; if one did not engage in debate with them, they would say: 'These śramanas are not good for us.' " For all these considerations, Mahākāśyapa chose 1000 great arhats and went to the Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata to compile the basket (*piṭaka*) of the texts there. For these three reasons, we know that begging was successful in the land of Magadha.

On the other hand, in the Āgamas and in the Vinaya, it is said that at *P'i ye li* (Vaiśālī), there are often famines (*durbhikṣa*).[351] Similarly, the *Hiang nan t'o p'o nan t'o long wang hiong king*

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dragon Sundara and began to ravage the crops, of which he left only the straw, hence his name Palāla 'Without straw'; his wife, changed into a dragon, received the name *Pi cheou ni*, and one of his sons, the name *K'i chan ni*. King Ajātaśatru asked the Buddha for help; aided by Vajrapāni, who split the mountain with his thunderbolt, the Buddha subjugated the dragon, his wife and children, and all the dragons and demonic creators of illnesses were saved in the naighboring kingdom of Vaiśālī. - A somewhat different story, but also located in Magadha, is told in a commentary on the Ekottarāgama, the Fen pie kong tö louen, T 1507, k. 5, p. 559): The brahmin *Fan che*, who had taken birth in the form of the dragon Apalāla and ravaged the crops in Magadha, was transported to the north-west of India: the Mppś, below at k. 9, p. 126b, tells us that the Buddha went to north-western India to the land of *Yue tche* and there subjugated the king of the dragons, Apalāla. A large number of texts tell this legend of the north-west of India: Ken pen chouo... yao che, T 1448, k. 9, p. 40b (tr. in Przysluski, ibid., p. 510): In northern India, the dragon Apalāla, vanquished by the Buddha aided by the yakṣa Vajrapāṇi, was converted along with his wife and children. [The Buddha predicted that one hundred years after his nirvāṇa, the disciple Madhyāntika would convert the poisonous dragon Huruta in Kaṣmir]. - Several texts allude to this episode: Divyāvadāna, p. 348, 385; Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 604), k. 23, p. 165b22; Legend of Aśoka in T 2942, k. 1, p. 102b and T 2043, k. 2, p. 135b.

Hiuan tsang locates in a pool near the sources of the Śhubhavastu (Swāt) the place where the Buddha, with the aid of Vajrapāṇi's thunderbolt, tamed the dragon Apālala, the reincarnation of the brahmin Gāṅgi. However, in order to assure his livelihood, the Buddha permitted him to raise a storm every twelve years (Si yu ki, T 2087, k. 3, 882b-c; tr. Beal, I, p. 122; Watters, I, p. 229).

Other dragons, also tamed by the Buddha, are possibly identical with Apalāla; for example, the dragon Aravāla that ravaged Kaśmir and was tamed by Madhyāntika (Samantapasādikā, I, p. 65; Mahāvaṃsa, XII, v. 9-20, tr. Geiger, p. 82; Chan kien p'i p' cha liu, T 1462, k. 2, p. 685a, tr. by Przyluski, *N.-O. de l'Inde*, p. 562), and the dragon *Ho lo* (53 and 10; 122 and 14), [probably Aravāla], converted by the Buddha (Hien kie king, T 425, k. 4, p. 30b). For the monuments, see Foucher, *Art Gréco-bouddhique*, I, p. 544-553.

[350] Cf. Vinaya, II, p. 285: *Atha kho therānaṃ bhikkūnaṃ.... upgaccheyyun ti*. - The same deliberation in the other Vinayas, cf. Przyluski, *Concile*, p. 140, 172, 20294, 226.

[351] Famines at Vaiśālī are mentioned in the Vinaya, IV, p. 23; Mahīśasaka Vinaya, Wou fen liu, T 1421, k. 22, p. 152b. But the city of Rājagṛha was not free of them as far as is known: Vinaya, II, p. 175; Ken pen chouo... p'o seng che, T 1450, k. 20, p. 202c.

(Nandopanandāgarājadamanasūtra)[352] says that at *Chö p'o t'i* (Śrāvastī) also there were famines. There were frequent famines in the other contries as well. But this is not the case for Magadha. This is why we know that Magadha is wealthy and that begging there is successful.

9. Finally, between two mountains, Rājagṛha is a well-protected retreat. In the other lands, the monasteries (*vihāra*) are on level ground; numerous crowds enter, leave and come and go as they please. These are not well-protected retreats. In the mountains of Rājagṛha there are many vihāras; contemplatives (*dhyāyin*) and āryas who all love sheltered retreats settle there in great numbers. The Buddha, chief of contemplatives and āryas, frequently resides at Rājagṛha.

These are the various reasons why he often stays at Rājagṛha.

BUDDHA'S PREFERENCES FOR GṚDHRAKŪṬAPARVATA

Question. - If it is true that the Buddha resides preferentially at Rājagṛha, why does he dwell more often on the Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata rather than at Veṇuvana?

Answer. - I have already answered that question: the āryas and contemplatives (*dhyāyin*) are happy in sheltered places.

Question. - But at Rājagṛha there are four other mountains: the *Pi p'o lo po nou* (Vaibhāravana). etc. Why does he stay less often there than at Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata?

Answer. - 1. Of the five mountains [of Rājagṛha], the Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata is the best. Why is that? Because its monastery (*vihāra*) is close to the city but difficult of access; this is why the crowds do not go there. But as it is near the city, begging is not tiring. That is why the Buddha resides frequently on the Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata and not elsewhere.

2. Moreover, it is on the Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata that the sthavira *Mo ho kia chö* (Mahākāśyapa) compiled the three baskets of the Dharma (*dharmapiṭaka*). When he had saved the beings who could be saved, he

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[352] A short sūtra, the Pāli original of which is reproduced in its entirety by Buddhaghosa in his Visuddhimagga, II, p.398-401 (title in Jātaka, V, p. 126, l. 22), translated into Chinese by the Scythian Tche k'ien, under the title *Long wang hiong ti king*, T 597, vol. XV, p. 131, and into Tibetan under the name *Kluḥi rgyal po dgaḥ bo ñer dgaḥ ḥdul baḥi mdo*, Mdo XXX, 21 (Csoma-Feer, p. 289; OKC, no. 755, p. 228). The Buddha along with 500 bhikṣus went to the Trāyastriṃśa heaven which overhangs the palace of the nāga king, Nandopananda. Angry, the latter wrapped himself seven times around Mount Meru to hide it from the Buddha's sight. Rāṣṭrapāla and Bhādrika proposed to the Buddha to overcome him, but it was Maudgalyāyana who was charged with this task. A terrible struggle ensued. The nāga finally took to flight but, pursued and being brought back by Maudgalyāyana, he changed himself into a young brahmin who took refuge in the Buddha. - The conversion of Nandopananda, which bears a striking resemblance to that of the dragon Apalāla, is told or simply mentioned in Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 28, p. 703b sq.; Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, p. 4, l. 11; Dīvyāvadāna, p. 307, 329, 395; Legend of Aśoka (in Przyluski, Aśoka, p. 257). - Below, the Mppś, k. 32, p. 300a-b, has Nanda and Upananda, two brothers, who want to destroy Śrāvastī.

wanted, like the Buddha, to enter nirvāṇa.[353] In early morning (*pūrvāhṇa*), having taken his bowl and his cloak (*patracīvaram ādāya*), he entered Rājagṛha to beg (*rājagṛhaṃ piṇḍāya prāvikisat)*. Then he

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[353] The nirvāṇa of Mahākāśyapa, on which the Pāli sources are silent, is related in a whole series of texts in greater or lesser detail: Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 44, p. 789a; Mo ho mo ye king, T383, k. 2, p. 1013b; Mi lö hia löta tch'eng fo king, T 456, p. 433b; Divyāvadāna, p. 61-62 (= Ken pen chouo...yao che, T 1448, k.6, p 25a-b; Ken pen chouo... tsa che, T 1451, k. 40. p. 408c-409c (tr. J. Przyluski, *Le Nord-Ouest de l'Inde*, JA, 1914, p. 522-528); P'i p'o cha, T 1545, k. 20, p. 99b, and especially k. 135, p. 698b: Kośa, VII, p. 120; A yu wang tchouan, T 2042, k. 4, p. 114a-116b (tr. Przyluski, *Aśhoka*, p. 327-340); A yu wang king, T 2043, k. 7-8, p. 152 sq.; Fa hien tchouan, T 2085, p. 863c (tr. Legge, p. 92-93); Hiuan tsang, Si yu ki, T 2087, k. 9, p. 919b-c (tr, beal, II, p. 142-144; Watters, II, p. 143-146). - Because of their precision, here is a translation of two of these sources:

T 456, p. 433b: At that time, Maitreya with his disciples went to the Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata. Having come to the foot of the mountain, peacefully and with slow steps he climbed the *Lang tsi* mountain (94 and 7; 157 and 6; probably *Kukkurapada*, 'Wolf-track Mountain'). Having come to the summit, he tapped the mountain with his toes. Then the great earth shook eighteen times up to the top of the mountain. Maitreya then struck the mountain with two fingers of his hand and, like a cakravartin king, opened the gate of a large city. Then with heavenly-perfumed oil, king Brahmā anointed the head of Mahākāśyapa, struck the great gong *gaṇḍi* and blew the great conch of the Dharma (*dharmaśaṇkha*). Mahākāśyapa awoke from nirodhasamāpatti, threw his upper garment over his shoulder (*ekaṃsam uttarāsaṅgaṃ kṛtvā*), knelt on his right knee (*dakṣiṇaṃ jānumaṇḍalaṃ pṛthivyāṃ pratiṣṭhāpya*) and, with his palms of his hands pressed together (*añjaliṃ praṇamya*), he took the saṃghāṭī of the Buddha Sākyamuni [of which he was the holder] and offered it to Maitreya, saying: "The great Teacher Śākyamuni, tathāgata, arhat samyaksaṃbuddha, when he was about to enter into nirvāṇa, entrusted me with this religious robe to offer to you, O Venerable One." Then the great assembly asked Buddha Maitreya: "Who is on the summit of this mountain, this man with the head of an insect, tiny, ugly, carrying the robe, who made offerings to the Venerable One?" Then the Buddha Maitreya said to his great disciples: "Do not scorn this man... it is Mahākāśyapa."

Vibhāṣā, T 1545, k. 135, p. 698b: At the time of nirvāṇa, why does the Buddha not keep the body of emanation (*nirmāṇakāya)* in order to continue to preach the Dharma and benefit beings after his nirvāṇa? Why, on the other hand, does the sthavira Mahākāśyapa, after his parinirvāṇa, keep his body and remain for a long time? The sthavira Mahākāśyapa had gone to Rājagṛha to beg his food and after he had eaten, he climbed the mountain of *Ki tsou* (172 and 10; 157: Kukkuṭapāda). This mountain had three peaks and looked like a cock's foot. The sthavira penetrated to the middle and, seated with crossed legs (*paryaṅkaṃ baddhvā*), he made the following declaration: "I wish that my body with my patched robes (*pāṃśukūla*), my bowl (*pātra*) and my staff (*daṇḍa*) may remain for a long time, for 57 koṭis and 60 hundred thousands of years, without decaying. When the Tathāgata Maitreya, the fully enlightened arhat (*samyaksaṃbuddha*) ,will appear in the world (*pradūrbhūta*), I will give him [this robe] that belonged to the Buddha." Having made this vow, he entered parinirvāṇa and then the three peaks of the mountain closed into one over the sthavira who remained in perfect posture. When the Buddha Maitreya will appear in the world, he will lead numberless men and gods to the summit of this mountain and say to the assembly: "Do you want to see the great disciple Kāśyapa who was foremost among all the disciples of Śākyamuni who practiced the rules of strict austerity (*dhūtaguṇa*)?" The assembly will answer: "We would like to see him." Then the Tathāgata Maitreya will strike the summit of Kukkuṭapādaparvata with his right hand and the peak will separate again into three parts. At that moment, Kāśyapa with his patched robes, his bowl and his staff will rise up into space (*ākāśa*). The immense crowd of gods and men, seeing this miracle (*prātihārya*), will cry out at the miracle (*adbhtadharma*) and their hearts will be moved. The Bhagavat Maitreya will preach the Dharma as is proper and all will be able to see the truths.

ascended Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata[354] and said to his disciples; "Today I will enter [78c] nirvāṇa-without-residue (*nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa*)." Having spoken thus, he enterd his house and, seated cross-legged (*paryaṇkam ābhujya*), he perfumed his body with pure absorptions (*anāsravasamāpatti*). The disciples of Mahākāśyapa entered Rājagṛha and said to the officials: "Do you know that the sthavira Mahākāśyapa has today entered into nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa?" At these words, all the officials felt very sad. They said: "The Buddha has already disappeared (*niruddha*) and now Mahākāśyapa who protected (*pālayati)* the Buddhadharma also wants to enter nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa!" At twilight, officials and bhikṣus met at the Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata. That same night, the sthavira Mahākāśyapa came out of his concentration (*samāpatter vyutthāya*), entered the assembly and sat down. He praised impermanence (*anityatā*): "All conditioned dharmas (*saṃskṛtadharma*), the results of causes and conditions (*pratītyasamutpānna*), are impermanent; non-existent yesterday, existent today, tomorrow they return to non-existence; therefore they are impermanent. Being impermanent, they are suffering (*duḥkha*). Being suffering, they are without substance (*anātmaka*). As they are without substance, the sage (*paṇḍita*) should not be attached (*abhiniviśate*) to 'me' and 'mine' (*ādymātmīya)*. If he is attached to 'me' and 'mine', he experiences immense sadness and suffering. The mind (*citta*) should experience disgust (*saṃvega*) in the presence of all the universes (*loka*) and seek renunciation (*vairāgya*)." Proclaiming in every way the suffering at the heart of the universes (*lokadhātu*), he freed his mind in order to enter into nirvāṇa. When he had finished preaching, he put on the robe (s*aṃghātī*) that he had received from the Buddha[355] once more and, taking his robe (*cīvara*), his bowl (*pātra*) and his staff (*daṇḍa*), he rose up into space like the golden-winged bird (*garuḍa*), [assumed] the four bodily postures (*kāyeryāpatha*); seated, lying down, walking and standing. In his one body there appeared innumerable [79a] bodies that filled the universes of the east, then these innumerable bodies

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[354] He ascended the Gṛdhrakūṛaparvata and still more precisely, according to most of the sources (T 1451, p. 409b; T 1545, p. 698b; T2042, p. 114c; T 2085, p. 863c; T 2987, p. 919b) the mountain ‘cock's foot' (*kukkutpāda*), probably a mountain chain making up part of the Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata massif; at least this is what may be inferred from the passage from T 456, p. 433b, translated above. Fa hien placed the Kukkuṭapāda three *li* south of the bodhi tree (T 2087, p. 868c), Hiuan tsang placed it 100 *li* east of the *Mo ho* river (T 2087, p. 919b), and Yi tsing, near the bodhi tree (Chavannes, *Réligieux éminents*, p. 47). - We know from Hiuan tsang and Yi tsing (l.c.) that this mountain was also called Gurupāda, the mountain of 'Teacher's foot'. - In the place of the reading 'Cock's foot' (Ki tsou: Kukkuṭapāda), three sources at least (T 383, p. 1013b; T 456, p. 433b; T 1861, p. 270c) read 'Wolf-track' mountain (*Lang tsi*). Watters, Travels, II, p. 144, followed by Demiéville, *Origine des sectes bouddhiques*, MCB, I, 1931-32, p. 30, propose Kokapāda as the Sanskrit equivalent. I [Lamotte] would assume that the three Chinese versions translated by *Lang tsi* an original Sanskrit having by mistake *Kukkurupāda*, 'Dog's-foot', in place of *Kukkuṭapāda*, 'Cock's-foot'. - Finally we note that two sources, apparently among the oldest (T 125, p. 789a; T 453, p. 422b) locate the nirvāṇa of Kāśyapa at the village of *P'i t'i* (81 and 5; 64 and 9: Videha) in the country of *Mo kie* (Magadha).

[355] In the Saṃyutta, II, p. 221 (tr. Rh. D., Kindred Sayings, II, p. 149; tr. Geiger, II, p. 284), Kāśyapa tells Ānanda how he exchanged his robe made of patches of material (*paṭapilotikānaṃ saṅghāti*) for the tattered used rags (*sāṇāni pāṃsukūlāni nibbasanāni*) of the Buddha. - The same sūtra occurs in the Chinese version of the Saṃyuktāgama, T 99 (no. 1144), k. 41, p. 303b; T 100 (no. 119), k. 6, p. 418c. - On the other hand, in Hiuan tsang, T 2087, k. 9, p. 919c, the robe which Kāśyapa had to give back to Maitreya is the monastic robe of the Buddha, all embroidered with gold, a gift of his aunt.

became one single body again. From the upper part of his body there came forth fire (*agni*), while from the lower part there came forth water (*udaka*); then from the upper part there cameforth water, while from the lower part there came forth fire.[356] And he repeated the same phenomenon in the directions of the south, the west and the north. The community felt disgust for the world (*lokasaṃvega*) and all its members rejoiced. Then Mahākāśyapa with his robe, his bowl and his staff made the following vow on the summit of Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata: "I wish that my body will not rot. When *Mi lö* (Maitreya) becomes Buddha, my skeleton (*asthisaṃghāta*) will reappear and with him I will save beings." Having reflected in this way, he penetrated right into the rock forming the mountain summit as if entering soft mud; and after he had penetrated into it, the mountain closed up once more.[357] In future generations, the human lifespan will be 84,000 years and a man's height 80 feet. When the Buddha Maitreya comes, the height of the Buddha will be 160 feet, his face will measure 24 feet and his halo (*vyomaka*) will be 10 *li*. Then, when beings learn that the Buddha Maitreya has appeared in the world (*prādurbhūta*), all together will embrace the religious life (*pravrajita*) to follow the Buddha. When the Buddha will proclaim the Dharma in the assembly (*saṃgha*) for the first time, 99 *prabheda*s of human beings will attain the state of arhat and will be endowed (*samanvāgata*) with the six superknowledges (*abhijñā*); in the second great assembly, 96 *prabheda*s of human beings will attain the state of arhat; in the third there will be 93 *prabheda*s.[358]. These in turn will save innumerable men. At that time, people will often be lazy (*kusīda*) and the Buddha Maitreya, seeing men in that state, will strike Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata with his fingers; then the skeleton of Mahākāṣyapa, clothed in his saṃghati, will appear and prostrate at the feet of Maitreya, rise up into space and [once more] manifest the transformations (*pariṇāma*) described above. Then the disciples of Buddha Maitreya, full of astonishment, will ask: "Who is this man? We say 'man' but he is so tiny. He is dressed in monk's robes and can accomplish the transformations." The Buddha Maitreya will reply: "This man is a

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356 In other words, Kāśyapa, according to the words of T 2042, p. 1145a, accomplished the 18 *pariṇāma*s: these are the *abhijñādharmāṇi* of the Mahāvyutpatti, no. 210 sq. In mentioning the multiplying and then the reducing to a single one of Mahākāśyapa's body, the Mppś is referring to the sixth and seventh *abhijñākarman*: *eko bhāvā bahudhā bhavati, bahudvā bhūtvāiko bhavati.* - As for the phenomenon of emitting fire from the upper part of the body and water from the lower part and vice versa, this is known as the twin miracle (*yamakaprātihārya*). The Buddha accomplished this on several occasions (cf. Nidānakathā, p. 77, 88, 193; Sumaṅgala, I, p. 57; Mahāvastu, III, p. 115; Divyāvadāna, p. 161, 378) and the saints often produced it at the moment of their entry into nirvāṇa (see above, the nirvāṇa of Gavāmpati). On the mechanism and meaning of this miracle, see Dhammapadaṭṭha, III, p. 214-215 (tr. Burlingame, *Legends*, III, p. 45-47); P'i p'o cha, T 1545, k. 135, p. 698c..

357 According to some sources, when the rock closed up over Kāśyapa, he at once entered into nirvāṇa (Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, T 1451, k. 40, p. 409a; Legend of Aśoka, T 2042, K. 4, p. 115a; Vibhāṣā, T 1545, K. 135, p. 698b; Hiuan tsang, T 2087, k. 9, p. 910). - According to other sources, and the Mppś is one of these, Kāśyapa is merely slumbering or in nirodhasamāpatti and will enter nirvāṇa only after having given the Buddha's robe back to Maitreya (Ekottarāgama, T 125, k. 44, p. 789a; T 456, p. 433b).

358 According to the numerical system adopted by the Mppś (below, k. 5, p. 94b), *wan*, in Sanskrit *prabheda*, is equivalent to 10,000. - In other sources, the three asemblies of Maitreya are of different numbers: Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 44, p. 978a, attributes to them 96, 94 and 92 *koṭi*s of members [the *koṭi*, in Chinese *yi*, equals 10,000,000]. These are also the numbers in Maitreyavyākaraṇa, v. 77080 (ed. S. Lévi, *Maitreya le consolateur*, ML, Paris, 1932, II, p. 388: *prathamaḥ saṃnipāto 'sya.... muktānāṃ śāntacetasām*.

disciple of the past Buddha Śākyamuni. He is called Mahākāśyapa, He is the foremost of the bhikṣus who dwell in the forest (*araṇyavāsin*), who have no desire (*alpeccha*), are content [with little] (*saṃtuṣṭa*) and follow the strict observances (*dhūtaguṇavādin*).[359] He is a great arhat who possesses the six superknowledges (*abhijñā*) and the deliverances (*vimokṣa*). During his time, the human lifespan was 100 years; births were rare and deaths were frequent. If, with his minuscule body, Mahākāśyapa was able to accomplish such great things, why do you not accomplish such miracles with your great bodies and your sharp faculties (*tīkṣṇendriya*)?" Then the disciples, shamefully, will experience great disgust (*saṃvega*) [for the world] and the Buddha Maitreya, conforming with the dispositions of the assembly, will preach all the truths (*dharma*). Some will become arhats, non-returners (*anāgamin*), once-returners (*sakṛdāgamin*), enterers into the stream (*srotaāpanna*); others will plant the roots of good (*kuśalamūla*) [which will make them] pratyekabuddhas; others will acquire the patient acceptance of unborn dharmas (*anutpattikadharmakṣānti*) and will become irreversible bodhisattvas (*avaivartikabodhisattva*); finally, others will be reborn among gods and men (*devamanuṣya*) and enjoy all kinds of happiness. - From that we know that the Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata is a blessed and propitious place. The āryas love to reside [79b] there. The Buddha, the chief of the āryas, frequently resides on the Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata.

3. Moreover, the Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata is the residence of Buddhas of the past (*atīta*), the future (*anāgata*) and the present (*pratyutpanna*). Thus it is said in the *Fou leou na mi ti li tseu king* (Pūrṇamaitrāyaṇīputrasūtra)[360]: "The Buddha said to Pūrṇa: 'When the trichiliomegachiliocosm (*trisāhasamahāsāhasralokadhātu*) will will be burned up [at the end of] the kalpa, I will return and will always stay on this mountain. But weighed down by their fetters (*saṃyojanāliṅgita*) and unable to see the qualities (*guṇa*) of the Buddha, beings will not see me.' "

4. Moreover, the Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata is pure and fresh. It welcomes the Buddhas and bodhisattvas of the three times. No place is equal to it. That is why the Buddha stays there often.

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[359] Cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 61: *ayaṃ śrāvakaḥ Kāśyapo.... agro nirdiṣṭaḥ*. - In the Aṅguttara I, p. 23, Kāśyapa was already proclaimed the foremost of the *dhūtavāda* or *dhūtaṅgadhara*; in the corresponding passage of the Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 3, p. 557b, he is said to be the foremost of those who practice the twelve dhūtas. - The *dhūtāṅga*s or *dhūtaguṇa*s are the very strict rules favored by some Buddhists, in number either twelve or thirteen: Vinaya, V, p. 131, 193; Mahāvyutpatti, no. 1127-1139; Milinda, p. 359; Dharmasaṃgraha, ch. LXIII, p. 13 (to be compared with Fa tsi ming chou king, T 764, p. 661a); Visuddhimagga, p. 59, to be compared with Kiai t'o tao louen, T 1648, k. 2, p. 404b (cf. P, V, Bapat, *Vimuttimagga and Visuddhimagga*, Poona, 1937, p. 16 sq.). Kern, *Histoire*, II, p. 16-18; *Manual*, p. 75-76, has a good paragraph on the *dhūtāṇga*s.

[360] Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra, in Pāli Puṇṇa Mantānīputta, the most famous of the preachers (Aṅguttara, I, p. 23) plays only an eclipsed rôle in the canonical scriptures: he preaches the pratītyasamutpāda to Ānanda in the Saṃyutta, III, p. 105 (cf Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 261), k. 10, p. 66a) and debates with Śāriputra in the Rathavinītasutta of the Majjhima I, p. 146 sq. (cf. Tchong a han, T 26 (no. 9), k. 2, p. 430a: Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 33, p. 733c). On the other hand, he is rather important in the Greater Vehicle; thus, in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, the Buddha says that Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra, having fulfilled the tasks of a bodhisattva, will attain the state of samyaksaṃbuddha after numberless and measureless kalpas, and will be the tathāgata Dharmaprabhāsa who will be born in the very land of the Buddha.

NOTE: The lengthy Sanskrit and Pāli quotations have been abbreviated.

5. Moreover, the Mahāyāna sūtras were most often preached at the Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata, rarely elsewhere. Why? Because this place is pure and constitutes a marvelous retreat. The Buddas of the three times and the bodhisattvas of the ten directions praise (*varṇaṃ vadanti*) and honor (*pūjayanti*) this place. The devas, nāgas, yakṣas, garudas, gandharvas, kiṃnaras, mahoragas and other very powerful deities protect (*pālayanti*), honor and venerate (*satkurvanti*) this place. A stanza says:

This Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata

Is the residence of the Buddhas,

The refuge of the ārya:

It protects them all.

Suffering is abolished there,

Alone, it keeps the true Dharma.

6. Finally, it is there that the innumerable bodhisattvas of the ten directions, wise, marvelous and very powerful, come to see the Buddha Śākyamuni, greet him, pay their respect to him and listen to his Dharma. This is why the Buddha preaches the Mahāyānasūtras so often on the Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata, The Prajñā is the most important of these sūtras and, since he wishes to preach it today, why should it not be on the Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata?

We have just explained in summary (*samāsataḥ*) why the Buddha resides on the

Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata.

CHAPTER VI: THE GREAT BHIKṢU SAṂGHA

Text commented on in this chapter (Cf. Pañcaviṃśati, p. 4; Śatasāhasrikā, p. 2-4):

Mahatā bhikṣusaṃghena sārdhaṃ pañcamātrair bhikṣusahasraiḥ (1) sarvair arhadbhiḥ (2) kṣīṇāsravair (3) niṣkleśaiḥ (4) suvimuktacittaiḥ suvimuktaprajñair (5) āÁÌeyair (6) mahānāgaiḥ (7) kṛtakṛtyair (8) apahṛtabhārair bhārasahair (9) anuprāptasvakāthaiḥ (10) parikṣīṇabhavasaṃyojanaiḥ (11) samyagājñāsuvimuktair, ekapudgalaṃ sthāpayitvā yad utāyuṣmantam Ānandaṃ śaikṣaṃ srotaāpannam.[361]

"The Buddha was accompanied by a great saṃgha of five thousand bhikṣus; all were arhats, had destroyed the impurities, were free from the afflictions; their minds were well freed; their minds as well as their wisdom were tamed; they were great 'nāgas'; they were accomplished and complete;[362] they had laid down the burden but were capable of bearing it; they had assured their own personal benefit; they had completely broken the fetters of existence; they were completely freed by perfect knowledge with the exception of Ānanda who, being of the śaikṣa level, had [merely] entered the stream."

* * * * *

Sūtra: Accompanied by a great saṃgha of bhikṣus (*mahatā bhikṣusaṃghena sārdham*).

Śāstra:

SĀRDHAM

Sārdham 'accompanied by' indicates the identity of place (*deśa*), time (*kāla*), mind (*citta*), discipline (*śīla*), views (*dṛṣṭi*), path (*mārga*) and deliverance (*vimokṣa*).[363]

MAHAT

Mahat, in the language of the Ts'in, means 'great', numerous (*sambahula*), or superior (*śreṣṭha*).[364]

1. This saṃgha is great because it surpasses all the others, because it has broken all the obstacles (*āvaraṇa*) and because the gods (*deva*), kings (*rājan*) and other great individuals respect it (*satkurvanti*).

2. This saṃgha is numerous because there are five thousand members.

3. This saṃgha is superior because it is able to refute the teachings *(upadeśa*) of the 96 heretical sects (read *wai tao* = tīrthika).[365]

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[361] We may notice that this formula departs from the traditional text at certain points: three epithets are omitted, namely, *vaṣībhūtaiḥ, kṛtakaraṇīyaiḥ* and *sarvacetovaśiparamapāramitāprāptaiḥ*; on the other hand, *bhārasahaiḥ* occurs here only.

[362] Rather free translation of *kṛtakṛtyaiḥ* which means 'having accomplished what had to be done'.

[363] Cf. Buddhaghosa, Sumaṅgala, p. 35: *Tena bhikkhusaṃghena diṭṭhisīlsāmaññasaṃghātasaṃkhātena samaṇagaṇenā ti attho. Saddhin ti ekato*.

[364] Cf. ibid., p. 35: *Mahatā ti guṇamahattena pi mahatā saṅkhāmahattena pi. So hi bhikkhusaṃgho guṇehi mahā ahosi apicchatādiguṇasatasamannāgatasttā, saṃkhāya pi mahā pañcasatasaṃkhātattā.*

BHIKṢU

[79c] What is a bhikṣu? The bhikṣu is a mendicant.

1. He is called bhikṣu because of his pure means of livelihood (*pariṣuddhājīva*). Thus it is said in a sūtra:[366]:

"Śāriputra entered the city to beg his food; when he had obtained it, he sat down against a wall (*kuḍyaṃ niśrāya nyaṣidat)* to eat. Then a brahmacariṇī named *Tsing mou* (Śucimukhī) came to see Śāriputra and asked him:

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[365] Cf. Chavannes, *Contes*, I, p. 410.

[366] The Śucimukhī sūtra, taken from Saṃyutta, III, p. 238-240 (tr. Woodward, *Kindred Sayings*, III, p. 189-191). The Chinese version is in Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 500), k. 18, p. 131c-132a. Here are the main passages:

1. *Ekaṃ samayam āyasmā Sāriputto Rājagahe viharati Veḷuvane Kalandakanivāpe*.

2. *Atha kho āyasmā Sāriputto pubbaṇhasamayaṃ nivāsetvā pattacīvaram ādāya Rājagahe piṇḍāya pāvisi. Rājagahe sapadānaṃ piṇḍāya caritvā taṃ piṇḍapātam aññaturaṃ kuḍḍam nissāya paribhuñjati*.

3. *Atha kho Sucimukhī paribbājikā yenayasmā Sāriputto tenupasaṅkami. upasaṅkamiyvā āyasmantaṃ Sariputtum etad avoca*.

4-7. *Kiṃ nu kho samaṇa adhomukho .... ubbhamukho .... disāmukho .... vidisāmukho bhuñjasīti. Na khvāham bhagini adhomukho .... ubbhamukho ....disāmukho .... vidisāmukho bhuñjāmīti*.

8. *Kathañcarahi samaṇa bhuñjasīti*.

9. *Ye hi keci bhagini samaṇabrāhmaṇā vatthuvijjā tiracchānavijjāya micchājīvena jīvikaṃ kappenti, ime vuccanti bhagini samaṇabrāhmaṇā adhomukhā bhuñjantīti*.

10. *Ye hi keci bhagini samaṇabrāhmaṇā dūteyyapahīṇagamanānuyogā miccājīvena jīvikaṃkappenti, ime vuccanti bhagini samaṇabrāhmaṇāubbhamukhā bhuñjantīti.*

11. *Ye hi keci bhagini samaṇabrāhmaṇā dūteyyapahīṇagamanānuyoga micchājīvena jīvikaṃ kappenti, ime vuccanti bhagini samaṇabrāhmṇā disāmukha bhiñjantīti*.

12. *Ye hi keci samaṇabrāhamaṇa aṅgavijjātiracchānavijjāya micchājīvikaṃ kappenti, ime vuccnati bhagini samaṇabrāhamaṇā vidisāmukhā bhuñjantīti*.

13. *So khāvaṃ na bhagini vatthuvijjā ... na nakkhattavijjā ... na dūteyyapahīṇagamanānuyoga ... na aṅgavijjā tiracchānavijjāya micchājīvena jīvikaṃ kappemi. Dhammena bhikkhaṃ pariyesāmi dhammena bhikkhaṃ pariyesitvā bhuñjāmīti*.

14. *Atho kho Sucimukhī paribbājjikā Rājagahe rathiyāya rathiyaṃ siṅghāṭakena siṅghāṭakam upasṅkamitvā evam ārocesi. Dhammikaṃ samaṇā sakyaputtiyā dhāram āhārenti anavajjaṃ samaṇā sakyaputtiyā āhāram āharenti. detha samaṇānaṃ sakyaputtiyāṇaṃ piṇḍan ti*.

The Chinese version of the Tsa a han follows the Pāli text closely but at the end adds an interesting detail which the Mppś does not mention: "At that time, some tīrthika pravrājikas heard the tīrthikā Śucimukhī who was praising the śramaṇas, sons of the Śākyas. Out of jealousy, they killed the tīrthikā pravrājikā Śucimukhī. After her death, she was reborn among the Tuṣita gods because she had faith (*śraddhācitta*) in the venerable Śāriputra."

The main differences that we notice between the various redactions of the Sūtra of Śucimukhī oblige us to recognize that the Mppś has borrowed its quotation from a canonical collection departing considerably from the tradition represented by the Pāli Saṃyuttanikāya and the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama.

- O Śramaṇa, are you eating?

- I am eating.

- Śramaṇa, are you eating with your face down (*adhomukho bhuñjasi*)?

- No, sister, he answered.

- Are you eating with your face up in the air (*ūrdhvamukho bhuñjasi*)?

- No.

- Are you eating with your face turned in the four cardinal directions (*diṅmukho buñjasi*)?

- No.

- Then are you eating with your face turned in the four intermediate direction of the horizon (*vidiśāmukho bhuñjasi*)?

- No, not that.

Then Śucimukhī said to him:

- There are four ways to eat. I have asked you and you answer in the negative. I don't understand. You must explain.

Śāriputra said to her:

- There are monks (*pravrājita*) who compound medicinal herbs (*oṣadhi*), plant grain and cultivate trees, etc. Those who follow these impure means of livelihood (*aśuddhājīva*) 'eat with their face down'. - There are monks who observe the stars (*nakṣatra*), the sun and the moon (*sūryacandramas*), the wind and the rain (*vāyuvarṣa*), the clouds and the clear sky (*megavidyut*), the thunder and lightning. Those who follow these impure ways of livelihood 'eat with their face up in the air'. - There are monks who flatter important people, carry their messages in the four directions of the horizon and solicit their favor with specious words. Those who follow these impure ways of livelihood 'eat with their face turned in the four cardinal directions.' - There are monks who study all kinds of magical spells (*mantra*), curses, charms, etc. Those who follow these impure ways of livelihood 'eat with their face turned in the four intermediate directions of the horizon'. As for me, I do not want any of these four impure ways of getting my food; I follow this pure way of livelihood (*pariṣuddhājīva*) which consists of begging my food (*piṇḍapāta*).

Then, hearing him speak of this pure food conforming with the Dharma (*pariśudda dhārmika āhāra*), Śucimukhī rejoiced and had faith (*śraddhā*). Śāriputra attained the [80a] state of srotaāpanna for having preached the Dharma."

Therefore one is called bhikṣu in accordance with this pure means of livelihood which consists of begging one's food.

2. Furthermore, *bhi* means to cut (*bhid*) and *kṣu* means afflictions (*kṣud* = *kleśa*). The person who has cut the afflictions is called bhikṣu.[367]

3. Furthermore, the [monk] who has gone forth from home (*pravrajita*) is called bhikṣu. It is like the eastern (Hou), Chinese (Han) and Tibetan slaves who each have their name.

4. Furthermore, the one who says, from ordination (*upasaṃpad*) onward: "I, the bhikṣu so-and-so, will observe the precepts (*śīla*) for my whole life."[368]

5. Furthermore, *bhi* means to frighten (bhī) and *kṣu* means ability (kṣam). The one who has the power to frighten Māra and his followers [is called bhikṣu]. When the monk goes forth from home (*pravrajita*), shaves his head, puts on the saffron robe (*kāṣāya*) and receives the precepts (*śīla*), Māra is frightened because he thinks: "This man will definitely enter into nirvāṇa in time." It is as the Buddha said: "The man who shaves his head, puts on the saffron robe (*kāṣāya*) and resolves (*ekacittena*) to accept the precepts, will know how gradually to cut the bonds (*bandhana*) and decrease suffering: he will enter into nirvāṇa."

SAṂGHA

What does *saṃgha* mean? In the language of the Ts'in, *saṃgha* means assembly. The gathering together of many bhikṣus in one place is called *saṃgha*. In the same way, a group of large trees is called a forest (*vana*). Taken separately, the trees do not make up a forest, but if they are cut down one by one, there is no longer a forest. In the same way, taken separately, the bhikṣus do not make up a saṃgha, but if they are removed one by one, there is no longer a *saṃgha*. The bhikṣus must be gathered together to constitute a *saṃgha*.[369]

There are four types of saṃgha: 1) the assembly having shame (*hrīmat),* 2*)* the shameless saṃgha (*āhrīkya*), 3) the assembly of dumb sheep (*eḍamūka)*,[370] 4) the true saṃgha (*bhūta*).[371]

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367 *Bhinnakleśatvād bhikṣuḥ* is a traditional etymology; cf. the commentaries of the Vibhaṅga, p. 328, the Vimānavatthu, p. 29, 214, and the Petavatthu, p. 51; Mahāyutpatti, no. 8753; Kośha, IV, p. 97. - More detailed, the Mahāniddesa, p. 70, which proposes: *sattannaṃ dhammānaṃ bhinnattā bhikkhu*.

368 This is the monk who has received the usual ordination by the fourfold action of public declaration *(jñapticaturthakakarmaṇopasaṃpanno bhikṣuḥ*). Cf. Che song liu, T 1435, k. 1, p. 2b9 (= Mahāvyutpatti, no. 8754). - The *ñatticatutthakamma* is described in the Vinaya, I, p. 56, 317 sq.; II, p. 89; III, p. 156; IV, p. 152.

369 According to Buddhaghosa and the Pāli commentators, the saṃgha assumes a commonality of views and precepts; cf. Sumaṅgala, I, p. 230: *diṭṭhisīlasaṃghātena saṃghāto ti saṃgho*.

370 The Chinese translation *Ya yang* is an imaginative interpretation of the Sanskrit *eḍamūkha* 'deaf-mute', where the word *eḍa* 'deaf' has been combined with *eḍa* 'sheep'. Cf. Hobogirin, *Ayo*, p. 45.

371 The Ti tsang che louen king, T 411, k. 3, p. 740c, also distinguishes four types of saṃgha:

1) s. in the true sense (*paramārthasaṃgha*). 2) s. in the ordinary sense (*saṃvṛtisaṃgha)*, 3) s. of mute sheep (*eḍamūkasaṃgh*a), 4) shameless s. (Wou ts'an khei = *āhrīkyasaṃgha*). The definitions that it gives correspond to those of the Mppś. - The same division of the saṃgha, increased by one point, is repeated by Saṃghabhadra in his Chouen tcheng li louen T 1562, k. 38, p. 557c:

1. What is the saṃgha having shame? This assembly observes the precepts (*śīla*) without transgressing them; its [actions of] body and speech (*kāyavakkarman*) are pure (*viśuddha*); it knows how to distinguish the beautiful from the ugly but has not attained the Path.

2. What is the shameless saṃgha? This assembly violates the precepts; its [actions of] body and speech are impure; there is no evil that it does not commit.

3. What is the assembly of dumb sheep? This assembly does not violate the precepts but its faculties are dull (*mṛdvindriya*) and it lacks wisdom (*prajñā).* It is unable to discern the beautiful and the ugly, the light and the heavy, that which is sinful *(āpatti*) and that which is not sinful (*anāpatti*). If there is some business in the saṃgha where two people are arguing, it is not capable of cutting through the question and remains silent without saying a word like a white sheep that cannot make a sound until it is butchered.

4. What is the true assembly? The true assembly is that of the śaikṣas and the aśaikṣas who reside in the four fruits (*phala*) and practice the four paths leading to them.

PAÑCAMĀTRA BHIKṢUSAHASRA

Sūtra: [The assembly] was very numerous; a section of five thousand [men].

Śāstra: What is meant by very numerous? We call a [sum] which increases and rarely decreases very numerous. In a numerous assembly, if a group is taken out, there is a 'section'. Here in an assembly of ten thousand bhikṣus, a section of five thousand men is taken. Hence the expression 'section of five thousand men'.

1. ARHAT

Sūtra: All were arhats.

Śāstra: What does arhat mean?

1. *Ara* means enemy (*ari*) and *hat* means to kill (*han*). He who has destroyed all these enemies that are called the afflictions (*kleśa*) is called an arhat.

2. Furthermore, the arhats who have destroyed all the impurities (*kṣīṇāsrava*) deserve (*arhanti*) veneration (*pūja*) by the gods and men of all the universes (*loka*).

3. Finally, *a* designates negation and *rahat* designates birth. He who will never again be reborn in future generations is called arhat.

2. KṢÈṆĀSRAVA

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1) *āhrīkyasaṃgha*, 2) *eḍamūkhasaṃgha*, 3) s. of partisans (P'ong tand seng = *pakṣisaṃgha*), 4) *saṃvṛtisaṃgha*, 5) *paramārthasaṃgha*. - Similar division in a commentary on the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya, T 1440,k. 2, p. 513b: 1) *eḍamūkasaṃgha*, 2) *āhrīkyasaṃgha*, 3) *bhinnasaṃgha*, 4) *viśuddasaṃgha*, 5) *paramārthasaṃgha*.

Sūtra: They have destroyed the impurities.

Śāstra: They are called *kṣīṇāsrava* because they have completely eliminated the three impurities (*āsrava*) of the threefold world.

3. NIṢKLEŚA

Sūtra: They were free of the afflictions.

Śāstra: They are called *niṣkleśa* because they have destroyed all the fetters (*saṃyojana*), the attachments (*upādāna*), the bonds (*bandhana*), the obstacles (*nīvaraṇa*), wrong views (*dṛṣṭi*) and the envelopment of desire (*paryavasthāna*).

4. SUVIMUKTACITTA, SUVIMUKTAPRAJÑA

Sūtra: Their mind was completely liberated as well as their wisdom.

Śāstra: Question. - Why are they *suvimuktacitta* and *suvimuktaprajña*?

Answer. - 1. The heretics (*tīrthika*) who have renounced pleasure (*virakta*) acquire liberation of mind (*cetovimukti*) on one single point and by a single path, but they are not freed from all the obstacles (*āvaraṇa*). This is why the arhats alone are called *suvimuktacitta* and *suvimuktaprajña*.

2. Furthermore, the arhats have acquired liberation of mind (*cetovimukti*) by a twofold path: the path of seeing the truths (*satyadarśanamārga*) and the path of meditation (*bhāvanāmārga*); this is why they are called *suvimuktacitta*. As for the Śaikṣas, while they have acquired deliverance of mind, they are not yet completely liberated because they still retain a residue of the fetters (*saṃyojana*).

3. Furthermore, the dharmas auxiliary to the path (*mārgapākṣikadharma*) are not complete in the heretics (*tīrthika*). They seek the path by cultivating one single quality (*guna*) or two qualities but they are unable to find the path. According to them, the person who is seeking purity (*viśuddha*) by alms-giving (*dāna*) alone or by sacrificing to the gods (*devayajña*) can escape from grief (*daurmanasya*) and be reborn in a land of eternal bliss (*nityasukha*). Others speak about an eightfold path (*mārga*) to go to purity: 1. individual insight (*svāvabodha*), 2. tradition (*śruti*), 3. study of the texts (*sūtrādhyāyana)*, 4. fear of inner suffering (*ādhyātmikaduḥkhabhaya*), 5. fear of suffering inflicted by great beings (*mahāsattvaduḥkhabhaya*), 6. fear of suffering inflicted by the gods (*devaduḥkhabhaya*), 7. the acquisition of a good teacher (*ācāryalābha*), 8. generosity practiced on a grand scale (*mahādāna*). They say that only the eighth method [namely, generosity] merits the name of the path of purity (*viśuddhimārga*).

Finally, some heretics consider only alms-giving (*dāna*) and discipline (*śīla*) as pure; others, alms-giving and *dhyāna*; yet others, alms-giving and the pursuit of wisdom (*prajñāparyeṣaṇa*). All these paths are incomplete. The person who calls the absence of any quality or just a few qualities purity (*viśuddhi*) will be able to attain liberation of mind (*cetovimukti)* to a certain degree but he will not be *completely* liberated (*suvimukta*), for in him the path of nirvāṇa is not complete (*paripūrṇa*).

[80c] A stanza says:

The man who lacks qualities will be unable to cross

The ocean of birth, old age, sickness and death.

The man endowed with a few qualities will not be able to do more.

The Path of good practices has been proclaimed by the Buddha.

Here the *Siu po t'o fan tche king* (Subhadrabrahmacārisūtra)[372] is cited:

"The brahmacārin Subhadra, 120 years old and possessing the superknowledges (*abhijñā)*, was on the shore of lake *A na po ta to* (Anavatapta).[373] During the night in a dream he saw everybody without eyes, with bodies naked and deep in shadow; the sun had disappeared, the earth destroyed, the ocean dried up and Sumeru toppled over by wind-storms. He woke up frightened and said to himself: 'What does this mean? My life has reached its end since the teachers of heaven and earth are about to fall.' Perplexed, he could not understand why he had had this bad dream. Formerly, he had a goddess friend (*kalyāṇamitradevatā*).[374] She came down from the sky and said to Subhadra: 'Fear not; there is an omniscient one (*sarvajñā*) called Buddha who, during the last watch of the night, will enter into nirvāṇa without residue (*nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa)*; the dream which you have had is not about you at all.'[375]

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[372] The conversion of Subhadra, to which the Mppś will return later (k. 26, p. 250a) is told in full in a series of texts: Dīgha, II, p. 148-153 (tr. Rh. D., P. 164-169; Franke, p. 239-242); Chinese versions of the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra: T 1 (no. 2), k. 4, p. 25a-b; T 5, k. 2, p. 171c-172a; T 6, k. 2, p. 187b-c; T 7, k. 2, p. 203b-204b; Ta pan nie p'an king, T 375, k. 36, p. 850c sq.; Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 979), k. 35, p. 253c-254c; Tsen yi a han, T 125, k. 37, p. 752; Ken pen chouo... tsa cho, T 1451, k. 38, p. 396 (cf. Rockhill, Life. p. 138); Avadānaśataka, I, p. 227-240 (tr. Feer, p. 151-159); Siuan tsi po yuan king, T 200 (no. 37), k. 4, p. 220c-221b; Hiuan tsang, *Si yu ki*, T 2087, k. 6, p. 903c (tr. Beal, II, p. 35-36; Watters, II, p. 30-34); Dhammapadaṭṭha, III, p. 375-378 (tr. Burlingame, *Legends*, III, p. 130).

[373] In most sources, Subhadra is a citizen of Kuśinagara; the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (T 1451, k. 38, p. 396a) has him living on the shore of Lake Mandākini; according to the Mppś and the *Tibetische Lebensbeschreibung* (tr. Schieffner, p. 291), he lived in the north near Lake Anavatapta.

[374] In a previous existence when Subadhra was the bhikṣu Aśoka, this deity friend already had informed him of the imminent nirvāṇa of the Buddha Kāśyapa (cf. Avadānaśataka, I, p. 238).

[375] In the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, T 1451, k. 38, p. 396a, it is a fig tree that warned Subhadra: At that time, there was in Kuśinagara a decrepit heretic parivrājaka called Subhadra, 120 years old. The citizens of Kuśinagara respected him, venerated him and paid homage to him as to an arhat. Not far away, there was a large lotus lake called *Man t'o tche eul* (Mandākinī) on the shore of which there grew a *Wou t'an po* tree (Uḍumbara or Ficus glomerata). Once, at the time when the Bodhisattva was dwelling among the Tuṣita gods and had descended into his mother's womb in the form of a white elephant, that tree began to produce a flower bud. When he came into the world, the flower bud took on a more and more brilliant color. When he was an adolescent, it began to open up. When he was filled with disgust for old age, sickness and death and withdrew into the mountainous forests, it grew a little and took the shape of a crow's beak. When he devoted himself to asceticism, it seemed to wither. When he gave up asceticism, it came back to life. When he took nourishment, it recovered its former form. When he attained supreme enlightenment, it expanded. When the god Brahmā invited the Buddha to turn the wheel of the Dharma at Benares, the fig tree and its flower shone brilliantly and its marvelous perfume

The next day, Subhadra went to the forest of *Kiu yi na kie* (Kuśinagara). He met Ānanda and said to him: ‘I have heard that your teacher teaches a new path to nirvāṇa and today, during the [last] watch of the night, he is going to undergo cessation (*nirodha*). I feel some doubts (*kāṅkṣā)* and I would like to see the Buddha so that he can dispel them.’

Ānanda replied: ‘The Bhagavat is on the point of death. If you question him, you will tire him out.’

Subhadra repeated his request three times, but Ānanda answered him in the same way each time.

The Buddha heard this conversation from a distance and he ordered Ānanda: ‘Let the brahmacārin Subhadra come here and question me freely. That will be my last talk. He will become my disciple shortly.’

Then Subhadra, admitted into the presence of the Buddha, exchanged friendly salutations (*saṃmodanīṃ kathāṃ vyatisārya*) and sat down to one side (*ekānte nyausīdat*). He said to himself: ‘Some heretics who have renounced desires (*anunaya*) and wealth (*dhama*) and have gone forth from home (*pravrajita*) have not found the Path (*mārga*), Only the śramaṇa Gautama has found it.’ Having had this thought, he spoke to the Buddha: ‘In the territory of *Yen feou t'i* (Jambudvīpa). six teachers claim each to be omniscient (*sarvajñā*). Is this statement correct?’

The Bhagavat answered with these stanzas:[376]

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filled all the neighborhood. When the Buddha in his compassion had saved all the beings capable of being saved and had retired to Kuśinagara where he lay down for the last time, the fig tree and its flower died, to the great terror of the spectators. Then Subhadra, seeing this transformation, had this thought: "There must be a misfortune at Kuśinagara." At that moment, the protector goddess of the land (*rāṣṭrapāla*) caused it to thunder and proclaimed to the people: "Today, in the middle of the night, the Tathāgata will enter into nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa."

[376] Here for comparison are the Pāli redaction (Dīgha, II, p. 1521) and the Sanskrit (Avadānaśataka, I, p. 231) of these famous stanzas:

Dīgha: *Ekānatiṃso vayasā Subhadda..... ito bahiddhā samano pi n'atthi*.

Avadānaśataka: *Ekānnatriṃśatho vayasā Subhadra.... ito bahir vai śramaṇi 'sti nānyaḥ*.

The only main difference between these two redactions is the variant *pradeśavakta* in the place of *padesavattī*. - These stanzas have tried the sagacity of the translators:

Rhys Davids, *Dialogues*, II, p. 167: But twenty-nine was I when I renounced the world, Subhadda, seeking after Good. For fifty years and one year more, Subhadda, since I went out, a pilgrim have I been, through the wide realm of System and of Law. - Outside of that, there is no samaṇa.

Kern, *Histoire du Bouddhisme dans l'Inde*, p. 232: J'étais âgé de vingt-neuf ans, Subhadra, lorsque je devins moine, recherchant la sainteté. Il y a plus de cinquante ans. Subhadra, depuis que je suis devenu moine, me mouvant sur le terrain de la règle légale, en dehors duquel il n'y a pas d'ascète.

Franke, *Dīghanikāya in Auswahl überzetzt*, p. 240: Ich ward Asket mit neunundzwanzig Jahren, Subhadra, um des Heilsweg zu erfahren, und mehr als funfzig Jahre sind verstrichen, seit ich, Subhadra, bin dem Heim entwichen. Wer meines Wegs ein Stück durchmass als Wandrer, heisst Samaṇa allein mit Recht. Kein andrer!

Of these three translations, that of Kern has the merit of conforming closest to the interpretation of Buddhaghosa in Sumaṅgala, II, p. 590. The Buddha left home (*pravrajita*) at twenty-nine years of age. This date is given by the Pāli and Sanskrit stanzas cited above and confirmed by T 1, p. 25b; T 7, p. 204a; T 26, k. 56, p. 776b; T 99, p. 254b; T 125, p. 752b; T 1451, P. 396c. On the other hand, in the Mppś, the Buddha left home at the age of nineteen years. This is perhaps

‘I was nineteen years old

When I left home to seek the Path of the Buddhas.

Since I left home

More than fifty years have passed.

In pure morality, dhyāna and wisdom

Heretics have no share in these.

Having not the slightest share,

How then would they be omniscient?

In a system where the eightfold noble path (*āryāṣṭāṅgika mārga*) does not occur, the first, second, third and fourth fruits (*phala*) are missing; in a system where the eightfold noble path is found, the first, second, third and fourth fruits are present. O Subhadra, in my doctrine, there is the eightfold noble path and consequently the first, second, third and fourth fruits are present. The other systems, those of the heretics (*tīrthika*), are all void (*śūnya*): they contain neither the Path nor the fruits nor the [true] *śramaṇa*s, nor the [true] *brāhmaṇa*s. Therefore in my great assembly there is the true lion's roar (*siṃhanāda*).’[377]

Having heard this doctrine (*dharma*), the brahmacārin Subhadra immediately attained the state of arhat. He said to himself: ‘I must not enter nirvāṇa after the Buddha.’ Having had this thought, he sat down opposite the Buddha with crossed legs (*paryaṅkam ābhujya*) and then, by means of his miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*), he emitted fire from his body which consumed it entirely. Thus he attained his cessation (*nirodha*).”[378]

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a simple *lapsus*, but I [Lamotte] do not feel myself authorized to correct the text, since at least three sources fix the departure from home at nineteen years of age: Lieou tou tsi king, T 152, k. 7, p. 41c; Sieou hing pen k'i king, T 184, k. 2, p.467c; T'ai tseu jouei ying pen k'i king, T 185, k. 1, p. 475b. The last two of these even fix the exact date of departure, the 7th day of the 4th month of the 19th year of the Buddha.

377 Compare Dīgha, II, p. 151 and Avadānaśataka, I, p. 232-233.

Dīgha: *Yasmiṃ kho Subadda dhammavinaye.... pi tattha samaṇo na upalabbhati.*

Yasmiñ ca kho Subadda dhammavinaye.... tattha samaṇi upalabbhati.

Imasmiṃ kho Subhada dhammavinaye.... idha atiyo samaṇo, idha catuttho samaṇo.

Suññā parappavādā samaṇeḥi aññe,.... loko arahantehi assa.

Avadānaśataka: *Yasya Subhadra dharmavinaye.... śramaṇas tatra nopalabhyate.*

Yasmiṃs tu Subhadra dharmavinaye.... caturtaḥ śramaṇas tatropalabhyate.

Asmiṃs tu Subhadra dharmavinaye.... santtīto bahiḥ śramaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā.

Śūnyāḥ parapravādāḥ śramṇair.... samyak siṃhanādaṃ nadāmi.

The Mppś, which ends the homily by saying: "It is thus that in my great assembly, one can truly utter the lion's roar", is closer to the Sanskrit version where this finale occurs than to the Pāli where it is absent. Apart from this phrase, the three texts agree perfectly.

378 The Mahāparinibbānasutta (Dīgha, II, p. 153) merely says that after the Buddha's homily, Subhadra was admitted directly into the order instead of having to wait the four months of probation imposed on members of a heretical sect, and

This is why the Buddha said: "Without qualities (*guṇa)*, or with a few rare qualities, the auxiliary dharmas to the Path (*mārgapākṣikadharma*) are not complete (*paripūrṇa*); one cannot find salvation." The Buddha has said: "When all the qualities are complete, one is able to save disciples." In the same way, a lesser physician (*vaidya*) who has only one or two kinds of medicine (*bhaiṣajya*) at his disposal is unable to cure serious sicknesses (*guruvyādhi*), whereas a great physician who has all the medicines can cure all the sicknesses.

Question, - If it is by elimination of all the afflictions (*kleśa*) of the threefold world (*traidhātuka*) that the mind finds liberation (*vimukti*), why did the Buddha say that the mind finds its deliverance by elimination of grasping (*tṛṣṇā*)?[379]

Answer. - *a*. Grasping (*tṛṣṇā*) is capable of fettering the mind because of its great power. This is why the Buddha spoke about it without saying anything about the other afflictions (*kleśa*). When grasping is cut, the other afflictions are also cut by the same fact.

b. Moreover, when it is said: "The king has arrived", we know that he is necessarily accompanied by his retinue (*parivāra*).[380] It is the same for grasping. Or again, when the head (*śiras*) is seized, the rest of the body follows. It is the same for grasping. When it is cut, we know that all the other afflictions are also cut.

c. Finally, all the fetters (*saṃyojana*) depend (*apekṣante*) on craving (*tṛiṣṇā*) or on wrong view (*dṛṣṭi*). The afflictions (*kleśa*) that depend on grasping fetter (*āvṛiṇvanti)* the mind (*citta*); those that depend on wrong view fetter wisdom (*prajñā*). And so, when grasping is eliminated, all the fetters dependent on it are also eliminated and one attains deliverance of mind (*cetovimukti)*; when ignorance (*avidyā*) is eliminated, all the fetters dependent on wrong view are eliminated and one attains deliverance of wisdom (*prajñāvimukti*).

4. Furthermore, these five thousand arhats are irreversible (*aparihāṇadharman*) and have attained the knowledge relative to non-production of dharmas (*anutpāda jñāna*); this is why it is said that their mind is completely liberated as well as their wisdom (*suvimuktacitta, suvimuktaprajñā*), for they do not regress.381

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attained arhathood. But the majority of sources tell us, along with the Mppś, that Subhadra, not wanting to survive the Buddha, entered nirvāṇa along with him. This detail is given by the four Chinese versions of the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra (T 1, p. 25b; T 5, p. 172b; T 6, p. 187c; T 7, p. 204b), by the Saṃyuktāgama (T 99, p. 254b-c), the Ekottarāgama (T 125, p. 753c). the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (T 1451, p. 397a; Rockhill, *Life*, p. 138), the Avadānaśataka, I, p. 234, and by Hiuan tsang.

[379] Cf. Saṃyutta, I, p. 39-49: *taṇhāya vippahānena nibbānam iti vuccati, taṇhāya vippahānena sabbaṃ chindati bandhanam*. Cf. Tsa a han, T 99, k. 36, p. 264b12.

[380] Cf. Atthasālinī,p. 67: *Yathā rājā āgato ti vutte.... āgato ti paññāyati*: "When it is said 'The king has come', it is clear that he has not come alone, but that he has come with his retinue."

[381] Of the six types of arhat distinguished by scholastic Buddhism (Kośa, VI, p. 251; Puggalapaññatti, p. 12), five, the parihāṇadarmas, etc., have only fortuitous deliverance (*sāmayiki vimukti*) in view of being continually kept. Only the sixth, the akopyadharma, possesses an unshakeable (*akopyā*) deliverance of mind independent of the circumstances (*asāmayikī*). The first five are susceptible of falling from deliverance; the sixth is definitively liberated. The five thousand arhats forming the Buddha's entourage here are the unshakeable ones; this is because their mind is completely delivered (*suvimuktacitta*). On the other hand, Godhika, of whom we are about to speak, risked falling from deliverance.

The arhats susceptible of regression (*parihaṇadharman*) obtain [only] an occasional liberation (*samayavimukti)*; thus *K'iu t'i kia* (Godhika), etc., although they attained liberation, were not *completely* liberated (*suvimukti*), as a result of the possibility of regression (*parihāṇadharma*).[382]

5. ĀJĀNEYA[383]

Sūtra: Their minds were tamed.

Śāstra: 1. Their minds remain even (*sama*) and indifferent (*ananya*) to marks of [81b] respect (*arcanā*) and worship (*pūjā*), as well as to hatred, curses and blows. Whether precious jewels or paving stones are thrown at them, they consider them as absolutely the same. Whether their hands and feet are cut with a knife or their body anointed with sandalwood (*candana*), it is the same and indifferent to them.[384]

2. Furthermore, their minds are tamed because they have cut passion (*rāga)*, hatred (*dveṣa*), pride (*abhimāna*) and delusion (*moha*) at the root.

3. Finally, these arhats do not like what is pleasant, do not hate what is hateful, are not deceived by what leads to error. They are watchful over their six sense organs. This is why their minds are tamed. A stanza says:

The man who watches over the six sense organs

Is like a well-trained (*āÁāneya*) horse.

This true sage

Is honored by the gods.

On the other hand, fools (*bāla*) do not know how to watch over the sense organs. Not having cut wrong views (*dṛṣṭi*) inspired by passion (*rāga*), hatred (*dveṣa*) and delusion (*moha*), they are untamed like a bad horse. That is why the arhats are called *ājāneya*.

6. MAHĀNĀGA[385]

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[382] Godhika made futile efforts to attain arhathood. He obtained only occasional deliverance of mind (*sāmayikī vimukti*) from which he fell six different times, In his disgust, he committed suicide, obtained the state of arhat at the moment of death, and thus attained nirvāṇa. Cf. Saṃyutta, I, p. 120-122 where the expression *sāmādhikā cetovimutti* which occurs several times should be corrected to *sāmayikā cetovimutti*]; Dhammapadaṭṭha, I, p. 431-433 (tr. Burlingame, Legends, II, p. 90-91); Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 1091), k. p. 286a-b; Y 100 (no. 30), k. 2, p. 382c-383a; P'i p'o cha, T 1545, k. 60, p. 312b; Kośa, VI, p. 262.

[383] As will appear from the explanations which follow, *ājāneya* (from the root *ā + jan*) is given here linked with the root *ā + jñā*. This is also the explanation of Buddhaghosa and the Pāli commentators, cf. Jātaka, I, p. 181; Dhammapadaṭṭha, IV, p. 4. .

[384] See Hobogirin, *Byodo*, p. 272.

[385] According to the Dhammapadaṭṭha, *mahānāga* means *kuñjarasaṃkhātā mahāhatthine*.

Sūtra: They were great '*nāgā*s'

Śāstra: 1. *Mahat* means snake or elephant. Among the innumerable other arhats, these five thousand arhats are extremely powerful; this is why they are compared to a snake and an elephant.

In the water, the snake is very strong; on earth, the elephant is very strong. - A great elephant (*gajapati*), well trained, can destroy a great army (*senā*): it marches right up to it and does not turn back; it does not fear weapons *(āyudha)*, does not turn back before water or fire; it does not swerve, it never turns back; when death comes, it does not avoid it. In the same way, the arhats who cultivate the *dhyāna*s and wisdom (*prajñā*) are able to destroy Māra's army and the fetters (*saṃyojana*), their enemies. Whether one insults them or strikes them, they feel no anger or hatred. They have no fear and do not dread the fire and water of old age (*jarā*) and death (*maraṇa*). - The great nāga, coming out of the ocean and mounted on a great cloud (*megha*), covers (*praticchādayati*) space (*ākāśa*). Emitting a great lightning bolt (*vidyut)* that lights up heaven and earth, he lets fall an abundant rain (*varṣa)* that waters everything. In the same way, the arhats coming out of the ocean of *dhyāna* and wisdom (*prajñā*), mounted on the cloud of loving-kindness (*maitrī*) and compassion (*karuṇā*), water the beings who can be saved. Manifesting great light (*āloka*) and all kinds of emanations (*pariṇāma*), they proclaim the true nature (*bhūtalakṣaṇa*) of dharmas and rain down on the minds of their disciples so that the latter can bring forth the roots of good (*kuśalamūla*).

7. KṚTAKṚTYA

Sūtra: They were accomplished (so tso = *kṛtya*) and complete (yi pan = *kṛta*).

Śāstra: Question - What is meant by *kṛtya* and what is meant by *kṛta*?

Answer. - 1. They are *kṛtya* because they have obtained the good dharmas [81c] (*kuśaladharma*) such as faith (*śraddhā*), discipline (*śīla*), equanimity (*upekṣā*), concentration (*samādhi*), etc. - They are *kṛta* because they have obtained the good dharmas, such as wisdom (*prajñā*), energy (*vīrya*), the deliverances (*vimokṣa*), etc. - Having these two types of [good] dharmas in full, they are called *kṛtakṛtya*.

2. Furthermore, the afflictions (*kleśa*) are of two kinds: 1) those that depend on craving (*tṛṣṇāpekṣa*), 2) those that depend on wrong views (*dṛṣṭapekṣa*). The arhats are *kṛtya* because they have cut the afflictions that depend on craving; they are *kṛta* because they have cut the afflictions depending on wrong views.

3. Furthermore, they are *kṛtya* because the see clearly the material dharmas (*rūpidharma*); they are *kṛta* because they see clearly the non-material dharmas (*ārūpyadharma*). It is the same for the other pairs of dharmas: visible *(sanidarśana*) and invisible (*anidarśana*), offering resistance (*sapratigha*) and not offering resistance (*apratigha*), etc.

4. Furthermore, they are *kṛtya* because they have cut the bad (*akuśala*) and the morally undefined (*avyākṛta*) dharmas; they are *kṛta* because they meditate on the good dharmas (*kuśaladharmamanasikāra*).

5. Furthermore, they are *kṛtya* because they are endowed (*samanvāgata*) with the wisdom that comes from hearing (*śrutamayī prajñā*) and the wisdom that comes from contemplating (*cintamayī prajñā*); they are

kṛta because they are endowed with the wisdom that comes from meditation (*bhāvanamayī prajñā*).[386] It is the same for all triads of drams.

6. Furthermore, they are *kṛtya* because they have attained [the four nirvedhabhāgiyas called] heat (*uṣmagata*), peak (*mūrdhan*), acquiescence or patience (*kṣānti*) and the highest of worldly dharmas (*laukikāgradharma*); they are *kṛta* because they have attained the acquiescence or patience producing right knowledge of suffering (*duḥkhe dharmakśānti*) and the other pure roots of good (*anāsrava kuśalamūla*).

7. They are *kṛtya* because they have attained the path of seeing the truths (*satyadarśanamārga*); they are *kṛta* because they have attained the path of meditation (*bhāvanāmārga*).

8. They are *kṛtya* because they have acquired the path of the aspirants (*śaikṣamārga*); they are *kṛta* because they have acquired the path of the masters (*aśaikṣamārga*).

9. They are *kṛtya* because they have obtained liberation of mind (*cetovimukti*); they are *kṛta* because they have obtained liberation of wisdom (*prajñāvimukti*).

10. They are *kṛtya* because of destruction of all the impurities (*sarvāsravakṣaya*); they are *kṛta* because they have attained total liberation.

11. They are *kṛtya* because they have destroyed all the fetters (*saṃyojana*); they are *kṛta* because they have obtained definitive deliverance (*samayavimukti*).

12. They are *kṛtya* because they have assured their own personal interest (*svakārtha*); they are *kṛta* because they have assured the interest of others (*parārtha*).

These are the meanings of the epithet *kṛtakṛtya*.

8. APAHṚTABHĀRA, BHĀRASAHA

Sūtra: They had set down the burden but were capable of carrying it.

Śāstra: The five aggregates (*skandha*) are heavy (*dauṣṭhūla*) and bothersome (*sadāviheṭhaka*); that is why they are called burden (*bhāra*). Thus the Buddha said: "What is the burden? The five skandhas are the burden."[387] The arhats are said to be *apahṛtabhāra* because they have set down this burden.

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[386] The first *prajñā* has as its object the name (*nāman*); the second, the name and the thing (*artha*); the third, the thing alone. Those who possess them can be compared to three men who are crossing a river: the one who cannot swim does not abandon the swimming apparatus for even moment; the one who can swim a little sometimes holds onto it, sometimes lets go of it; the one who can swim crosses without any support. - For these three *prajñās*, cf. Dīgha, III, p. 219; Vibhaṅga, p. 324-325; Visuddhimagga, p. 439; P'i p'o cha, T 1545, k. 42, p. 217c; Kośa, VI, p. 143.

[387] *Bhāraḥ katamaḥ? pañcopādānaskandāḥ*; phrase taken from the Sūtra on the burden and the bearer of the burden (Bhāra or Bhārahārasūtra), of which there are several versions: Pāli version in Saṃyutta, III, p. 25-26; Sanskrit versions in Kośa, IX, p. 256; Kośavyākhyā, p. 706, Tattvasaṃgraha, I, p. 130 (cf. S. Schayer, *Kamalaśīlas Kritik des Pudgalavāda*, RO, VIII, 1932, p. 88); Chinese translations in Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 73), k. 3, p. 19a-b; Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 17, p. 631a-632a. - This sūtra is frequently quoted: Sūtrālamkāra, XVIII, 103, p. 159; Visuddhimagga, II, p. 479, 512;

The arhats are also *bhārasaha*, able to bear the burden:

1. In the Buddhadharma, two burdens of qualities must be borne: that of the interest of oneself (*svakārtha*) and that of the interests of others (*parārtha*). The interest of oneself is destruction of all the impurities (*sarvāsravakṣaya*), [82a] definitive deliverance (*vimukti*) and other similar qualities (*guṇa*). The interest of others is faith (*śraddhā*), discipline (*śīla*), equanimity (*upekṣā*), concentration (*samādhi*), wisdom (*prajñā*) and other similar qualities. The arhats are called *bhārasaha* because they are capable of bearing their own burden and that of others.

2. Furthermore, just as a vigorous ox (*go*-) can carry heavy loads, so these arhats who have acquired the faculties (*indriya*), the powers (*bala*), an awakening (*avabodha*) and a path (*mārga*) that is free of defilements (*anāsrava*) can bear the heavy load of the Buddhadharma. This is why they are called *bhārasaha*.

9. ANUPRĀPTASVAKĀRTHA

Sūtra: They have assured their personal interest.

Śāstra: What is meant by personal interest (*svakārtha*) and personal disadvantage?

1. Personal interest is the practice of the good dharmas (*kuśaladharmacaryā*). Personal disadvantage is the opposite, irreligion (*adharma*).

2. Furthermore, faith (*śraddhā*), discipline (*śīla*), equanimity (*upekṣā),* concentration (*samādhi*), wisdom (*prajñā)* and the other qualities *(guṇa*) surpass all wealth (*dhana*), win present, future and eternal happiness (*ihaparatranityasukha*), and lead to the city of immortality *(amṛtanagara*). For these three reasons, they are called personal interest. Thus it is said in the *Sin p'in* (Śraddhāvarga):[388]

> The person who acquires faith and wisdom
>
> Possesses the foremost of treasures.
>
> All the other wealth of the world
>
> Is not equal to this treasure of the Dharma.

3. Furthermore, the attainment of present happiness (*ihasukha*), future happiness (*paratrasukha*) and the eternal happiness of nirvāṇa (*nirvāṇanityasukha*) is called personal interest. The rest is personal disadvantage. A stanza says:

Nyāyavārtitikā (Bibl. Ind.), p. 342. - European interpretations: L. de La Vallée Poussin, JRAS, 1901, p. 308; JA, 1902, p. 266; *Opinions*, p. 83 sq.; *Nirvāṇa*, p. 36; Minayeff, *Recherches*, p. 225; E. Hardy, JTAS, 1901, p. 573; Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 82; S. Schayer, *Ausgewählte Kapitel aus des Prasannapadā*, Crakow, 1932, p. X.

[388] The Śraddhāvarga is one of the chapters of the Dharmapada. The stanza cited here is missing in the Pāli Dhammapada but occurs in the Sanskrit Udānavarga, X, 9, p. 116: *yo jīvaloke labhate śraddhāṃ.... asyetare dhanam.* This also occurs in the Tibetan Udānavarga, X, 9, p. 36: *mkhas gaṅ ḥtsho baḥi ḥjig rten na .... de yi nor g€an phal bar zad*.

The world knows all kinds of strange doctrines on the path,

It behaves just like [stray] cattle.

It is necessary to seek the right knowledge and doctrine of the path

In order to escape from old age and death and enter into nirvāṇa.

4. Finally, the noble eightfold path (*āryāṣṭāṅgika mārga*) and the fruit of the religious life (*śrāmaṇyaphala*) are called the personal interest of the arhats. As these five thousand arhats have obtained the Path and its fruit and enjoy this twofold personal benefit, they are described as *anuprāptasvakārtha*.

10. PARIKṢÈṆABHAVASAṂYOJANA

Sūtra: They had completely broken the fetters of existence.

Śāstra: There are three types of existence (*bhava*): existence [in the world] of desire (*kāmabhava*), existence in the world of form (*rūpabhava)* and existence in the formless world (*ārūpyabhava*). By virtue of actions belonging to the domain of the realm of desire (*kāmadhātvacarakarman*), one will be reborn later in this realm to undergo the retribution of these actions (*karmavipāka*): this is what is called *kāmabhava*, existence [in the world] of desire. [Mutatis mutandis], it is the same for the *rūpa*- and *ārūpyabhava*. That is what is understood by existence.

The arhats have broken the fetters (*parikṣīṇabhavasaṃyojana*) [of this existence]. These fetters (*saṃyojana*) are nine in number: attraction (*anunaya*), aversion (*pratigha*), pride (*māna*), ignorance (*avidyā*), doubt (*vicikitsā*), wrong view (*dṛṣṭi*), unjustified esteem (*parāmarśa*), avarice (*mātsarya*) and envy (*īrṣya*).[389] These saṃyojanas encompass all of existence and this existence encompasses all the saṃyojanas. Hence the expression *parikṣīṇabhavasaṃyojana*.

Question. - The fetters have indeed been broken in the arhats for they have eliminated all the afflictions (*kleśa*), but their existence (*bhava*) cannot be cut . [82b] Indeed as long as they are not nirvanized, they are still furnished with the five aggregates (*skandha*), the twelve bases of consciousness (*āyatana*) and the eighteen elements of existence (*dhātu*).

Answer. - This is not a difficulty, for by mentioning the result [the suppression of existence] here, we mean to speak of the cause [the suppression of the fetters].

Although the Buddha said: "By giving food, the generous patron (*dānapati)* gives five things: life (*āyus*-), color (*varṇa*), strength (*bala*), pleasure (*sukha*) and intelligence (*pratibhāna*),[390] food does not necessarily give these five things: there are well-nourished people who die, others who are insufficiently nourished

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[389] See Kośa, V, p. 81-84.

[390] Aṅguttara, III, p.42: *Bhojanaṃ bhikkhave dadamāno dāyako paṭiggāhakānaṃ pañca ṭhānāni deti. Katamāni pañca? Āyuṃ deti, vaṇṇaṃ deti, sukhaṃ deti, balaṃ deti, paṭibhānaṃ deti*. - Chinese version in Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 24, p. 681a-b; Che che hou wou fou pao king, T 132, vol II, p. 854c.

who nevertheless live. [Usually] food is the cause of the five benefits given; this is why the Buddha said that by giving food, five things are given. A stanza says:

By withdrawing all food, death is certain.

But even if one eats, death is always possible.

This is why the Buddha has said:

By giving food, five things are given.

Thus also a man can eat "five pounds of gold": although gold is not edible, by means of its power of purchase, it is the cause of food. This is why one says "eating gold".

The Buddha also said that women are defilers of morality (*śīlamala*). Actually, women are not the defilers of morality; rather, they are the cause (*hetu*) of defiling of morality and this is why it is said that they are the defilers of morality.

If a man falls from on high, even before he has reached the ground, it is said that he is dead. Although he may not be dead [at the moment when he falls], we know that he will die; that is why it is said that he is dead.

In the same way when the arhats have broken their fetters (*saṃyojana*), we know that their existence (*bhava*) also will necessarily be broken. That is why it is said that they have completely broken the fetters of existence (*parikṣīṇabhavasaṃyojana*).

11. SAMYAGĀJÑĀSUVIMUKTA

Sūtra: They were completely delivered by means of complete knowledge.

Śāstra. - Compare the brahmacārin *Mo kien t'i* (Mākandika). His disciples were carrying his corpse (*kuṇapa*) on a litter (*khaṭvā*) through the city (*nagara*). While they were walking (*haṭṭa*) through the crowd, they proclaimed: "Those who see the body of Mākandika with their eyes will all obtain the path of purity (*viśuddhimārga*), all the more so those who will venerate (*vandanti*) and honor (*pūjayanti*) it." Many people believed their words.[391] Having heard of this, the bhikṣus addressed the Buddha: "Bhagavat, what is this about?" The Buddha replied with these stanzas:

To seek for purity in the contemplation of an abject individual

Is neither knowledge nor the true path.

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[391] The Aṅguttara, III, p. 276-277, gives a list of religious orders contemporaneous with the Buddha: Ājivika, Nigaṇtha, Muṇḍasāvaka, Jaṭilaka, Paribhājala, Māgaṇḍika, Tedaṇḍika, Avirrhala, Gotamaka and Devadhammika. T. W. Rhys-Davids has studied this list and has succeeded in identifying most of these congregations (Dialogues of the Buddha, I, p. 220-221; Buddhist India, p. 145). With regard to the Māgaṇḍikas, he says: "This name is probably derived from the name of the founder of a corporate body. But all their records have perished and we know nothing of them otherwise." The present passage of the Mppś tells us that these Māgaṇḍikas, one of whom are known, are the disciples of the brahmacārin Māgandika who promenaded the corpse of their teacher and promised salvation to those who contemplated it.

When the fetters and afflictions fill the mind,

How could one find the pure path in one single glance?

If one glance sufficed to attain the path,

Of what use would wisdom and the treasury of the qualities be?

It is wisdom and the qualities that lead to purity;

To seek for purity by one glance is not reasonable.

This is why it is said that the arhats are completely liberated by perfect knowledge (*samyagājñā*).

WHY THE ARHATS SURROUND THE BUDDHA

Question. - The arhats who have done what is needed to be done (*kṛtakṛtya*) should have no need to look for company. Why then are they always near the Buddha and not elsewhere, so that they save beings?

Answer. - 1. If all beings of the ten directions without exception should honor the Buddha, the arhats, from gratitude for the benefits they have received, should [82c] honor him doubly. How is that? These arhats have received immense qualities (*apramāṇaguṇa*) from the Buddha: knowledge (*jñāna*), destruction of the fetters (*saṃyojanacheda*), increase in the mind of faith (*śraddhācittabahulīkāra*). This is why these very virtuous arhats stay close to the Buddha, to taste the blissful taste of the qualities (*guṇasukharasa*), to venerate him (*pūjayati*), serve him (*satkaroti*) and recognize his benefits. Because they surround the Buddha, their buddha-qualities increase. - The Brahmakāyikadevas surround Brahmā devarāja, the Trāyastriṃśadevas surround Śakra devendra, the asuras surround their god Vaiśramaṇa, the minor kings surround the noble cakravartin king, the sick and the convalescents surround the great physician (*mahāvaidya*); in the same way, the arhats keep close to the Buddha and, because they surround him and venerate him, their buddha-qualities increase.

Question. - The arhats who have done what needed to be done (*kṛtakṛtya*) and assured their personal interest (*anuprāptasvakārtha*) have no need to listen to the Dharma. Then why is the Buddha accompanied by five thousand arhats when he preaches the Prajñāpāramitā?

Answer. - Although the arhats have done what needed to be done, the Buddha wants to put them to the proof with the doctrine of profound wisdom (*gambhīraprajñā*). Thus: "The Buddha said to Śāriputra:[392]

- In the *Po lo yen king* (Pārāyaṇa), in the question of *A k'i t'o* (Ajitapañhe), it is said (Suttanipāta, v. 1038):

There are all kinds of aspirants (*śaikṣa*)

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392 Extract from the Bhūtasutta of the Saṃyutta, II, p. 47 sq. (tr. Rh. D., *Kindred Sayings*, II, p. 36; tr. Geiger, II, p. 69 sq.); Chinese translation in Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 345), k. 14, p. 95b-c:

Ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Sāvatthiyaṃ viharati.... ayasmā Sāriputto tuṇhī ahosi.

The stanza from the Pārāyana explained in the sūtra is taken from the Suttanipāta, v. 1038. It is also cited in the Nettipakaraṇa, p. 17 and the Jātakas, IV, p. 266.

And people who have experienced the truth (*saṃkhyātadharma*).

The doctrine practiced by these people,

I would like that you to tell it to me precisely.

First, what is an aspirant (*śaikṣa*) and what is a person who has experienced the truth (*saṃkhyātadharma*)?

But Śāriputra remained silent. Three times the Buddha asked him the same question, three times Śāriputra remained silent. Then, to prompt him to the right answer, the Buddha said to Śāriputra:

- That which arises (*bhūtam idam*)....

Śāriputra continued:

- Bhagavat, that which arises... that which arises must also perish (*yad bhūtaṃ tad nirodhadharman iti*). He who practices the teaching of the arising [and the destruction] of the conditioned (*saṃskṛta*) is called śaikṣa. But the one who has found the teaching of the non-production of things (*anutpādadharma*) by means of wisdom is called Saṃkhyātadharma.

This sūtra has been cited at length here.

2. Furthermore, the arhats stay close to the Buddha and listen to his doctrine because those who have not yet attained the impure or pure dhyānas (*sāsravānāsravasamādhi*) wish to attain them, and those who have already attained them wish to deepen them.

3. Furthermore, [the arhats surround the Buddha] to enjoy the bliss of his presence (*abhimukhatāsukha*). Thus, in the *Nan t'o kia king* (Nandakasūtra),[393] it is said: "Just now I am listening to the Dharma."

4. Furthermore, the arhats who stay close to the Buddha can never get their fill of listening to the Dharma. Thus in the *P'i lou t'i kia king* (Pilotikasūtra), Śāriputra says [83a] to Pilotika:[394] "In my Dharma, one never gets enough of listening to the doctrine."

5. Furthermore, if the Buddha, the great teacher (*mahāśāstṛi*) himself listens attentively to the Dharma preached by his disciples, it is not necessary to ask why the arhats, quite perfect (*kṛtkṛtya*) though they may be, in turn listen to the Dharma [preached by the Buddha]. If a satiated person starts to eat again when he finds exquisite food, how could a famished man not eat it? This is why the arhats, although they have done what needed to be done (*kṛtakṛtya*), always stay close to the Buddha to hear the Dharma.

6. Finally, the Buddha as well as the arhats dwell (*viharati*) in the state of deliverance (*vimuktidharma*). Endowed with these dharmas of dwelling (*vihāradharmasaṃprayukta*), they are surrounded (*parivṛṇvanti*) and mutually adorned (*alaṃkurvanti*). Thus it is said in the *Tchan t'an p'i yu king* (Candanopamasūtra):[395]

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[393] Probably this is the Nandakasutta of the Saṃyutta, V, p. 398-390; Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 833), k. 30, p. 213c-214a: Nandaka, a minister of the Licchavis, was listening to a sermon of the Buddha in the Kūtāgāraśālāpartisnat Vaiśālī when it was announced that his bath was ready. He answered: "Enough of outer baths! I will be content with this inner bath which is the goodness of the Blessed One" (*alaṃ dāni etena.... idaṃ Bhagavati pasādo*).

[394] The parivrājaka Pilotika was a declared supporter of the Buddha. He appears in the *Cullahatthipadopamasutta*: Majjhima, I, p. 175; Tchong a han, T 26 (no. 146), k. 36, p. 656a.

"When there is a forest of candana (sandalwood), the eraṇḍas (Ricin) surround it; When there is a forest of eraṇḍas, the candanas surround it. If there are candanas, the candanas are considered to be the forest; if there are eraṇḍas, they serve as the entourage (*parivāra*)."[396] It is the same for the Buddha and the arhats. The Buddha abides (*vihārati*) in the good dharmas (*kuśaladharma*) and in deliverance (*vimukti)* and so do the arhats. Endowed with the dharmas of abiding (*vihāradharmasamanvāgata*), they surround and adorn one another mutually. The Buddha surrounds the great assembly (*mahāsaṃgha*) like Sumeru, king of the mountains, is surrounded by ten precious mountains, like the white king of the elephants in rut (*pāṇḍaragandhahastin*) is surrounded by white elephants in rut, like the king of the lions (*siṃha*) is surrounded by lions. In the same way the Buddha, a field of merit (*lokānuttara*), is surrounded and accompanied by his disciples.

WHY ĀNANDA IS NOT AN ARHAT

Sūtra: Except for Ānanda who, being on the level of the śaikṣas, was [just] a stream-enterer (*ekapudgalaṃ sthāpayitvā yad utāyuṣmananta Ānandaṃ śaikṣaṃ srotaāpannam*).

Śāstra: Question. - Why does it say 'except for Ānanda'?

Answer. - Because Ānanda is not among the arhats whom we have just praised above. Why? He is of the rank of śaikṣa and has not yet eliminated desire (*vītarāga*).

Question. - The venerable Ānanda is the third patriarch (*ācārya*), head of the great assembly;[397] for numberless kalpas he planted the seeds of nirvāṇa (*nirvāṇa bīja*); he always stays near the Buddha; he is the keeper of the baskets of the Dharma (*dharmapiṭakadhara*). How is it that this venerable one, who ha with sharp faculties (*tīksṇendriya*), has been able to come so far without having eliminated desire and is not yet a śaikṣa?

Answer. - 1. The venerable Ānanda, from the beginning, had made the following vow: "I wish to be the foremost (*agra*) of those who have heard much (*bahuśruta)*."[398] [On the other hand], because of their buddha-dharmas, the arhats who have done what needed to be done (*kṛtakṛtya*) can no longer serve or venerate anyone. Having accomplished the 'grand business' in the Buddha- dharma, [namely] the

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[395] There is a *Tchan t'an chou king* (Candanasūtra), T 805, vol. XVII, p. 750, translated by an anonymous author during the eastern Han dynasty (25-220 AD) but the phrase cited here does not occur there.

[396] An obscure comparison the intention of which is to show how the Buddha and the arhats, without distinction of rank, are gathered in the forest. Cf. Sūtrālaṃkāra, tr. Huber, p. 26: "In the thick forest, there are campakas and eraṇḍas growing; although as trees are of unequal height, they are equal as members of the forest. In the same way, among the monks, old or young, distinctions should not be made."

[397] Before his death, Śākyamuni entrusted Kāśyapa to watch over his doctrine; later, Kāśyapa transmitted the Dharma to Ānanda. For these patriarchs, see Przyluski, *Aśoka*, chap. II, p. 44-53.

[398] According to the Aṅguttara, I, p. 24, and the stories of the first Council (Przyluski, *Concile*, p. 39, 210, 225, 229). Ānanda became the foremost of those who have heard much.

destruction of the afflictions (*kleśaprahāṇa*), they remain seated with the Buddha on the palanquin of deliverance (*vimuktikhatvā*).

2. Furthermore, the sthavira Ānanda, who has listened, retained and meditated on all kinds of sūtras,[399] has vast wisdom (*prajñā*), whereas his concentration of mind (*cittasaṃgraha*) is average. Yet both of these qualities are necessary to obtain the state [of arhat which consists of] destruction of the impurities. This is why the sthavira Ānanda is [still] just a stream-enterer.

3. Furthermore, out of love for the Buddha's service, Ānanda was his servant (*upasthāyaka*) [400], and he said to himself: "If I should attain the state that involves the destruction of the impurities *(āsravakṣaya*) too soon, I would distance myself from the Buddha and I could no longer be his servant." This is why Ānanda, [83b] who could have been an arhat, had decided not to take up this state.

4. Furthermore, [the conditions] of place, time and individuals not having come together, where and how could he have compiled the Dharma? The thousand arhats [who must constitute the Council] were not on the Gṛdhrakūtaparvata, the place fixed [for the Council]; the time of the Bhagavat's death had not yet come, the sthavira *P'o k'i tseu* (Vṛjiputra) was not present. This is why the sthavira Ānanda does not destroy his impurities. In order that Ānanda be able to destroy them and [thus participate in the Council], three conditions were necessary: the Bhagavat must die, the assembly that is to be entrusted with compiling the Dharma must be assembled, and Vṛjiputra must address [to Ānanda] the official exhortations (*dharmāvāda*).[401]

5. Finally, the venerable Ānanda is in no way comparable to other men in his disgust (*saṃvega*) for the things of the world (*lokadharma*). From birth to birth, Ānanda is of royal lineage (*rājamaṃśa*);[402] his beauty (*saundarya*) is incomparable (*anupama*) and his merits (*puṇya*) are immense (*apramāṇa*). A close relative of the Bhagavat, he always accompanied the Buddha as servant (*upasthāyaka*). Inevitably he said to himself: "I am the Buddha's servant, I know the precious baskets of Dharma (*dharmapiṭaka*). I am not

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[399] The depository of the holy words, Ānanda received and retains the totality of the sūtras (cf. Przyluski, *Concile*, p. 39-40); according to the Theragathā, v. 1024, p.92, he had learned 82,000 *dhamma*s from the Buddha and 2,000 from his colleagues.

[400] We have seen above how Ānanda became the *upasthāyaka* of the Buddha.

[401] It was because of these exhortations of Vṛjiputra (Vajjiputta) that, after the Buddha's nirvāṇa, Ānanda made the efforts necessary to become arhat. See Sseu fen liu, T 1428, k. 54, p. 967a; Ken pen chouo... tsa che, T 1451, k. 39, p. 406a (cf. T. Rockhill, *Life*, p. 155); Kia chö kie king, T 2027, p. 6b; *Legend of Aśoka* in T 2042, k. 4, p. 113a; T 2043, k. 6, p. 151a. The stanza of exhortation addressed to Ānanda by Vṛjiputra is told in all these sources with some variations. The Pāli translation is known to us by stanza 119 of the Theragathā, p. 17 (tr. Rh. D., *Brethren*, p. 106):

Rukkhamūlagahanaṃ pasakkiya .... kiṃ te biḷibiḷikā karissatīti. This stanza is also found in Saṃyutta, I, p. 199, where it is addressed to Ānanda by a forest deity. See also the Chinese versions of the Saṃyukta, T 99 (no. 1341), k. 50, p. 369c; T 100 (no. 361), k. 16, p. 491b.

[402] According to the Apadāna, p. 53, in the course of his lifetimes, Ānanda was a king fifty-eight times: *Aṭṭhapaññāsakkhatuñ ca cakkavatti.... mahiyā kārayissati*.

He actually appears as a king in a series pf Jātakas, the list of which may be found in Malalasekara, I, p. 267.

afraid to let to let go of the destruction of the impurities (*āsaravakṣaya*) [when the time comes].” With this motivation, he was not in a hurry [to become an arhat].

ORIGIN OF THE NAME ĀNANDA

Question. - What is the origin of the venerable Ānanda's name? Is it of ancient origin (*purāṇa*)? Is it a name given to him by his parents? Does it rest on [good] reasons?

Answer. - This name is of ancient origin; it was also given to him by his parents and it rests on good reasons.

1. Why is this name of ancient origin?

a. In one of his earlier lives, the [present] Buddha *Che kia wen* (Śākyamuni) was a potter (*kumbhakāra*) called *Ta kouang ming* (Prabhāsa). At that time, there was a Buddha called Śākyamuni; his disciples were called *Chö li fou* (Śāriputra), *Mou k'ien lien* (Maudalyāyana) and *A nan* (Ānanda).[403] The Buddha and his disciples went to the house of the potter to spend the night. On that occasion, the potter gave three things: a seat made of straw (*tṛiṇāsana*), a lamp (*dīpa*) and honey syrup (*madhumaireya*) and he made a gift of them to the Buddha and the community of monks (*bhikṣusaṃgha*).[404] Then he made the following vow (*praṇidhi*): "Later, after five unfortunate generations of old age (*jarā*), sickness (*vyādhi*) and death (*maraṇa*), I will be Buddha. I will be called Śākyamuni like the present Buddha and my disciples will bear the names of the present disciples of the Buddha." By virtue of this vow of the Buddha, [our hero] is named Ānanda.

b. Furthermore, from birth to birth, Ānanda had made the following vow: "Among the disciples of the Buddha, I will be the foremost of those who have heard much (*bahuśrutānām agraḥ*), by the name Ānanda."

c. Finally, from birth to birth, by the virtue of patience (*kṣāntipātamitā*), Ānanda had expelled all hatred (*dveṣa*); this is why he was always reborn very beautiful (*sundara*). Because of this beauty which made all who saw him rejoice, his parents named him Ānanda which, in the language of the Ts'in, means 'Joy'.

This was his name according to the old traditions.

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403 According to the Vibhāṣā, T 1545, k. 177, p. 892a, and the Kośa, IV, p. 228, the ancient Śākyamuni was the first Buddha whom the present Śākyamuni venerated. - At that time, the latter was a potter named Prabhāsa, cf. Kośavyākhyā, p. 432: *Prabhāsanāmnā .... pranidhānaṃ kṛtam*. - The Mahāvastu, I, p. 47, also is aware of a buddha Śākyamuni who lived an infinite number of numberless kalpas ago, also from Kapilavastu, and who received the generosity of the present Śākyamuni, then a merchant (*śreṣṭhin*).

404 For more details, see k. 12, p. 150b: "The buddha Śākyamuni, then in his first production of the mind of enlightenment (*prathamacittotpāda*), was the king named *Kouang ming* (Prabhāsa); he was seeking buddhahood and practiced generosity. When he was reborn, he was the potter who gave some bath utensils and honey syrup to the buddha Śākyamuni and his disciples. Then, when he was reborn, he was the wife of a great śreṣṭhin who offered a lamp to the buddha *Kiao tch'en jo* (Kauṇḍinya). All of these are what is called the lesser gifts of the bodhisattva."

2. Why did his parents give him the name Ānanda?

Once there was a king of the solar clan (*āditagotra*) named *Che tseu kia* (Siṃhahanu). This king had four sons: 1) *Tsing fan* (Śuddhodana), 2) *Po fan* (Śuklodana), 3) *Hou fan* (Droṇodana), 4) *Kan lou wei* (Amṛitārasa).[405]

King Śuddodana had two sons: 1) *Fo*, the Buddha, 2) *Nant'o* (Nanda).[406]

[83c] King Śuklodana had two sons: 1) Po t'i (Bhadrika), 2) Y'i cha (Tiṣya).

King Droṇodana had two sons: 1) *T'i p'o ta to* (Devadatta), 2) *A nan* (Ānanda).

King Amṛitadana had two sons: 1) *Mo ho nan* (Mahānāman), 2) *A ni lou t'eou* (Anirudda).

As for his daughter, Amṛitārasa, she had a son called *Che p'o lo* (Dānapāla).[407]

Then the bodhisattva *Si ta t'o* (Siddhārtha) grew up; renouncing the state of cakrvartin king, he went forth from home (*pravrajita*) in the middle of the night and went to the country of *Ngeou leou pi lo* (Uruvilvā) on the banks of the river *Ni lien chan* (Nairañjana) where he practiced asceticism (*duṣkaracarya*) for six years. But king Śuddhodana, who loved his son, regularly sent messengers to ask about him and bring back news of him: "Has my son attained the path? Is he sick? Is he dead?"[408] The messenger came back to tell the king: "The bodhisattva is nothing but skin, bones and sinews to hold it all together. He is very weak. Today or tomorrow will be the end of him." The king experienced great sadness at these words; he plunged into the ocean of grief: "My son has renounced becoming a cakravartin king and now he will not succeed in becoming buddha. Is he then going to die without attaining anything?" The king grieved greatly.

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405 Here the Mppś adopts the genealogy of the Mahāvastu I, p. 351.13, 355.19: *Rājño Siṃhahanusya Śakyarājño catvāri putrā dārikā cā Śuddhodana Śuklodano Dhautodano Amṛtodano Amitā ca dārikā*. - The Fo pen hing tsi king, T 190, k. 3, p. 676a gives the same information. - On the other hand, the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (Ken pen chouo ... p'. seng che, T 1450, k. 2, p. 195a; Rockhill, *Life*, , p. 13, attributes four sons and four daughters to Siṃhahana: Śuddhodana, Śuklodana, Droṇodana, Amṛtodana, Śuddhā, Śuklā, Droṇā, Amṛtā. - According to the Singhalese chronicles (Dīpavaṃsa, III, 45, p. 29; Mahāvaṃsa, II, 20, p. 14), Sīhahanu had five sons and two daughters: Suddhodana, Dhotodana, Sakkodana, Sukkodana, Amitodana, Amitā, Pamitā. - The genealogy proposed by the Che eul yeou king, T 195, p. 146c requires the greatest stretch of the imagination.

406 Śuddhodana had two main wives: Māyā who gave birth to the Buddha and Mahāprajāpati who bore Nanda.

407 This genealogy is to be compared with that of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, T 1450, k. 2, p. 105a:

Śuddhodana had two sons: the Bhagavat and Nanda.

Śuklodana had two sons: Tiṣya and Bhadrika.

Droṇodana had two sons: Mahānāman and Aniruddha

Amṛtodana had two sons: Ānanda and Devadatta

Śuddha had one son: Suprabuddha

Śuklā had one son: Mallika

Droṇā had one son: Cheng li

Amṛtā had one son: Mahābala

408 From the Mahāvastu II, p. 207-209 and the Dulwa (Rockhill, Life, p.28-29, we know that Śuddodana sent messengers to his son every day to gather news about him.

But the bodhisattva, renouncing asceticism, partook of the milk soup (*pāyasa*) of a hundred flavors,[409] and his body recovered its strength. Having bathed in the waters of the Nairañjanā river, he went to the Bodhi tree, sat down on the diamond seat (*vajrāsana*) and proclaimed the following oath: "I will remain seated with crossed legs until I realize omniscience; until I have attained omniscience, I will not rise from this seat."[410]

Then king Māra, at the head of a troop of eighteen koṭis of warriors, came to the Bodhisattva and tried to bring about his ruin. But by the power of his wisdom (*prajñābala*), the Bodhisattva destroyed Māra's army. Māra retired, vanquished, and said to himself: "Since the Bodhisattva is invincible, I will torment his father." He went to king Śuddhodana and said to him slyly: "Your son died today in the second part of the night (*paścime yāme*)."[411] At these words, the king was stunned and collapsed on his bed like a fish on hot sand.[412] Weeping miserably, he utred this stanza:

Ajita lied [in his predictions],

The good omens are no longer verified.

My son had the propitious name Siddhartha

But none of these goals has been realized.

Then the deity of the Bodhi tree (*bodhivṛkṣadeatā*), *Ta houan hi* (Ānanda?)[413] by name, came to king Śuddhodana holding a celestial flower, and said the following stanza to him:

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409 This was offered to him by one or several maidens of the village of Senāpati or Senāni. Some texts mention only one maiden, Sujātā (Nidānakathā, p. 68; Dhammpadaṭṭha, I, p. 80; Mahāvastu, II, p. 203-206), or Nandabalā (Buddhacarita, XII, v. 109; T 189, k. 8, p. 639). - In other sources, the offering was made by two maidens, Nandā and Nandabalā (T 184, k. 2, p. 469c-470a; T 190, k. 25, p. 770c; Ken pen chou ... p'o seng che, T 1450, k. 5, p. 121c; Rockhill, *Life*, p. 30; Divyāvadāna, p. 392). - In the Lalitavistara, p. 267 sq., Sujātā is accompanied by nine friends.

410 The words of this oath are given in many sources: Nidānakathā, p. 71: *Kāmaṃ taco ca nahāru ca aṭṭhi .... pallaṃkaṃ bhindissāmi.* – Buddhacarita, XII, v. 120*: Bhinadmi tāvas naitad… yāvat kṭrtakṛtatām.* – Lalitavistara, p. 289*: Ihāsane suṣyatu me śarīraṃ…. naivāsanāt kāyam ataś caliṣyate*. - The oath is not mentioned in the Ariyapariyesanasutta, (Majjhima, I, p. 160-175) where Śākyamuni himself relates the efforts he made to attain enlightenment; on the other hand, we find them in the corresponding sūtra of the Tchong a han, T 26 (no. 204), k. 56, p. 777a12.

411 In the Mahāvastu, II, p. 207-209 and the Nidānakathā, p. 67. it is said that the messengers (or the gods) seeing the Bodhisattva deep in *āsphānaka* meditation and not breathing, thought that he was dead and announced his death to Śuddhodana. But the king refused to believe them. - The Mppś represents a different tradition here.

412 The same comparison in the Sanskrit Udānavarga p. 10, which compares the unfortunates to fish cooked in hot water (*matsyā ivātīva vipacyamānāḥ*).

413 In the P'i p'o cha, T 1545, k. 125, p. 655b, the deity of the Bodhi tree is called *Ti yu* (Satyavāc?); she seduced king Puṣyamitra who was persecuting Buddhism. - In the Lalitavistara, p. 278, the *bodhivṛkṣadevatās* are four in number: Veṇu, Valgu, Sumanas and Ojāpati. In the same place, there is a detailed description of the bodhi tree.

The anecdote telling how Śuddhodana, deceived by Māra who announced the death of his son to him has a parallel in a passage from the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, of which the following is a translation:

Ken pen chouo... p'o seng che, T 1450, k. 5, p. 124b-c: When Māra pāpimat was conquered by the Buddha, his bow flew from his hands and his banner fell to the ground; his palace was completely destroyed. King Māra, vexed and disappointed, disappeared along with 36 koṭis of warriors. He went to Kapilavastu and said to the crowd: "The bodhisattva Śākyamuni who was practicing asceticism (*duṣkaracarya*) and who was sitting on the diamond seat (*vajrāsana*) on a pile of grass, has just died." Hearing these words, king Śuddhodana, along with his household, ministers and officials, were thrown into consternation as if they had been burned in a fire. The inhabitants and the three great queens (*devī*), Gopikā, etc., remembering the qualities of the Bodhisattva, sank down to the ground lamenting; their faces were washed and they were slowly brought back to life. They wept ceaselessly. The servants and slaves encouraged and massaged them, but their sadness was without limit. Then the deity Pure Faith (Śuddhaśraddhā), seeing that Māra had lied and knowing the Bodhisattva had attained enlightenment, was very joyous and declared everywhere: "You must know that Śākyamuni is not dead but has attained anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi." Then king Śuddhodana, his entourage and all the citizens of Kapilavastu, hearing this news, leapt with joy. Yaśodharā, learning that the Bhagavat, the Bodhisattva, had attained supreme knowledge, joyfully gave birth to a son. King Droṇodana also had a son. At that moment there was a lunar eclipse; king Śuddhodana, seeing this stroke of good fortune, felt great joy. He ordered the city to remove all rubble, to wash the ground with sandalwood (*candana*) perfumed water, to place incense-burners at the crossroads and to burn precious perfumes, to hang multicolored banners in the streets and to spread fresh flowers on the ground. He set up free clinics at the four gates of the city and in the streets. At the eastern gate, gifts were gathered together; śramaṇas, brāhmaṇas., tīrthikas, brahmacarins, as well as the poor, the orphans and the needy came to beg, and all kinds of gifts were given to them. It was the same at the southern, western and northern gates and the city streets. The king joined his ministers to give a name to Yaśodara's son. The servants of the harem first wished to give him the name of the king, but as the moon was hidden by Rāhu at the birth of this child, it was fitting to call him Rāhula. In his turn, king Droṇodana, for his own son, gave the same gifts as above. He gathered his relatives to give a name for his child and asked them by what name they should call it. His relatives replied: "On the day of his birth, the citizens of Kapilavastu rejoiced (*ānanda*); therefore he should be called Ānanda."

Comparison of this passage from the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya with the information of the Mppś poses a series of interesting questions regarding the parents and the date of birth of Ānanda and Rāhula.

We must give up trying to know who is the father of Ānanda. Three names are suggested:

1) Amṛtodana in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (T 1450, k. 2, p. 105a), the Dulwa (Rockhill, *Life*, P. 13, 32), the Che eul yeou king (T 195, p. 146c), the Sumaṅgala, II, p. 492 and the Manoratha, I, p. 292. – 2) Droṇodana in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (T 1450, k. 5, p. 124b-c) and the Mppś (T1509, k. 3, p. 83c). – 3) Śuklodana in the Mahāvastu, III, p. 176.14.

According to the Mppś and the passage of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya translated in the present note, Ānanda was born on the day that Śākyamuni attained enlightenment. - On the other hand, we see Ānanda participating in the test of skill in the arts (*Śilpasaṃdarśana*) when Śākyamuni was still an adolescent; cf. Lalitavistara, p. 152; Fo pen hing rsi king, T 190, k. 13, p. 710b. - According to some late sources, such as the Burmese biography (Bigandet, p. 43), Ānanda was born on the same day as the Buddha (cf. Kern, *Histoire*, I, p. 28; *Manual*, p. 14); however he is not included in the list of *coaetanei* of the Buddha given by the Nidānakathā, p. 54.

According to the Nidānakathā, p. 60, Rāhula was born on the day that Śākyamuni, his father, left home, and the future Buddha went to kiss him before leaving (ibid., p. 62). But it is generally agreed that Yaśodara conceived Rāhula a short time before the departure of the Buddha (Mahāvastu, II, p. 159; Rockhill, *Life*, p. 24), but gave birth to him six years later on the day that the Buddha attained enlightenment. Cf. Tsa pao tsang king, T 203 (no. 27), k. 10, p. 496b (tr. Chavannes,

Your son has attained the Path,

He has scattered the army of Māra.

His brilliance is like the rising sun

He lights up the ten directions.

The king replied: "First a god came to tell me that my son was dead, and now you come to tell me that he has conquered Māra and attained the Path. These two pieces of news are contradictory; whom should I believe?"

The deity of the tree answered: "This is the truth (*satya*), it is not a lie (*mṛṣāvāda*). The god who previously came to tell you the lie that you son was dead was Māra; full of jealousy (*īrṣyā),* he came to make you grieve. Today all the devas and nāgas offer [your son] flowers (*puṣpa*) and perfumes (*gandha*); they are hanging silk cloths from the sky *(ākāśa*). Your son's body emits a brilliant light that fills heaven and earth."

At these words, the king was freed from all his sadness and said: "Although my son may have renounced becoming a cakravartin king, today he has become the king who will turn the wheel of the Dharma (*dharmacakrapravartaka*). He has surely attained great benefit and lost nothing." The king's mind experienced great joy *(ānanda*). At that moment a messenger arrived from the palace of king Droṇodana to say to king Śuddhodana: "Your noble brother has had a son." The king's mind felt great joy. He said: "This day is highly propitious; it is a day of joy", Addressing the messenger, he said: "This child should be called Ānanda."

That is why his parents called him Ānanda.

3. How does this name rest on good reasons?

Ānanda was handsome (*abhirūpa*) and graceful (*rāsmadika*) like a clear mirror *(ādarśa*). His body was pure. When women saw him, their passions (*kāmacitta*) were aroused;[414] this is why the Buddha ordered Ānanda to wear a covering over his shoulders (*aṃsavastra*).[415] As he gladdened the mind (*citta*) and the eyes (*cakṣus*) of all who saw him, he was called Ānanda, 'Great Joy'.

On this subject, the *Tsao louen tchö tsan* (Śāstrakṛtstuti) says:

His face is like the full moon,

His eye like a blue lotus flower.

The water of the ocean of the Buddha's Dharma

Flows in the mind of Ānanda.

Contes, III, p. 136); Ken pen chouo ... p'o seng che, T 1450, k. 5, p. 124c; Rockhill, *Life*, p. 32; Ta tche tou louen, T 1509, k. 17, p. 182b.

414 When the palace women were invited by Prasenajit to choose a preacher amongst the eighty disciples of the Buddha, they unanimously chose Ānanda (Jātaka, I, p. 382).

415 We know that the Buddhist monks had their right shoulder uncovered. Cf. Foucher, *Art Gréco-bouddhique,* II, p. 270, who takes as proof the Sūtrālaṃkāra, tr. Huber, p. 65-66.

He brings forth great joy

In the minds and to the eyes of those who see him.

Those who come to see the Buddha

He introduces without any flaw in ceremonial.[416]

Thus although Ānanda could have attained the state of arhat, he did not destroy the impurities in order [to continue] to serve and honor the Buddha. Because of these great qualities (*guṇa*) and although he himself was not aśaikṣa, he dwelt among the aśaikṣas; although he had not eliminated desire, he resided among those who had eliminated it (*vītarāga*). Also, since among the five thousand members of the assembly, he was not really an arhat, the text says that [all were arhats] except for Ānanda.

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416 Ānanda managed interviews with the Buddha and when necessary, sent away undesirable visitors. Cf. Malalasekera, I, p. 252.

CHAPTER VII: THE FOUR ASSEMBLIES

Sūtra: The Buddha was also accompanied by five hundred bhikṣuṇis (nuns), five hundred upāsakas (lay men) and five hundred upāsikās (lay women); all had seen the holy truths (*pañcamātrair bhikṣuṇīśatair upāsakair upāsikābhiś ca sārdhaṃ sarvair dṛṣṭāryasatyaiḥ*).

Śāstra: Question. - There were five thousand bhikṣus; why did the other assemblies each consist of five hundred members?

[**84b**] Answer. - In women (*strī*), wisdom (*prajñā*) is often deficient (*hrasva*) while the afflictions (*kleśa)* and defilements (*mala*) are serious (*guru*). Almost always seeking happiness and pleasure (*nandīrāga*), they are rarely capable of breaking their fetters (*saṃyojana*) and obtaining deliverance (*vimokṣa*). And so the Buddha said: "This teaching of dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) is supreme (*parama*), profound (*gambhīra*) and difficult to grasp (*durlabha*), but the destruction of all the afflictions (*sarvakleśakṣaya*), renunciation (*vairāgya*) and the attainment of nirvāṇa (*nirvāṇādhigama*) are even more difficult to find (*durdṛśa*). That is why women attain it more rarely than the bhikṣus."

Having families, the upāsakas and the upasīkās have impure (*aśuddha*) minds; unable to destroy their impurities (*āsrava*), they are content with understanding the four noble truths (*āryasatya*) and acting as aspirants (*śaikṣa*). Thus a stanza says:

> Despite its splendid body, the peacock (*barhin, mayūra*)
>
> Cannot fly as far as the swan (*haṃsa*).
>
> In the same way, the layman (*avadātavasana*), despite his wealth and nobility,
>
> Is not the equal of the monk (*pravrajita*) whose qualities are eminent.

Thus, although the bhikṣuṇīs have gone forth from home (*pravrajita*) and renounced worldly activities (*lokakarman*), their wisdom is deficient. This is why there are only five hundred bhikṣuṇīs who have attained arhathood (*arhatī)*. - In the two lay assemblies, [upāsakas and upāsikās] who live at home and are busy there, those who have found the Path are rare (cf. the variant: *tö tao tchö chao*). Each of them consists also of five hundred members.

Question. - Why does the sūtra not praise these three communities as it has the five thousand arhats?

Answer. - Because the praise of the great assembly [of bhikṣus] is also valid for the others. Moreover, if the three communities were praised separately, the heretics (*tīrthika*) would ask why the bhikṣuṇīs [in particular] were praised and would slander them. If the lay people were praised, they would say it was to flatter them. That is why the sūtra does not praise them.

Question. - In other Mahāyānasūtras, the Buddha is accompanied by a great assembly of bhikṣus numbering eight thousand, sixty thousand or a hundred thousand. Yet this Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra is the

most important of the sūtras. Thus it is said in the *Tchou lei p'in* (Parīndanāparivarta):[417] "Losing the other sūtras as a whole is a light sin (*āpatti)*, but losing a single word (*pada*) of the Prajñāpāramitā is a very grave sin." From this, we know that the Prajñāpāramitā is the most important sūtra. A very numerous assembly would be needed at this most important sūtra; why is the number of its auditors (*śrāvaka*) restricted to five thousand bhikṣus and to the groups of five hundred each of bhikṣuṇīs, upāsakas and upāsikās?

Answer. - 1. If the size of the crowd of listeners is restricted, it is because the sūtra is very profound (*gambhīra*) and hard to fathom (*durvigāhya*). In the same way, when a king (*rājan*) possesses real jewels (*ratna*), he does not tell this to ordinary people (*pṛthagjana*), but he does announce it to great individuals, his confidants. When a king holds council, he deliberates with his ministers, his confidants, his experts, but he does not admit the lesser officials.

2. Furthermore, 6500 individuals [who make up the audience of the Prajñāpāramitāsūtra][418] have all attained the Path; although they do not understand all of the profound Prajñāpāramitā, nevertheless they believe in it and are able to acquire the fourfold faith of pure knowledge (*anāsrava avetyaprasāda*).[419] In other sūtras, the auditors (*śrāvaka*) are more numerous, but not all have obtained the Path.

[**84c**] Finally, we have praised the ten million arhats amongst whom the five thousand best were selected. It was the same for the bhikṣuṇīs, the upāsakas, and upāsīkās. Being difficult to find (*durlabha*), these 'victorious ones' (*jina*) are not numerous.

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417 The Parīndanāparivarta or 'Chapter of the Final Will' is the 90th and last chapter of the Pañcaviṃśati, T 221, k. 20, p. 146b-c; T 223. k. 27, p. 423c-424a.

418 Namely, 5000 bhikṣus plus the three groups of 500 people in the other assemblies.

419 Faith relating to the Buddha, the Dharma, the Saṃgha and the moralities dear to the saints (cf. Kośa, VI, p.292).

CHAPTER VIII: THE BODHISATTVAS

THE PLACE OF THE BODHISATTVAS IN THE ASSEMBLY

Sūtra: The Buddha was also accompanied by bodhisattva-mahāsattvas (*bodhisattvair mahāsattvaś ca*).

Śāstra: Question. - If the order of seniority is followed, the bodhisattvas come first, then the bhikṣus, the bhikṣuṇīs, the upāsakas and the upāsīkās, for the bodhisattvas come right after the Buddha. If the reverse order were followed, first would be placed the upasīkās, then the upāsakas, the bhikṣuṇīs, the bhikṣus and finally the bodhisattvas. Why are the bhikṣus mentioned first here, then the three assemblies [bhikṣuṇī, upāsaka, upāsīkā] and then, last, the bodhisattvas?

Answer. - 1. Although the bodhisattvas come right after the Buddha, they have not destroyed all their afflictions (*kleśa*); this is why the arhats are spoken of first. In the arhats, wisdom (*prajñā)* is small, but they are already ripened (*paripakva*); in the bodhisattvas, wisdom is rich, but they have not destroyed their afflictions. That is why the arhats are spoken of first.

There are two kinds of Buddhist doctrine, the esoteric (*abhisaṃdhidharma*) and the exoteric (*prakāśitadharma*). In the exoteric, the Buddhas, pratyekabuddhas and [85a] arhats are all fields of merit (*puṇyakṣetra*) because their afflictions (*kleśa*) have been destroyed without residue. In the esoteric, it is said that the bodhisattvas have obtained acquiescence in the teaching of the non-arising of dharmas (*anutpattikadharmakṣānti*), that their defilements are destroyed, that they possess the six superknowledges (*abhijñā*) and that they work for the benefit of beings. It is from the exoteric point of view that the sūtra places the arhats before the bodhisattvas.

2. Furthermore, by the power of skillful means (*upāya*), the bodhisattvas appear, enter into the five destinies (*gati*), experience the five passions (*pañca kāmaguṇa*) with the view of influencing beings.[420] If they were placed above the arhats, gods and men would be worried and have doubts. This is why they are mentioned after the arhats.

Question. - That is the reason they are placed after the arhats. But why are they placed after the upāsakas and upāsīkās?

Answer. - 1. Although the four assemblies have not completely destroyed their impurities (*kṣiṇāsrava*), they will destroy them without further delay; this is why they are presented under the name of auditors (*śrāvakasaṃgha*).

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420 For the salvation of beings, the bodhisattvas assume diverse forms of existence; they assume emanation bodies (*nirmāṇakāya*) to work for the benefit of all. See references in Saṃ,,raha, p. 42.

To place the bodhisattvas among these four assemblies would be unsuitable. Thus the bhikṣuṇīs, who have received innumerable disciplinary rules (*saṃvara*),[421] should come after the bhikṣus but before the novices (*śrāmaṇera*); however, as the Buddha did not bestow any ceremonial on them, they come after the novices. It is the same for the bodhisattvas: they should be placed at the head of the three classes of śaikṣas, but as that would not be suitable, they are placed at the tail end.

2. Furthermore, some claim that, because of their wisdom (*prajñā)* and their qualities (*guṇa*), the bodhisattvas surpass the arhats and pratyekabuddhas and for this reason they are mentioned separately.

Question. - In the sūtras of the śrāvakas [i.e., the Lesser Vehicle], four assemblies only are spoken of. Why is an assembly of bodhisattvas added here separately?

Answer. - There are two types of Path (*mārga*): that of the śrāvakas [Lesser Vehicle] and that of the bodhisattvas [Greater Vehicle]. The four assemblies, bhikṣu, bhikṣuṇī, upāsaka, upāsīkā, form the path of the śrāvakas; the bodhisattva-mahāsattvas form the path of the bodhisattvas. For this reason, in the texts of the śrāvakas, the beginning of the sūtra does not say that the Buddha was dwelling in such and such a place with such and such bodhisattvas; it simply says that the Buddha was dwelling in such and such a place with such and such bhikṣus: for example: "The Buddha was dwelling in Vārāṇasī with five hundred bhikṣus", "The Buddha was dwelling in the land of Gayā with a thousand bhikṣus", "The Buddha was dwelling in Śrāvastī with five hundred bhikṣus". This is the way all their sūtras begin; they never say that the Buddha is accompanied by any number of bodhisattvas whatsoever.

Question. - There are two kinds of bodhisattvas: those who have gone forth from the world (*pravrajita*) and those who stay in the world (*gṛhastha*). The *gṛhastha* bodhisattvas are usually cited among the bhikṣus and bhikṣuṇīs. Why does the sūtra cite them separately here?

Answer. - 1. Although they are usually ranked in the four assemblies, it is fitting to cite them separately. Why? Because if the bodhisattvas are necessarily included in the four assemblies, the four assemblies do not necessarily include the bodhisattvas. Why is that? They include the śrāvakas, the pratyekabuddhas, people who seek to be reborn among the gods, others who seek to enjoy their life: these four kinds of people are not ranked among the bodhisattvas. Why? [85b] Because they have not produced the mind [of bodhi] nor do they wish some day to be Buddha.

2. Furthermore, the bodhisattvas, having obtained faith in the doctrine of non-arising of dharmas (*anutpattikadharmakṣānti),* have suppressed all these names and conventions (*sarvanāmasaṃketa*) that characterize saṃsāra and have left the three worlds; [thus] they are not ranked in the number of beings (*sattva*). If the śrāvakas who have become arhats and are nirvāṇized are not counted in the number of living beings, what can be said about the bodhisattvas? Thus in the *Po lo yen* (*pārāyaṇa*) to the Question of *Yeou po che* (Upasīvaparipṛcchā), a stanza says: [422]

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[421] For the monastic precepts, see Kern, *Histoire*, II, p. 121-125; Oldenberg, Bouddha, p. 415-419, and above all the comparative study of E. Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke des Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa*, Leipzig, 1926.

[422] Suttanipāta, V, 6; Upasīvamāṇavapucchā, v. 1075-1076:

Upasīva: *Atthangato so uda vā so vā so na 'tthi .... tathā hi te vidito esa dhammo*.

After cessation (*nirodha*), is it impossible to reappear?

He who has disappeared is not reborn?

Having entered into nirvāṇa, does one remain there always?

May the great Sage tell me the truth!

The Buddha answered:

He who has disappeared cannot be defined;

He escapes from causes and conditions (*hetupratyaya*), from names and characteristics (*nāmalakṣaṇa*).

He has gone beyond the way of all speech (*sarvavādapatha*);

In one moment he disappears like an extinguished fire.

If the arhats have destroyed all names and conventions (*saṃketa*), all the more so are the bodhisattvas able to destroy all dharmas. Do they not destroy them by knowing their true nature (*bhūtalakṣaṇa*) and by attaining the *dharmakāya*? This is why the Mahāyāna mentions the bodhisattvas separately from the four assemblies.

Question. - At the beginning of the Mahāyāna sūtras, why are two assemblies mentioned, bodhisattvas and śrāvakas, whereas at the beginning of the sūtras of the śrāvakas, only the assembly of bhikṣus is mentioned and not that of the bodhisattvas?

Answer. - 1. It is in order to distinguish the two Vehicles, the Vehicle of the Buddhas (*buddhayāna*) and the Vehicle of the listeners (*śrāvakāyana*). The Śrāvakayāna is narrow (*hīna*), the Buddhayāna is broad (*vipula*); the Śrāvakayāna is that of personal interest (*svakārtha*), action for oneself; the Buddhayāna is that of benefit for all.

2. Furthermore, the Śrāvakayāna teaches in particular the emptiness of the individual (*sattvaśūnyatā*), whereas the Buddhayāna teaches both the emptiness of the individual and the emptiness of dharmas (*dharmaśūnyatā*).

These are the differences that distinguish the two Vehicles. The Mahāyāna sūtras speak of the two assemblies, śrāvaka and bodhisattva. Thus it is said in the *Tsan mo ho yen kie* (Mahāyānastotragātha):

Bhagavā: *Atthangatassa na pamāṇam atthi; .... smūhatā vādopathā pi sabbe ti.*

"When the saint has disappeared, can one say that he is no longer, can one say that he is free of pain forever? Please explain this to me, O Sage, because you know. - About the one who has disappeared, there is no means of knowing him; there is nothing more of him by means of which one would speak about him; all the facts that constituted him are abolished; abolished are all the ways of speech."

The same idea is expressed by the Saṃyutta, IV, p. 376-377: "The saint cannot be described as form, feeling, perception, volition, consciousness; in him, all the elements have been suppressed (*pahīna*), uprooted (*ucchinnamūla*), reduced to the state of a palm tree stump (*tālāvatthukata*), reduced to nothing (*anabhāvakata*), rendered incapable of later rebirth (*āyatim anuppādakata*). He is profound (*gaṃbhīra*), unmeasurable (*appameyya*), unfathomable (*duppariyagāha*) like the great ocean. One cannot say: he is, he is not, he both is and is not, or he neither is or is not."

The practitioners of the Mahāyāna
Are able to bring joy to all;
They bring benefit by means of the true Dharma
And cause the supreme Path to be found.
The practitioners of the Mahāyāna
Have compassion for all.
They give their head and their eyes
And sacrifice them like a wisp of straw.
The practitioners of the Mahāyāna
Observe the pure precepts (*śīla*).
Like the plow-ox that loves its tail
But has no cares about its own life.
The practitioners of the Mahāyāna
Have attained supreme patience (*kṣānti*).
To slash their body
To their eyes is like cutting grass.
The practitioners of the Mahāyāna
[85c] Are zealous and untiring.
Their effort (*prayoga*) is ceaseless
Like sailors on the high seas.
The practitioners of the Mahāyāna
Cultivate innumerable samādhis.
Abhijñās, the aryamārga and balas.
They have acquired the pure vaśitās
The practitioners of the Mahāyāna
Discern the characteristics of dharmas;
They do not destroy true wisdom
When they are endowed with it.
Their knowledge is inconceivable,
The power of their compassion is immense.

Without entering into distinctions,

They consider all dharmas in the same way.

The carts of the ass, horse, camel and elephant

Although similar, are not comparable;

In the same way, the bodhisattva Vehicle differs from that of the śrāvaka:

The one is great, the other is small.

Great loving-kindness (*maitrī*) is its axle-tree'

[86a] Wisdom (*prajñā*) is its two wheels,

Energy (*vīrya*) is its steed,

Discipline (*śīla*) and the samādhis are its nails.

Patience (*kṣānti*) and shame (*lajjā*) are its timbering,

The dhāraṇīs are its reins.

The Vehicle of the Mahāyāna

Can cross over anything.

Question. - At the beginning of the sūtras of the śrāvakas, only the assembly of the bhikṣus is spoken of. In the sūtras of the Mahāyāna, why is not the assembly of bodhisattvas the only assembly spoken of?

Anawer. - It is because the Mahāyāna is broad (*vipulya*) and all the Vehicles enter into it, whereas the Vehicle of the śrāvakas is narrow and does not contain the Mahāyāna. Thus the Ganges does not contain the great ocean because it is narrow, whereas the great ocean can receive all the rivers because it is vast. It is the same for the Mahāyāna. A stanza says:

The Mahāyāna is like the sea,

The Hīnayāna is like the water contained in the hoofprint of an ox (*gopada udakam*).

The small cannot contain the great:

This comparison is applicable here.[423]

DEFINITION OF BODHISATTVA[424]

Question. - What do the words *bodhi* and *sattva* mean?

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423 The water contained in the hoofprint of an ox (*gopadam udakam*) is compared to the immense waters of the ocean (*mahāsamudro 'parimitajaladharaḥ*) in the same way that the smallest is compared with the greatest. Cf. Aṅguttara, IV, p. 102; Milinda, p. 287; Saṃdhinirmocana, p. 207-208, Divyāvadāna, p. 397.

424 For this entire section, see the excellent article *Bosatsu* in Hobogirin, p. 136-142.

Answer. - 1. *Bodhi* is the path of the Buddhas (*buddhamārga*); *sattva* is either a being or a great mind.[425] The bodhisattva is the being who is going to obtain the mind, indestructible (*aheya*) and infrangible (*acyuta*) like a diamond mountain (*vajraparvata*), of the qualities (*guṇa*) of the Path of the Buddhas. Such is the great mind. Some stanzas say:

All the Buddha-attributes,

Wisdom (*prajñā*), discipline (*śīla*) and meditation (*samādhi*)

That are profitable to all

Are called 'bodhi'.

The unshakeable (*akṣobhya*) mind,

Able to patiently accomplish the dharmas of the Path,

Indestructible (*aheya*) and infrangible (*acyuta*),

This mind is called 'sattva'.

2. Furthermore, *sat* means to praise (*stava*) the holy Dharma, *tva* means the essential nature (*bhāvalakṣaṇa*) of the holy Dharma. The bodhisattva is so called because his mind is beneficial to himself and to others, because he saves all beings, because he knows the true nature (*bhūtasvabhāva*) of all dharmas, because he travels the Path of supreme perfect enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*) and because he is praised by all the āryas. Why is that? Among all the attributes (*dharma*), that of the Buddha is foremost and because the bodhisattva wishes to attain it, he is praised by the āryas.

3. Furthermore, the bodhisattva is so called because he seeks to gain the Path in order to liberate all beings (*sattva*) from birth (*jāti*), old age (*jarā*) and death (*marana*).

4. Furthermore, three kinds of Paths (*mārga*) are called '*bodhi*': i. the Path of the [86b] Buddhas, ii. the Path of the śrāvakas, iii, the Path of the pratyekabuddhas. That of the pratyekabuddhas and of the śrāvakas, while leading to a *bodhi*, are not, however, qualified as bodhi. But the bodhi contained in the qualities of Buddha (*buddhaguṇa*) are qualified as *Bodhi*. This is what is called 'bodhisattva'.

Question. - For how many reasons is he called Bodhisattva?

Answer. - The Bodhisattva is so called for three reasons: he possesses the great vow (*mahāpraṇidhāna*), his mind (*citta*) is unshakeable (*acala, akṣobya*) and his energy (*vīrya*) is irreversible (*avaivartika*).

Furthernore, some say that he is called Bodhisattva starting from the first production of the mind of bodhi (*prathamacittotpāda*), when he made the vow to become Buddha and to save all beings. A stanza says:

When, at the moment of the first *cittotpāda*,

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425 The same interpretation of *sattva* as 'mind' in various Chinese commentaries cited by the Bukkyo daijiten, p. 1626, and by Hobogirin, p.139, which refers to T 1521, k. 2; T 1575, k. 1, T 1718, k. 2. - There is also a good definition of bodhisattva-mahāsattva in the Buddhabhūmiśāstra, T 1530, k. 2, p. 300a.

He made the vow to become Buddha,

He has surpassed all the universes

And is worthy to be venerated (*pūjā*) by men.

He is called Bodhisattva during the interval [of time] starting from the first production of mind (*prathamacittotpāda*) up to the ninth uninterrupted path (*ānantarya*) when he enters into the diamond concentration (*vajrasamādhi*).[426]

REGRESSING OR NON-REGRESSING BODHISATTVA

There are two kinds of bodhisattvas, with regression (*vaivartika*) or without regression (*avaivartika*)[427] as is the case for the arhats who are susceptible of falling back (*parihāṇadharman*) or not susceptible of falling back (*aparihāṇadharman*).[428]

The non-regressing bodhisattvas are called the true bodhisattvas for they are it truly; the others, the bodhisattvas susceptible of falling back, are called bodhisattva [by extension]. In the same way, those who have found the fourfold Path (*caturvidha mārga*)[429] are called the true assembly *(saṃgha*) for they are really it; the others, those who have not found the Path, are called assembly [by extension].

Question. - How do we know whether a bodhisattva is with regression or without regression?

Answer. - In the Prajñāpāramitā, in the chapter of the *A pi po tche* (Avaivartikaparivarta),[430] the Buddha himself defined the characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*): regression has such and such characteristics, non-regression has other characteristics.

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426 The ninth *ānantarya* causes the abandonment of the ninth category of afflictions of the *bhavāgra*; as it breaks all the *anuśayas*, it receives the name 'concentration like a diamond' (*vajropamisamādhi*). - The vajropamisamādhi is attained by the bodhisattva in the tenth bhūmi, at the end of the stage of meditation (*bhāvanāvastha*); he cuts the last obstacles (*āvaraṇa*) on the path. Immediately following it (hence its name *ānantarya*), the bodhisattva undergoes the revolution of the support (*aśrayaparāvṛtti*), realizes mahānirvāṇa and mahābodhi and enters onto the Buddha level. On this subject which demands lengthy development, I [Lamotte] will limit myself to providing a few references: Kośa, IV, p. 231; VI, p. 190, 228-229, 264, 300; VII, p. 62; VIII, p. 192, 195; E. Obermiller, *Doctrine of P. P.*, p. 44; Uttaratantra, p. 223; Bodh. bhūmi. p. 403; Sūtrālaṃkāra, XIV, v. 45; Madhyāntavibhaṅga, p. 83, 157; Saṃgraha, p. 273; Siddhi, p. 3, 162, 563, 611, 653, 667, 685.

427 This subject will be taken up again later, k. 74, p. 579c.

428 See Kośa, VI, p. 253.

429 The Path is of four types: preparatory path (*prayoga*), uninterrupted path (*ānantarya*), path of deliverance (*vimukti*) and path of excellence (*viśeṣa*). See Kośa, VI, p. 277-278.

430 This is one of the chapters of the Pañcaviṃśati entitled *Pou t'ouei tchouan p'in* in Hiuan tsang's translation, chap. 53 (T 220, k. 448, p. 260b-264a), *A wei yue tche p'in* in Mokṣala's translation, chap. 56 (T 221, k. 12, p. 80a-87c), *Pou t'ouei p'in* in Kumārajīva's translation, chap. 55 (T 223, k. 16, p. 339-341b). Very close, chap. 17 of the Aṣtasāhasrikā, entitled *Avivartanīyakāraliṅganimittaparivarta*, the original Sanskrit of which may be found in the edition of R. Mitra, p. 323-340.

1. If the bodhisattva practices or meditates on one single dharma, he is called a non-regressing bodhisattva. What is this one single dharma?

It is the continual and resolute accumulation of good dharmas (*kuśaladharmasamuccaya*). It is said that by resolutely (*ekacittena*) accumulating good dharmas, the Buddhas have attained supreme perfect enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi)*.

2. Furthermore, the bodhisattva who possesses one single dharma is without regression. What is this one single dharma? It is right effort (*vīrya*). Thus the Buddha asked Ānanda: "Ānanda, are you speaking about effort?" – "Yes, Bhagavat." "Ānanda, are you praising effort?" - "Yes, Bhagavat." - "Ānanda, one must practice, cultivate and remember effort until one leads men to the attainment of supreme and perfect enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi)*."[431] And so forth.

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[431] The Mppś will refer to the same text twice again:

At k. 15, p. 173c: When Ānanda was preaching the seven minds of awakening (*kie yi*) to the bhikṣus and had come to the mind of awakening called effort (*vīrya*), the Buddha said to Ānanda: "Are you speaking of the mind of awakening called effort?" Ānanda replied "Yes, I am speaking of the mind of awakening called effort." [The Buddha asked] the same question three times, [and Ānanda made] the same response three times. Then the Buddha arose from his seat and said to Ānanda: "There is nothing that people who love and practice effort cannot attain; without fail they will succeed in attaining Buddhahood."

At k. 26, p. 249c: One day the Buddha said to Ānanda: "Proclaim the Dharma to the bhikṣus; my back aches, I am going to lie down for a while." Then the Bhagavat folded his upper garment (*uttarāsaºgha*) in four, spead it on the ground, and with his cloak (*saṃghātī*) as pillow (*bimbohana*), he lay down. Then Ānanda preached the seven meanings of awakening (*kio yi*). When he came to the awakening of effort (*vīrya*), the Buddha woke up and said to Ānanda: "Are you praisiing effort?" Ānanda relied: "I am praising it." And this was repeated three times. Then the Buddha said: "Good! good! Those who cultivate effort well will succeed in obtaining anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi and, all the more so, all the other bodhis." [What the Mppś here calls the seven Minds or the seven meanings of awakening (in Sanskrit *saṃbodhyaṅga)* are the seven *saddahamma*s of Pali scholasticism. They are the possessions of the man of faith (*saddho*) who is reserved (*hirimā*), quiet (*ottappī*), learned (*bahussuto*), energetic (*āraddhaviriyo*), vigilant and mindful (*upaṭṭhtasati)* and endowed with wisdom (*paññavā*). See Dīgha, III, p. 252, 282, Saṃyutta, II, p. 207; Aṅguttara, IV, p. 109 sq.; Majjhima, I, p. 356.]

The sūtras of which the Mppś gives extracts are the *Sekhasutta* (Majjhima, I, p. 353-359) which, error excepted, has no correspondant in the Chinese Āgama. But the version used by the Mppś differs somewhat from the Pāli text, of which here are the main lines: The Buddha was dwelling among the Śākyas at Kapilavastu in the Nyagrodhārāma. Having preached to the Śākyas until late in the night, he said to Ānanda: Explain, O Ānanda, the path of practice (*sekha pātipada*); my back aches, I would like to lie down (*piṭṭhim me agilāyati tam ahaṃ āyamissāmi*). Ānanda obeyed and the Bhagavat, having folded his cloak in four (*catugguṇaṃ saṃghātiṃ paññāpetvā*), lay down on his right side in the lion's pose (*dakkhiṇena passena sīhaseyyaṃ kappesi)*, with one foot on top of the other (*pāde pādaṃ accādhāya*), attentive, lucid with his mind fixed on the moment of awakening *(sato sampajāno uṭṭhānasaññaṃ manasikaritvā*). Ānanda then explained to Mahānāman, the Śākyan, how the disciple of the Buddha should be endowed with discipline (*sīlasampanna*), guarding his senses (*indriyesu guttadvāra*), measured in his food (*bhojane mattaññū*), devoted to wakefulness *(jāgariyaṃ annuyutta*), endowed with the seven good dharmas (*sattahi saddhammehi samannāgata*), familiar with the four dhyānas (c*atunnaṃ jhānānaṃ nikāmalābhī)*. When this sermon was finished, the Buddha arose

3. Furthermore, the bodhisattva who possesses two dharmas is without regression. What are these two dharmas? Knowing that all dharmas are empty (*śūnya*) and never abandoning beings. The person who does that is a non-regressing bodhisattva.

[86c] 4. Finally, the bodhisattva who possesses three dharmas is without regression: 1) Resolutely (*ekacittena*) he has made the vow (*praṇidhāna*) to become Buddha, and this resolution is unshakeable (*acala*) and infrangible (*aheya*) like diamond (*vajra*). 2) His compassion (*karuṇacitta*) for all beings penetrates his bones (*asthi*) and marrow (*majjā*). 3) He has attained the samādhi of wisdom (*prajñāsamādhi*) and sees all the Buddhas of the present (*pratyutpanna*). Thus he is called non-regressing bodhisattva.

THE BODHISATTVA IN THE ABHIDHARMA SYSTEM[432]

1. Definition

In the Abhidharma, the disciples of *Kia tchan yen ni tseu* (Kātyāyanīputra) say: Who is called bodhisattva? He who has awakened himself and then awakens others is called bodhisattva; he who necessarily will become Buddha is called bodhisattva.[433] Bodhi is the wisdom (*prajñā*) of the saint who has destroyed the impurities (*kṣīṇāsrava*). The person born from this wisdom, protected by the sages and served by the sages, is called bodhisattva.

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and congratulated him: Good, good! Ānanda, you have explained the path of practice well to the Śākyas of Kapilavastu.

Thus, in the Pāli Sekhasutta, the Buddha congratulates Ānanda when his sermon is finished. On the other hand, in the version followed here by the Mppś, he interrupts Ānanda at the moment when the latter was speaking of exertion, i.e., when he arrived at the fifth of the seven good dharmas (*sattasaddhamma*) and when he says (according to the Pāli text (Majjhima, I, p. 356) that the good disciple "rests energetic in order to destroy the bad dharmas and acquire the good ones, remains stable, firm in his demeanor, not rejecting the yoke of the good dharmas" (*āraddhaviriyo viharati akusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ pahānāya kusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ upasapadāya, thāmavā daḷhaparakkamo anikkhittadhuro kusalesu dhammesu*). By expressing himself in this way, Ānanda was doing nothing other than repeating a phrase that appears in all the sūtras (e.g., Dīgha, III, p. 237, 268, 285; Majjhima, II, p. 95, 128; Saṃyutta, V, p. 197 sq.; Aṅguttara, I, p. 117, 224-246; II, p. 250 sq.; III, p. 2, 11, 65, 152 sq.; IV, p. 3, 110, 153 sq., 234, 352-353, 357; V, p. 15, 24, 27-28, 90-91; Udāna, p. 36). The corresponding Sanskrit formula which differs by only one word, is known to the Sūtrālaṃkāra, ed. Lévi, p. 115: *sthāmavān vīryavaÌ utsāhī dṛḍhaparākramo 'nikṣiptadhuraḥ kuśaleṣu dharmeṣu*.

432 The Mppś refers to the Abhidharma doctrines here only to counter them in the following section. It draws all its information from the Vibāṣā, T 1545, k. 176 and 177, p. 883-892. The present account will be taken up again later by Vasubandhu in the Kośa, IV, p. 220-223 and by Saṃghabhadra in the *Chouen tcheng li louen*, T 1562, k. 44, p. 590-591.

433 Cf. Vibhāṣā, T 1545, k. 176, p. 887c (Hobogirin, p. 137): The being who is capable of actions of retribution producing the wonderful marks is called bodhisattva. Just the person whose enlightenment (*bodhi*) and destiny (*gati*) both are definitively assured (*niyata*) is called a true bodhisattva. Bodhi alone is assured starting from the production of the mind of enlightenment (*cittotpada*), but it becomes the destiny only with the faculty of accomplishing the actions productive of the wondrous marks.

They also say that he is called bodhisattva as soon as he has produced the non-regressing mind (*avaivartikacitta*).

They also say that he must have eliminated five dharmas and gained five dharmas in order to be called bodhisattva. What are these five dharmas?

1) He is freed from the three unfortunate destinies (*durgati*) and is always reborn among gods (*deva*) and men (*manuṣya*). 2) He escapes from poverty (*dāridya*), from commoners (*nīcakula*) and always belongs to a noble family (*uccakula*). 3) He is never a female (*strībhava*) but always a male (*puṃbhava*). 4) He is free of physical defects and weaknesses (*vaikalya*); his organs are complete (*avikalendriya*). 5) He never has lapses of memory (*saṃpramoṣa*) but remembers his past existences (*jatismara*).[434] - Possessing the wisdom (*prajñā*) of his past lives (*pūrvanivāsa*), staying away from evil people, always searching for the path of Dharma (*mārgadharma*), drawing disciples to himself, he is called bodhisattva.

2. Actions producing the thirty-two marks

They also say that he is called bodhisattva starting from the moment when he has accomplished the actions producing the thirty-two marks (*dvātriṃśallakṣaṇakarman*).[435]

Question. - When does he accomplish the actions producing the thirty-two marks?

Answer. - After the three incalculable periods (*asaṃkhyeyakalpa*).[436]

Question. - How long is an asaṃkhyeya?

Answer. - An asaṃkhyeya is a number so great that divine or human calculators cannot comprehend it.[437]

Thus:

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[434] These five points are also found in the Vibhāṣā, k. 176, p.887a. – They also occur in a kārikā of the Kośa, IV, p. 222: *sugoccakulapūrṇākṣaḥ pumān jātismara 'vivṛt*, and repeated in Saṃghabhadra, T 1562, k. 44, p. 590b.

[435] Cf. Kośa, IV,, p. 220: *Bodhisattvo kuto? - Yāvat lakṣaṇakarmakṛd yathaḥ*.

[436] The career of the bodhisattva in all these sources is three asaṃkhyeyakalpas plus one hundred supplementary kalpas. - The Pāli sources generally count four asaṃkhyeyas and a hundred thousand kalpas: Cariyāpiṭaka, I, v. 1; Jātaka, I, p. 2; Visuddhimagga, I, p. 302. - The Mahāyāna hesitates between three, seven and thirty-three asaṃkhyeyas, which it connects with the progress of the bodhisattva before and during his stay in the bhūmis: Madh. vṛtti, p. 431; Saṃgraha, p. 209-211; Siddhi, p. 731-733; Āloka, p. 988.

[437] For the method or methods of calculating the asaṃkhyeya, see the plentiful but confused notes of de La Vallée Poussin in Kośa, III, p. 188; IV, p. 224. Four ways of calculating are explained in the Mahāvyutpatti; the first two (chap. 246 and 247) are taken from the Buddhāvataṃsaka, T 278. k. 29, p. 586; T 279, k. 45, p. 237; and in Sanskrit in the edition of the Gaṇḍavyūha of D. T. Suzuki, Kyoto, 1934, I, p. 133. - The third computation (Mahāvyut., chap. 248) is taken from Lalitavistara (ed. Lefmann, p. 147-148). - The fourth (chap. 149) is taken from the Kośa, III, p. 190; it also occurs in Bu ston, I, p. 120-121.

The numbers used in southern Buddhism have been studied by W. Kiefel, *Kosmographie des Inder*, p. 336.

Below at k. 5, p. 94b-c, the Mppś will give an extract from the Acintyasūtra (= Gaṇḍavyūha) containing a long list of numbers increasing each time by one zero starting from ten.

[87a] 1 + 1	= 2
2 x 2	= 4
3 x 3	= 9
10 x 10	= 100
10 x 100	= 1,000
10 x 1,000	= 10,000
1,000 x 10,000	= 10,000,000 or one *koṭi*

10 million koṭis = one *nayuta*

10 million nayutas = one *bimbara*

10 million bimbaras = one *gata*

Beyond the gata is the *asaṃkhyeya*.

This is how the asaṃkhyeya is calculated. When one has passed over the first asaṃkhyeya, one passes through the second; when one has passed through the second, one passes through the third. According to the rules of arithmetic (*gaṇanā*), one counts from one to a hundred and when the hundred is finished, one returns to one. In the same way, after one asaṃkhyeya, the bodhisattva returns to one.

During the first asaṃkhyeya, the bodhisattva does not know if he will become a Buddha or not. - During the second asaṃkhyeya, he knows that he will be Buddha but does not dare to proclaim: "I shall be Buddha." - During the third asaṃkhyeya, he knows confidently that he will be Buddha and he dares to proclaim fearlessly (*bhaya*): "Later I shall be Buddha."[438]

For Buddha Śākyamuni, the first asaṃkhyeya goes from the ancient Buddha Śākyamuni to the Buddha *La na che k'i* (Ratnaśikhin).[439] From that time on, the Bodhisattva was free of all female births. - The second asaṃkhyeya goes from the Buddha Ratnaśikhin to the Buddha *Jan tang* (Dīpaṃkara). That was when the Bodhisattva offered seven blue lotus blossoms (*nīlotpala*) to the Buddha Dīpaṃkara, laid out his garment of antelope skin (*ajinavāsa*) and spread out his hair *(keśa*) to cover the mud (*kardama*). On that occasion, the Buddha Dīpaṃkara made the prediction: "Later you will be Buddha under the name Śākyamuni."[440] -

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438 Passage taken from the Vibhāṣā, T 1545, k. 176, p. 886c.

439 During the first asaṃkhyeya, Śākyamuni venerated 75,000 Buddhas; during the second, 76,000, during the third, 77,000. The Buddhas venerated at the end of these three asaṃkyeyas were, respectively, Ratnaśikhin, Dīpaṃkara and Vipaśyin. Cf. Vibhāṣā, T 1545, k. 178, p. 892c; Kośa, IV, p. 227; Saṃghabhadra, T 1562, k. 44, p. 391b.

440 This legend is one of the oldest in Buddhism: A young student (*brahmacarin*) or novice (*māṇava*) named Sumedha, Megha or Sumati, according to various sources, bought from a maiden five of the seven blue lotus flowers which she had. He threw them as an offering to the Buddha Dīpaṃkara who was passing by, and the lotuses remained suspended in the air around the Buddha's head. Converted by this miracle, the young man then laid out on the muddy ground the antelope skin which served as his garment and spread out his long hair as a mat; prostrating thus, he pronounced the solemn vow

The third asaṃkhyeya goes from the Buddha Dīpaṃkara to the Buddha *P'i p'o che* (Vipaśyin). - After these three asaṃkhyeyakalpas, the Bodhisattva accomplishes the actions producing the thirty-two marks.[441]

Question. - In what place are the actions producing the thirty-two marks accomplished?

Answer. - In the realm of desire (*kāmadhātu*) and not in the form realm (*rūpadhātu*) or in the formless realm (*ārūpyadhātu*). Of the five destinies (*gati*) of the desire realm, they are accomplished in the human destiny (*manuṣyagati*). Of the four continents (*caturdvīpaka*), they are accomplished in Jambudvīpa. The Bodhisattva accomplished them as a male (*pumān*) and not as a female. He accomplished them in the epoch in which the Buddhas appear, not in an epoch when there are no Buddhas. He accomplished them with the view of Buddhahood and not with any other goal.[442]

Question. - Are the actions producing the thirty-two marks bodily actions (*kāyakarman*), vocal actions (*vākkarman*) or mental actions *(manaskarman*)?

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that he would also become Buddha. Then Dīpaṃkara predicted that he would one day become Buddha under the name Śākyamuni.

This legend is attested by a large number of sources. Here are some of the main ones:

Pāli: Nidānakathā, p. 2-14 (tr. Rh. D., *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 3-31); Dhammapadaṭṭha, I, p. 83-84 (tr. Burlingame, *Legend*s, I, p. 193-194); Buddhavaṃsa, p. 6-18 (tr. Law, p. 8-22); Suttanipāta comm., I, p. 49.

Sanskrit: Mahāvastu, I, p. 232-243; Divyāvadāna, p. 246-252 (tr. H. Zimmer, *Karman, ein buddhistischer Legendkranz*, München, 1925, p.42-60).

Tibetan: Mar me mdszad kyis luṅ bstan pa = Dīpaṃkaravyākarana, Mdo XV, no. 8 Cf. Csoma-Feer, p. 258: OKC, no.855, p. 330. Translated in Feer, *Extraits*, p. 305-321.

Chinese: The legend is found in the Āgamas: Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 11, p. 597a-599c. It is also found in most of the Chinese biographies of Śākyamuni, e.g., Lieou tou tsi king, T 152 (no. 86), k. 8, p. 47c-48b (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, I, p. 316-321). - A very detailed story in the Dharmagupta Vinaya, Sseu fen liu, T 1428, k. 31, p. 785a (summarized in Chavannes, *Contes*, IV, p. 134).

Iconography: Foucher, *Art Gréco-bouddhique*, I, p. 273-279; E. Waldschmidt, *Gandhāra, Kutscha, Turfan*, Leipzig, 1925, pl. 52; Chavannes, *Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale*, pl. 284; Ecke-Demiéville, *Twin Pagodas of Zayton*, Harvard, 1935, pl. 32, no. 2.

The offering of the future Śākyamuni to the Buddha Dīpaṃkara took place in Nagarahāra, a city of the Lampaka, corresponding to the present Jelal-Ābād. The place was visited by Fa hien (tr. Legge, p. 38) and by Hiuan tsang, T 2087, k. 2, p. 878c (tr. Beal, I, p. 92; Watters, I, p. 183).

Naturally, there are some differences among the various versions of the legend. We will note only that the Pāli sources ignore the meeting with the maiden, whereas the Mahāvastu says nothing about the hair which the Bodhisattva stretched out on the mud. On the other hand, the two episodes are told in the Divyāvadāna which, having its exact parallel in the Chinese Ekottarāgama, seems to be one of the oldest sources.

441 The Bodhisattva accomplishes these actions in the course of the hundred cosmic ages that follow the three asaṃkhyeyas: Kośa, IV, p. 224; Saṃghabhdra, T 1562, k. 44, p. 590c. But these hundred kalpas are often neglected and then it is said that the state of Buddhahood is attained at the end of three asaṃkhyeyas.

442 Same details in the Vibhāṣā, T 1545, k. 177, p. 887c; Kośa, IV, p.223-224; Saṃghabhadra, T 1562, k. 44, p. 590c.

Answer. - They are mental actions and not bodily or vocal actions. Why? Because mental action alone is profitable.[443]

Question. - Mental action (*manaskarman*) concerns the six consciousnesses (*vijñāna*). Are the actions producing the thirty-two marks accomplished by the mental consciousness (*manovijñāna*) or by the other five consciousnesses?

Answer. - They are accomplished by the mental consciousness and not by the other five consciousnesses. Why? Because the five consciousnesses are incapable of discernment (*vikalpa*). This is why they are accomplished by the mental consciousness.[444]

Question. - Which mark is set in place first?

[87b] Answer. - According to some, it is the mark that consists of having the feet well set (*supratiṣṭhitapāda*), because first it is necessary to be well established in order that the other marks be fixed. According to others, the mark fixed first is that which consists of having deeply set black eyes (*abhinīlanetra*), for it is with an eye of this kind that the One with great loving-kindness (*mahāmaitra*) looks upon beings. These two opinions, whatever may be said about them, are incorrect: When the causes and conditions (*hetupratyaya*) of the marks are gathered, there is a first realization [for all the marks together]; so how could the feet well planted be the first?

Question. - Are the actions accomplished by one volition (*cetanā*) or by several volitions?

Answer. - Thirty-two different volitions accomplish the thirty-two marks by reason of one volition for each mark. But each mark taken separately, is adorned (*alaṃkṛta*) with a hundred merits (*puṇya*).[445]

Question. - What is the extent of each of these merits?[446]

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[443] Cf. Vibhāṣā, T 1545, k. 177, p. 887b: What is the nature (*svabhāva*) of the actions producing the marks? Are they actions of body, speech or mind? - They have the nature of these three actions, but mental action is the main one (*adhipati*). Some say that they are only mental actions and not bodily or vocal. Why? Because mental action is sharp (*tīkṣṇa*), whereas bodily and vocal actions are dull (*mṛdu*). Do the actions that produce the marks belong to the sphere of the *manas* or to the five consciousnesses (*vijñāna*)? - They belong to the sphere of the *manas* and not to the five consciousnesses. Why? Because mental action is endowed with concept (*vikalpa*) and functions after examination (*nirūpaṇā*); on the contrary, the five consciousnesses are without concept and arise as a consequence of the manas-element (*manodhātu*).

[444] Of the six consciousnesses, the mental consciousness alone is endowed with the two special vikalpas called examination (*nirūpaṇā*) and memory (*anusmaraṇa*); the other five consciousnesses (the visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory and tactile consciousnesses) lack them. In other words, the visual consciousness knows blue, but it does not know "It is blue". Only the mental consciousness is capable of this operation. Cf. Kośa, I, p. 60; Saṃgraha, p. 19.

[445] The Kośavyākhyā (cited in Kośa, IV, p. 226) and Saṃghabhadra, T 1562, k. 44, p. 590c) count a hundred volitions and consequently a hundred merits for each mark to be realized.

[446] There are several opinions on the extent or measure of each merit of the Bodhisattva: here the Mppś will mention seven: the Vibhāṣā (T 1545, k. 177, p.889c sq.) mentions eleven; the Kośa (IV, p. 227) mentions only three; Saṃghabhadra (T 1562, k. 44, p. 591a) limits it to five.

Answer. - According to some, each merit is equivalent to that which assures the cakravartin king power over the four continents (*caturdvīpaka*). A hundred merits of this kind would realize one single mark.

According to others, each merit is equivalent to that which gives *Che t'i houan yin* (Śakradevendra) mastery (*vaśitā*) over two classes of gods.[447]

According to others, each merit is equivalent to that which gives the king of the Paranirmitavaśavartin gods the power over the world of desire (*kāmadhātu*).[448]

According to others, each merit is equivalent to the merit that has as its fruit the enjoyment of all beings with the exception of the bodhisattva close to bodhi (*saṃnikṛṣṭabodhisattva*).

According to others, each merit is equivalent to the collective merit of all the beings of earth and heaven at the end of a kalpa, merit which has as its retribution the formation of a trichiliomegachiliocosm (*trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu*).

According to others, this merit is immeasurable (*aprameya*), incomparable (*anupama*) and unknowable (*ajñeya*). It is equivalent to that which one person would gain by caring for and healing all the beings of a trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu in the case where these would all be blind (*andha*) and without eyes; or where they had all been poisoned and he took care of them and cured them; or where they were about to die and he was able to save them and deliver them; or where they had all lost their discipline (*śīla*) and he was able to teach them and bring them back to pure discipline (*viṣuddhiśīla)* and right view. All of that would be equivalent to only one single merit [producing the marks].

According to yet others, this merit is immeasurable (*aprameya*) and incomparable (*anupama*). When the Bodhisattva has entered the third asaṃkhyeya, his mind (*citta)* and his volition (*cetanā*) have a great activity; he accomplishes the actions producing the thirty-two marks. This is why his merits are immense and only the Buddha can know them.

Question. - During how long a time does the Bodhisattva accomplish the [actions producing] the thirty-two marks?

Answer. - During a hundred kalpas if he goes slowly, during ninety-one kalpas if he goes quickly. The Bodhisattva Śākyamuni realized the thirty-two marks in ninety-one kalpas.[449]

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447 Śakra commands two lower classes of gods of kāmadhātu: the Caturmahārājikas and the Trāyastriṃṣas (cf. Beal, *Catena*, p. 93).

448 The Paranirmitavaśavartins are the higher gods of kāmadhādtu; their leader, called Vaśavartin in Dīgha, I, p. 210; Mahāvastu, I, p. 263; II, p. 360, is none other than Māra (see below, k. 10, p. 134c; Chavannes, *Contes*, I, p. 123; Huber, Sūtrālaṃkāra, p. 110).

449 In these one hundred kalpas during which normally the Bodhisattva accomplished the actions producing the marks, Śākyamuni, thanks to his effort (*vīrya*), skipped over nine. Therefore his effort lasted only 91 kalpas instead of 100. Cf. Mahāvastu, III, p. 249: *vīryakāyena saṃpanno ... nava kalpāni sthāyesi vīryeṇa puruṣottamaḥ*. - Vibhāṣā, T 1545, k. 177, p. 890b; Kośa. IV, p. 225; Saṃghabhadra, T 1562, k. 44, p. 591a; Fu ti king louen, T 1539, k. 7, p. 327a; Kouan fo san mei hai king, T 643, k. 7, p. 679b (tr. Przyluski, *Le Nord-Puest de l'Inde*, JA, 1914, p. 566). Also, as he himself said several times, his natural memory covered only these 91 kalpas: Saṃyutta, IV, p. 324; Dīgha, II, p. 2; Majjhima, I, p. 483;

Thus it is said in a sūtra:[450]

"Once, in times gone by, there was a Buddha named *Fou cha* (Puṣya)[451]; at the same time there were two Bodhisattvas; the first named Śākyamuni and the second Maitreya. The Buddha Puṣya wanted to see if the mind (*citta*) of the Bodhisattva [87c] Śākyamuni was pure or not. He examined it and saw that his mind was not pure but that the minds of his disciples were pure. As for the Bodhisattva Maitreya, his mind was pure but that the minds of his disciples were not pure. Then the Buddha Puṣya said to himself: "It is easy to change quickly the mind of a single man, but it is difficult to change quickly the mind of a crowd." Having had this thought, wanting the Bodhisattva Śākyamuni to become Buddha quickly, the Buddha Puṣya climbed the Himavat mountain (*himavantaṃ parvatam abhiruhya)*, found a rock cave filled with jewels (*ratnaguhāṃ praviśya*)[452] and there entered into the concentration of fire (*tejodhātuṃ samāpannaḥ*).[453] At the same time, the Bodhisattva Śākyamuni, who then was a heretical sage (*tīrthikarṣi*), climbed the mountain gathering herbs. He saw the Buddha Puṣya seated in the jewel-cave in the concentration of fire, emitting a great brilliance. At this sight, he experienced great joy (*ānanda*); he had faith and paid homage.

Dīvyāvadāna, p. 282. For more details, see L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Les neuf Kalpa qu'a franchi Śākyamuni pour devancer Maitreya*, TP, 1928, no. 1, p. 17-21.

450 This story is told in the Avadānaśataka, no. 97, II, p. 175-177 (tr. Feer, p. 412-414; Fo pen hing tsi king, T 190, k.4, p. 670a (tr. Beal, *Romantic Legend*, p. 14); Siuan tsi po yuan king, T 299 (no, 97), k. 10, p. 253c-254a; P'i p'o cha, T 1545, k. 177, p. 890b; Kośa, IV, p. 229 and Kośavyākhyā, p. 432; Chouen tcheng li louen of Saṃghabhadra, T 1562, k. 44, p. 591c; Fo ti king louen, T 1530, k. 7, p. 327a. Here are a few extracts from the Avadānaśatakā, II, p.175 sq.: *Bhūtapūrvaṃ bhikṣavo 'tīte 'dhvani Puṣyo nāma samyaksaṃbuddho loka udapādi… So 'pareṇa .... ekāya gāthayā stutvān:*

na divi bhuvi vā nāsmiṃi like na vaiśravaṇālaye....
puruṣavṛṣabha tvattulyo 'nyo mahāśramaṇaḥ kutaḥ //

Atha Puṣya samyakaṃbuddhaḥ .... sadāt: Sādhu ṣādhu satpuruṣa

anena balavīryeṇa saannena dvijttama /
nava kalpāḥ parāvṛttāḥ saṃstutyāda tathātagatam. //

451 The Buddha in question sometimes appears under the name of Puṣya (Mahāvastu, III, p. 240; Avadānaśatakā, T 190; T 200; Tibetan version of the Kośa where *shar rgyal* translates Puṣya), sometimes under the name of Tiṣya (T 1530; T 1562; Chinese translations of the Kośa by Paramārtha and Hiuan tsang). Tiṣya is not, however, synonymous with Puṣya. In the Mahāvastu (III, p. 240-243), the Buddha Tiṣya appears 95 kalpas before Śākyamuni and makes the prediction to Puṣya; the latter appears 92 kalpas before Śakyamuni and gives the prophecy to Vipaśyin. These facts are more or less confirmed by T 190 (Beal, *Romantic Legends*, p. 14) where Tiṣya and Puṣya precede Śākyamuni by 95 and 94 kalpas respectively. Tiṣya (variant Puṣya) is also the name of a lunar mansion (Cancri).

452 In most sources, the miracle took place in a jewel cave (*ratnaguhā*); the Vibhāṣā specifies a cave of *vaiḍūrya*. T 200 locates the scene under a tree.

453 T 1530 and T 1562 confirm this type of concentration adopted by Puṣya. This *tejodhātusamādhi*, concentration on the fire element, also called *jyotiṣprabhasamādhi*, concentration on the brilliance of fire, consists of considering the element fire and, by the power of this examination, making one's body incandescent and emitting flames and smoke. It is often followed by nirvāṇa. Cf. Mahāvastu, I, p. 556; Divyāvadāna, p. 186; Udāna, 9, p. 93; Przyluski, *Aśoka*, p. 26; *Concile*, p. 10, 31, 66, 116 (the nirvāṇa of Gavāmpati).

Standing erect on one leg, his palms joined towards the Buddha, he considered him attentively. Without blinking his eyes, for seven days and seven nights he praised the Buddha with one single stanza:

Either in heaven or on earth, there is no equal to the Buddha.

In the universes of the ten directions, there is no-one comparable to him.

If one considers all the beings in the universe,

No-one is like the Buddha.

For seven days and seven nights, he contemplated the Buddha thus without blinking his eyes. This is how he freed (*pratyuddāvartate*) nine kalpas and reached supreme perfect enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*) in ninety-one kalpas.[454]

Question. - The Bodhisattva Śākyamuni, intelligent (*medhāvin*) and well-learned, was capable of composing all sorts of marvelous stanzas. Why then does he praise the Buddha with one single stanza for seven days and seven nights?

Answer. - The Bodhisattva Śākyamuni valued his mental intentions and valued the fact of not chattering. If he had praised the Buddha with still more stanzas, his mind would now and then have been distracted (*vikṣiptacitta*). This is why he praised the Buddha with the same stanza for seven days and seven nights,

Question. - Why was the Bodhisattva Śākyamuni's mind impure whereas that of his disciples was pure? Why was the mind of the Bodhisattva Maitreya impure whereas that of his disciples was pure?

Answer. - The Bodhisattva Śākyamuni was totally preoccupied with the good of beings (*sattvahita*) and but little with himself, whereas the Bodhisattva Maitreya preoccupied himself much with his own person and little with other beings.

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[454] The various versions of this legend agree in essence and often in detail. They all intend to explain how the Bodhisattva Sākyamuni, by praising the Buddha Puṣya with a stanza repeated for seven days and seven nights, succeeded in outstripping his colleague, the Bodhisattva Maitreya; the merit that he acquired by praising the Buddha freed him of nine cosmic periods and he reached Buddhahood in ninety-one periods instead of one hundred.

One source, however, tells the facts in another way and, as a consequence, has a different import: this is the Siuan tsi po yuan king (T 200, k. 10, p. 253c-254a, the Chinese counterpart of the Sanskrit Avadānaśataka). There is no question of any kind of emulation between Śākyamuni and Maitreya. Both address their praise to the Buddha together. Here is the translation of this passage:

"Once, innumerable generations ago, in the land of *Po lo nai* (Vārāṇasī), a Buddha appeared in the world: he was called Puṣya. He was seated under a tree crosslegged. I (Śākyamuni) and Maitreya were two bodhisattvas. We went to this Buddha, made all kinds of offerings (*nānāpūjā*) and, standing on one leg for seven days, we praised him with this stanza: "Either in heaven or on earth, nobody is like the Buddha. In the universes of the ten directions, nobody is comparable to him. If one considers everything in the universe, nothing is like the Buddha."

The Mppś is referring probably to this latter source; attaching it below (p. 92c) to refute the Abhidharma doctrines explained here, it will make the following comment: "You believe that only the Buddha Śākyamuni saw the Buddha Puṣya in his jewel cave and praised him with one single stanza during seven days and seven nights. The Avadānaśātaka is the only one not to speak of it. If you do not know it, that is not a good enough reason."

During the ninety-one kalpas from the Buddha *P'i p'o che* (Vipaṣyin) to the Buddha *Kia chö* (Kāśyapa), the Bodhisattva [Śākyamuni] accomplished the actions producing the thirty-two marks and, when he had accumulated (*upacita*) them, his six virtues (*pāramitā*) were perfected (*paripūrṇa*).

3. *The six virtues*

What are the six virtues (*pāramitā*)? The virtues of generosity (*dāna*), discipline (*śila*), patience (*kṣānti*), exertion (*vīrya*), meditation (*dhyāna*) and wisdom (*prajñā*).

Question. - How does the Bodhisattva fulfill (*paripiparti*) the virtue of generosity?

Answer. - He gives everything unrestrictedly, and when he has given even his body, his heart feels no regret, for example, king *Che p'i* (Śibi) who gave his body to the pigeon (*kapota*).[455]

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[455] The 'gift of the flesh' for the ransoming of a pigeon [along with the 'gift of the eyes' and the 'gift of the flesh to receive a teaching'] is one of the deeds of the famous king Śibi.

Sanskrit sources: It has been wrongly claimed that we have no Indian *Buddhist* version of this ransoming of the pigeon. The Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, p. 181, contains fragments, unfortunately very mutilated, of this episode. - The Avadānakalpalatā, II, v. 109 (vol. I, p. 49) alludes to the gift of the eyes, but also to the ransom of the pigeon: *śivijanmani cāndhāya dattam… kapotaḥ śyenakād*. Its chap. LV (vol II, p. 119-135) tells how king Sarvaṃdada (Śibi's surname?), at the price of his flesh bought a pigeon claimed by Indra who was disguised as a hunter. - Finally, the Laṅkāvatāra, p. 251, contains a faithful summary of the episode in its traditional form: *Indreṇāpi ca devādhiptyaṃ..... duḥkena mahatālambhitaḥ*. "Even Indra, who has acquired sovereignty over all the gods, had to take the form of a vulture because of his evil habit of eating meat in his past existences. Pursued by this vulture, Viśvakarman, who had assumed the form of a pigeon, got up onto the scales. In order [to save him], king Śibi, who had compassion for the innocent, had to suffer great sorrow."

[Note: Chavannes (*Contes*, IV, p. 85), in error, attaches the Jātaka no. 2 and the Pāli Jātaka no. 499 to 'the gift of the flesh'. These texts deal only with 'the gift of the eyes.'

Chinese sources: Lieou tou king, T 152 (no. 2), k. 1, p. 1b (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, I, p. 7-11); P'ou sa pen hing king, T 155, k. 3, p. 119a24-25; Pen cheng man louen, T 160 (no. 2), k. 1, p. 333b-334a; Ta tchouang yen louen king, T 201 (no. 64), k. 12, p. 321-323 (tr. Huber, Sūtrālaṃkāra, p. 330-341); Hien yu king, T 202, K. 1, P. 351c (cf. Schmidt, *Der Weise und der Thor*, p. 16-20); Tchong king, T 208 (no. 2), k. 1, p. 531c (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, II, p. 70-72); King liu yi siang, T 2121, k. 25, p. 137c-138a.

Brahmanical sources: S. Lévi, in JA, 2908, p. 246 refers to the Mahābhārata, III, 139-131; III, 195; XIII, 32 (where the hero is Vṛṣadarbha); Kathāsaritsāgara, I, 7: Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, I, 3, v. 81.

Jain sources: Karuṇāvajrāyudha, where the name of the hero is Vajrāyudha (cf. Winternitz, *Literature*, II, p. 548.

The stūpa of 'the gift of the flesh', situated near the village of Girārai on the boundary between the district of Peshawar and Bouner, was visited by Fa hien T 2085, k. 5, p. 1021c15 (tr. Chavannes, BEFEO, III, p. 427) and by Hiuan tsang, T 2087, k. 3, p. 883a14-18 (tr. Beal, I, p. 125; Watters, I, p. 234).

Iconography: Gandhāra (L. D. Barnett, *Antiquities of India*, London, 1913, pl XXII); Mathurā (Vogel, *Mathurā*, pl. XXc); Amarāvatī (A. Foucher, *Les sculptures d'Amarāvatī*, RAA, V, 1928, p. 15, pl VIII, fig 1); Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (J. Ph. Vogel, *Excavations at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa*, An. Bibl., V, 1930 and pl. IIb); Central Asia (Grünwedel, *Buddh. Kultstätten*, fig, 130 and 251); Barabudur (Foucher, *Beginnings of b. Art*, pl. XXXVI, 2).

[88a] In one of his previous lives, the Buddha Śākyamuni was a king named Śibi; this king was reverent (*namas*), had received refuge (*śaraṇa*) and was very energetic (*vīryavat*) and full of loving-kindness (*maitrī)* and compassion (*karuṇā*); he considered all beings with the love of a mother for her child.

At that time there was no Buddha. The life of *Che t'i houan yin* (Śakradevendra) was exhausted and about to end. Śakra said to himself: "Where is there an omniscient Buddha? I have some problems in various subjects and I have not been able to cut through my doubts (*saṃśaya*)." He knew there was no Buddha and, returning to the heavens, he sat down sadly. A skillful magician (*dakṣa nirmātṛ*)[456], the god *P'i cheou kie mo* (Viśvakarman) asked him: "Devendra, why are you so sad?" Śakra answered: "I was looking for someone who is omniscient and I have been unable to find him. That is why I am sad." Viśvakarman said to him: “There is a great bodhisattva endowed with generosity (*dāna*), discipline (*śīla*) meditation (*dhyāna*) and wisdom (*prajñā*). Before long, he will be Buddha." Śakra replied with this stanza:

Bodhisattvas who produce the Great Mind,

Eggs of fish and flowers of the mango tree:

These three things are rather common,

But it is rare that they bear fruit.

Viśvakarman replied: "This king Śibi of the *Yeou che na* clan is disciplined, very kind, very compassionate, meditative and wise; before long he will be Buddha." Śakradevendra then said to Viśvakarman: "Let us go to examine him to see if he possesses the marks (*lakṣaṇa*) of a bodhisattva. You will change yourself into a pigeon (*kapota*) and I will be a falcon (*śyena*). You will pretend to be afraid and will take refuge in the king's armpit; I will chase you." Viśvakarman answered: "Why torment the great Bodhisattva in this way?" Śakradevendra replied with this stanza:

I no longer have any bad intentions.

In the same way that real gold must be tested,

It is necessary to test this bodhisattva in this way

And find out if his resolve is strong.

When Śakra had spoken this stanza, Viśvakarman changed himself into a pigeon with red eyes and red feet, while Śakradevendra changed himself into a falcon. The falcon pursued the pigeon swiftly; the latter flew directly to take refuge in the king's armpit: trembling with fear, with troubled eyes, it uttered moans.

Then a numerous crowd

Declared at this sight:

‘This king is very kind

All beings trust him.

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[456] Monier-Williams: *nirmātṛ*, 'creator, artist'.

This pigeon, this little bird,

Has taken refuge in him as in its nest.

That is the mark of a bodhisattva.

He will be Buddha before long.’

Then the falcon, perched on a nearby tree, said to king Śibi: "Give me my pigeon." [88b] The king answered: "It is I who took it first, it is not yours. Since I have produced the Great Mind, I welcome all beings (*sattva*) and I wish to save all beings." The falcon said: "O king, you want to save all beings; am I not part of them? Why should I be the only one not to enjoy your compassion? Would you deprive me of my daily food?" The king replied: "What do you eat?

I have made the vow to protect every being that takes refuge in me. What food do you need? I will give it to you." The falcon answered: "I need fresh meat." The king began to think: "That is difficult to find without killing animals. Must I then kill something to give it to him?" Reflecting thus, his decision remained firm and he spoke this stanza:

The flesh of my own body

Subject to old age, sickness and death,

Will start to rot before long.

I will give it to him.

Having had this thought, he called a servant to bring a knife, cut the flesh of his thigh and gave it to the falcon. The falcon said to the king: "O king, you are giving me fresh meat, but in all fairness, you should give me a weight of flesh equal to the weight of the pigeon. Make no mistake!" The king said: "I will use my scales (*tulā*)." He placed [the piece] of flesh on one side and the pigeon on the other, but the pigeon was heavier than the flesh of the king. Then he ordered the servant to cut his other thigh, but that too was still too light. In turn he cut his two feet, his rump, his two breasts, his neck and his back. He sacrificed his whole body, but the pigeon was still heavier than the flesh of the king. Then his ministers and his family put up a curtain (*vitāna*) and sent away those who were present, because the king could not be seen in that state. But king Śibi said to them: "Do not send the people away, let them come in and watch", and he added these stanzas:

May the gods, men and asuras

Come and contemplate me.

A great mind, an extreme resolve is necessary

To attain Buddhahood.

Whoever is seeking Buddhahood

Must bear great suffering.

If one cannot maintain one's resolution

One should give up the vow [of bodhi].

Then the Bodhisattva, with bloody hands, took the scales and wanted to climb up on them: he maintained his resolve to balance the weight of the pigeon with his whole body. The falcon said to him: "Great king, that is very difficult. Why are you doing that? Rather give me the pigeon." The king answered: "The pigeon has taken refuge in me, I will never give it to you. If I sacrifice my whole body, it is not to gain treasure or out of concern. At the price of my body, I want to attain Buddhahood." With his hands, he took the scales, but as his flesh was exhausted and his muscles torn, he could not make his way there and, trying to climb up [onto the scales], [88c] he fell down. Reprimanding his own heart, he said: " You must be strong and not anxious. All beings are plunged into an ocean of suffering. You yourself have sworn to save them all. Why be discouraged? The pain [that you are suffering] is small; the sufferings of hell (*naraka*) are great. If they are compared, yours do not make up a sixteenth part. If I who am wise, full of energy, disciplined and meditative, if I suffer such pain, what about people without wisdom who are plunged into hell?" Then the Bodhisattva, resolutely trying to climb up, took the scales and gave the order to his servant to help him. At that moment, his resolve was strong and he regretted nothing.

The devas, nāgas, asuras, piśacas, manuṣyas praised him greatly. They said: "To act in this way for a little pigeon is extraordinary (*adbhuta*)." Then the great earth (*pṛthivī*) trembled six times, the great sea (*samudra*) swelled its waves (*taraṅga*), the dead trees began to blossom, the gods caused a perfumed rain to fall and threw flowers. The goddesses sang his praises: "He will surely become Buddha." Then the devarṣi came from the four directions [to praise him], saying: "This is a true Bodhisattva who will soon become Buddha."

The falcon said to the pigeon: "The test is finished; he has not spared his own life. He is a true Bodhisattva" and added this stanza:

In the garden of compassion,

He has planted the tree of omniscience.

We must pay homage to him;

He should not be caused any more pain.

Then Viśvakarman said to Śakradevendra: "Devendra, you who possess miraculous power, you should make this king whole in body again." Śakradevendra replied: "It need not be me. The king himself is going to swear that his great heart was joyful [when] he sacrificed his life and gave it so that all beings could seek Buddhahood."

Śakra then said to the king: "When you cut off your flesh and you were suffering so cruelly, did you feel any regret?" The king answered: "My heart was joyful (*ānanda*). I felt no irritation or regret." Śakra said to him: "Who could believe that you did not feel anger or irritation?" Then the Bodhisattva made this vow: "When I cut my flesh and when my blood flowed, I felt neither anger nor irritation. I was resolved (*ekacitta)* and without regret, for I was heading to Buddhahood. If I am speaking the truth, may my body become as it was before." Hardly had he pronounced these words than his body became as it was before.

At this sight, men and gods became very joyful and cried out at this miracle: "This great Bodhisattva will surely become Buddha. We must honor him whole-heartedly and wish that he will become Buddha soon. He will protect us." Then Śakradevendra and Viśvakarman returned to the heavens.

It is by acts of this kind that the Bodhisattva fulfills the virtue of generosity.

Question. - How does the Bodhisattva fulfill the virtue of discipline (*śīlapāramitā*)?

Answer. - By not sparing his life when it is a question of keeping the pure precepts (*viṣuddhaśīla*). Thus king *Siu t'o siu mo* (Sutasoma), for the sake of the great king *Kie* [89a*] mo cha po t'o* (Kalmāṣapāda) went so far as to offer his life, but did not violate the precepts.[457]

There was once a king called Sutosoma,[458] full of energy (*vīryavat)*, observer of the precepts (*śīladhara*) and always faithful to his given word (*satyavādin*). One morning he mounted his chariot with his courtesans (*gaṇikā*) and entered a garden (*ārmama*) to walk about. When he left the gates of the city, a certain brahmin who had come to beg said to the king: "The king is very powerful (*mahāprabhāva*) and I am a poor man (*daridra*). May he have pity on me and give me something." The king replied: "I agree. I value the teachings of saints (*tathāgata*) such as yourself; we will make mutual gifts to one another." Having made this promise, the king entered his garden where he bathed and disported himself.

Then a two-winged king named 'Gazelle's Foot' (Kalmāṣapāda)[459] came swiftly and, from the midst of his courtesans, seized the king and flew away with him: one would have said it was the golden-winged bird

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[457] A well-known Jātaka where Sutosoma is none other than the Buddha, whereeas Kalmāṣapāda is Aṅgulimāla:

Pāli sources: Mahāsutasomajātaka, Jātaka no. 537 (V, p. 456-511); Cariyāpiṭaka, III, 12, p. 100-101 (tr. Law, p. 124-125).

Sanskrit sources: Jātakamāla, no. 31, p. 207-224 (tr. Speyer, p. 291-313); Bhadrakalpācadāna, chap. 34 (tr. S. Oldenburg, *On the Buddhist Jātakas*, JRAS, 1893, p. 331-334); Laṅkaāvatāra, p. 250-251, contains a summary: *Bhūtapūrvam atīte 'dhvani rājabhūt ... āsāditavān māṃsahetoḥ*.

Chinese sources: Lieou tou tsi king, T 152 (no. 41), k. 4, p. 22b-24b (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, I, p. 143-154; Hien yu king, T 202 (no. 52), k. 11, p. 425-427 (cf. Schmidt, *Der Weise und der Thor*, p. 300-326); Kieou tsa p'i yu king, T 206 (no. 40), k. 2, p. 517 a-c (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, I, p. 405-406); Jen wang pan jo po lo mi king, T 245, k. 2, p. 830; Chinese versions of the Laṅkāvatāra (T 670, k. 4, p. 513c; T 671, k. 8, p. 563a; T 672, k. 6, p. 623c); King liu yi siang, T 2121, k. 25, p. 139a-b.

Iconography: Enamelled brick at Pagan (Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Studien*, fig. 39); frieze at Aurangabad (A. Foucher, *Une représentation du Sutosoma-jātaka sur une frise d'Aurangabad*, ML, I, 261-271 and pl. XXI-XXII); Ajaṇtā (JA, Apr.-June, 1921, p. 213).

Study: R. Watanabe,*The Story of Kalmāsapāda*, JPTS, 1909, p. 236-310.

[458] The Bodhisattva, called Sutosoma in most of the sources, is called *P'ou ming* (Samantaprabhāsa) in T 152 (p. 22b) and T 245 (p. 830a). Sutosoma belonged to a well-known family of the Kauravas (Jātaka, V, p. 457, Jātakamālā, p. 207) and resided at Indapatta (Jātaka, V, p. 457) a city located on the present site of Delhi.

[459] The anthropophagous Kalmāṣapāda does not have a well-defined identity. In T 152, p. 22c, it is a king named A k'iun (170 and 5; 123 and 7). - In the Pāli Jātaka, it is Brahmadatta, king of Vārāṇasī (Benares). - In T 245, p. 830a, it is a young prince, son of the king of T'ien lo (Devala?) - In T 202, p. 425a, it is the son of Brahmadatta, king of Benares and a lioness. - In the Sanskrit sources (Jātakamālā, p. 209, Bhadrakalpāvadāna, chap. 34; Laṅkāvatāra, p. 250), he appears as the son of a king and a lioness and, as his father was called Sudāsa, he was named Saudāsa or Siṃhasaudāsa. - He is more

(*garuḍa*) seizing a serpent (*nāga*) in mid-ocean. The women lamented and wept; in the garden, in the city, within and without, there was turmoil and consternation.

Kalmāṣapāda, carrying the king, traveled through space (*ākāśa*) and came to his home where he set Sutasoma down amidst the ninety-nine kings [whom he had already captured].[460] King Sutosoma began to weep. Kalmāṣapāda said to him: "Great kṣatriya king, why are you crying like a baby? Every man must die; everything composite must decay." King Sutosoma replied: "I am not afraid of death, but I am afraid of not fulfilling my promises. From the time that I was born, I have never lied (*mṛṣāvāda*). This morning, as I was leaving the gates, a certain brahmin came to me to ask for alms and I promised to return to give him charity. I do not doubt impermanence (*anityatā*), but if I disappoint this [brahmin] in his expectation, I am committing a sin (*āpatti)* of deception. That is why I am weeping." Kalmāṣapāda said to him: "Your wish will be satisfied. Since you are afraid to break your promise, I allow you to return [home]; you have seven days in which to give alms to the brahmin; after that time, you will return here. If you have not come back in that time, by the power of my wings, I will easily bring you back."

King Sutosama was able to return to his native land and give alms to the brahmin as he wished. He set the crown prince (*kumāra*) on the throne. Calling his people together, he excused himself in these words: "I know that I have not settled everything; my governing was not [always] according to the Dharma. I recognize your loyalty. If I am not dead by tomorrow, I shall return directly." Throughout the whole country, his people and his family struck their foreheads to the ground trying to keep him, saying: "We want the king to mind his country and to continue his kind protection. He should not worry about Kalmāṣapāda, king of the rākṣasas. We will build an iron castle (*ayogṛha*) surrounded by choice soldiers. No matter how powerful Kalmāṣapāda is, we are not afraid of him." But Sutosoma, who disagreed, spoke this stanza:

> Faithfulness to one's word (*satyavāda*) is the foremost of the commandments;
>
> The man of his word ascends the stairway to heaven.
>
> The man of his word, no matter how small, is great;
>
> The liar goes to hell.

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familiar under the name of Kalmāṣapāda, which certain Chinese sources translate as *Po tsou* (187 and 6; 157), *Pan tsou* (96 and 6; 157), i.e., 'Speckled Foot' (cf. T 202, p. 425b; T 245, p. 830a); according to the Hien yu king (T 202, p. 425b), this surname was given to him because, born of a lioness, he had feet marked with spots like a lion's fur. In his Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, II, p. 483, Buddhaghosa proposes another explanation: When the anthropophagous king, banished by his subjects, took flight, an acacia spine pierced his foot, and this wound left a scar like a speckled piece of wood (*tassa kira pāde ... hutvā rūhi*).

The village where this man-eater was tamed was called Kalmāṣadamya (in Pāli, Kammāsadamma). It is situated in the land of the Kurus, and the Buddha preached several important sūtras there. Cf. Dīgha, II, p. 55, 290; Majjhima, I, p. 55; II, p. 26; Saṃyutta, II, p. 92; Tch'ang a han, T 1, k. 10, p. 60a29; Tchong a han, T 26, k. 24, p. 578b; Divyāvadāna, p. 515, 516.

[460] In T 202 (p. 426a) and T 243 (p. 830b), it was 999 kings whom Kalmāṣapāda had captured.

I wish to keep my promise today.

Rather lose one's life than break it.

[89b] My heart feels no regret.

Having reflected in this way, the king departed and returned to Kalmāṣapāda who, seeing him from afar, rejoiced and said to him: "You are a man of your word who does not break his promises. Every man seeks to save his own life. You had the chance to escape from death, but you came back to fulfill your promise. You are a great man (*mahāpuruṣa*)."

Then Sutosoma praised faithfulness to one's word: "The one who keeps his word is a man; he who breaks it is not a man." He praised truth (*satyavāda*) in every way and disparaged falsehood (*mṛṣāvāda*). Listening to him, Kalmāṣapāda developed pure faith (*śraddhāviśuddhi)* and said to king Sutosoma: "You have spoken well; in return I will release you; you are free. I grant you also the ninety-nine kings, [your co-prisoners]. May they return, each as he will, to their own countries." When he had spoken thus, the hundred kings returned [to their homes].

It is in Jātakas such as this that the Bodhisattva fulfills the virtue of discipline.

Question. - How does the Bodhisattva fulfill the virtue of patience (*kṣāntipāramitā*)?

Answer. - When people come to insult him, strike him, beat him, slash him, tear off his skin, cut him to pieces and take his life, his mind feels no hatred (*dveṣa*). Thus, when king *Kia li* (Kali) cut off his hands (*hasta*), feet (*pāda*), ears (*karṇa*) and nose (*nāsā*), the bhikṣu *Tchan* (Kṣānti) kept a strong mind (*dṛḍhacitta*) without emotion (*acala*).[461]

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[461] The Mppś tells the story of the bhikṣu Kṣānti in the following way: In a great forest, Kṣāntiṛṣi was cultivating patience (*kṣānti*) and practicing loving-kindness (*maitrī*). One day, king Kali along with his courtesans entered the forest to walk about and disport himself. Having finished his meal, the king stopped to sleep a little. The courtesans, walking about in the blossoming forest, saw the ṛṣi, paid their respects to him (*vandana*) and sat down at his side. Then the ṛṣi praised patience and loving-kindness; his words were so fine that the women could not get enough of listening to him and stayed with him for a long time. King Kali woke up and, not seeing is courtesans, seized his sword (*asipaṭṭa*) and followed their footsteps. When he found them around the ṛṣi, his lustful jealousy overflowed; with furious eyes, brandishing his sword, he asked the ṛṣi: "What are you doing there"? The ṛṣi replied: "I am here to practice patience and cultivate loving-kindness." The king said: "I am going to put you to the test. With my sword, I will cut off your ears (*karṇa*), your nose (*nāsā*) and your hands (*hasta*) and feet (*pāda*). If you do not get angry, I will know that you are cultivating patience." The ṛṣi answered: "Do as you wish." Then the king drew his sword and cut off his ears, his nose, then his hands and feet and asked him: "Is your mind disturbed?" The ṛṣi answered: "I cultivate patience and loving-kindness; my mind is not disturbed." The king said: “There lies your body without any strength; you say that you are not disturbed, but who would believe you?" Then the ṛṣi made this oath: "If I am truly cultivating loving-kindness and patience, may my blood (*śoṇita*) become milk (*kṣīra*)." At once his blood changed into milk; the king, astounded, departed with his courtesans. But then, in the forest, a nāga-king (*nāgarāja*), taking the side of the ṛṣi, caused lightning and thunder and the king, struck by lightning, perished and did not return to his palace.

This anecdote is often told to illustrate the patience of the Bodhisattva (represented here by the bhikṣu Kṣānti) and the wickedness of Devadatta (here, the evil king).

Question. - How does the Bodhisattva fulfill the virtue of exertion (*vīryapāramitā*)?

Answer. - When he possesses great exertion of mind. Thus the bodhisattva *Ta che* (Mahātyāgavat), putting his life at the disposal of all [his friends], swore to empty the water of the ocean until it was completely

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Pāli sources: Khantivādajātaka, no. 313 (III, p. 39-43); Jātaka, I, p. 45; III, p. 178; VI, p. 257; Dhammapaddaṭṭha, I, p. 149 (tr. Burlingame, *Legends*, I, p. 241); Khuddakapātha Comm., p. 149; Buddhavaṃsa Comm., p. 51; Visuddhimagga, I, p. 302.

Sanskrit sources: Mahāvastu, III, p. 357-361; Jātakamāla (no. 28), p. 181-192 (tr. Speyer, p. 153-168); Avadānakalpalatā (no. 38), I, p. 932-941; Vajracchedikā, v. 14, p. 31; Kośa, IV, p. 229.

Chinese sources: Lieou tou tsi king, T 152 (no. 44), k. 5, p. 25 (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, I, p. 161-154; Seng k'ie lo tch'a so tsi king, T 194, k. 1, p. 119a; Ta tchouang yen louen king, T 201 (no. 63). k. 11, p. 320a; T 201 (no. 65), k. 12, p. 325c (tr. Huber, *Sūtrālaṃkāra*, p. 325, 352); Hien yu king, T 202 (no. 12), k. 2, p. 359c-360b (cf. Schmidt, *Der Weise und der Thor*, p. 60-63); Kin kang pan jo po lo mi king, Y 235, p. 750b; Ta pan nie p'an king, T 374, k. 31, p. 551a-b, Ta fang teng ta tsi king, T 397, k. 50, p. 330b; A yu wang tchouan, T 2042, k. 5, p. 119b; Hiuan tsang, Si yu ki, T 2087, k. 3, p. 882b (tr. Beal, I, p. 121; Watters, I, p. 227); King liu siang, T 2121, k. 8, p. 40b-c.

Khotanese sources: Translation of the Vajracchedikā, Hoernle, *Remains*, p. 282.

Iconography: Sarnath: AR Arch. Surv. 1907-1908; Central Asia: Le Coq-Waldscmidt, *Spätantike*, VI, 11-12; Formosa: Ecke-Demiéville, *Twin Pagodas of Zayton*, pl. 41 above.

In Lüders, *Bhārhut und die buddh. Literatur*, p. 119-121, there is a comparison between the Pāli text of the Jātaka and the Sanskrit text of the Mahāvastu.

The sources enumerated here differ in details. The Bodhisattva tortured by the king is called *Kṣāntivādin* (in the Mahāvastu, *Kṣāntivāda*), *Kṣāntirṣi* or *Kṣānti*. He was born, under the name of Kuṇḍaka, into a rich family from Kāsi or Benares (Pāli Jātaka) or into a brahmin family in the city of Fou tan na (Pūtana) in southern India (T 374, p. 551a). The Mahāvastu, III, p. 357, has him coming miraculously from Uttarakuru into the garden (*udyāna*) of king Kalabha of Benares in the Kāśi region (*Kṣāntivādo ṛṣi Uttarakurudvīpāto ṛddhīye āgatvā tahiṃ udyānabhūmīyāṃ āsati*); but it is possible that *udyāna*, 'garden' should be corrected to Uḍḍiyāna, four or five *li* east of *Moung kie li* (Maṅgalapura or Manglaor (Si yu ki, k. 3, p. 882b). - The cruel king who tortured Kṣānti is usually called *Kali*. The reading Kaliṅgarāja found in the Vajracchedikā in Sanskrit is a faulty correction that the Chinese translators have not accepted. Apart from *Kali*, the reading *Kalābu* is also found (Pāli sources, T 194, p. 119a; T 374, p. 551a) and *Kalabha* (Mahāvastu). This king reigned in Benares in the Kāṣi region (Vārāṇasīye, Kāśijanapade). According to some sources, he himself tortured Kṣānti; according to others (especially all the Pāli sources), he was mutilated by his servants. The sage had excited the anger of the king by preaching the Dharma to his women or also, according to T 152, p. 25, and T 194, p. 119a, by refusing to show him the direction taken by a deer. In the Mahāvastu, as soon as they were cut off, the limbs secreted milk. The Pāli Jātaka and the Jātakamālā state that Kṣānti died of his wounds and went to heaven (*samadhirūdha divam*); as for Kali, the earth swallowed him up and he fell into Avīci hell.

dry, and his resolve was firm.[462] Here again, the Bodhisattva praised the Buddha Puṣya for seven days and seven nights standing on one leg without blinking his eyes.[463]

Question. - How does the Bodhisattva fulfill the virtue of meditation (*dhyānapāramitā*)?

Answer. - When he obtains mastery (*vaśita*) over all the *dhyāna*s of the heretics (*tīrthika*). Thus king *Chang cho li* (Śaṅkhācārya), seated in meditation, had no in- (*āna*) or out- (*apāna*) breath. A bird came and laid her eggs in his top-knot which was in the form of a conch (*śaṅkhaśikhā*); the bodhisattva remained motionless (*acala*) until the fledglings flew away.[464]

Question. - How does the Bodhisattva fulfill the virtue of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*)?

Answer. - When his great mind reflects (*manasikaroti*) and analyses (*vibhanakti*). Thus the brahmin *K'iu p'in t'o* (Govinda), the great minister (*mahāmātya*), divided the great earth (*mahāpṛthivī)* of Jambudvīpa into seven parts; he also divided into seven parts a determined number of large and small cities (*nagara*), of villages (*nigama*) and hamlets (*antarāpaṇa*).[465] Such is the virtue of wisdom.

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462 The story of Mahātyāgavat will be told at length at k. 12, p. 151-152. It is also found in the Mahāvastu, II, p. 89-91; Lieou tou tsi king, T 142 (no, 9), k. 1, p. 4a-5a (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, p. 89-91); Hien yu king, T 202, (no, 40), k. 8, p. 404b-409c (cf. Schmidt, *Der Weise und der Thor*, p. 227-252); King liu yi siang, T 2121, k. 9, p. 47b-48a. The theme of the man who tried to empty the water of the ocean is met again in an anecdote of the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya, translated by Chavannes, *Contes*, II, p. 308-312, and in the Cheng king, T 154 (no. 8), k. 1, p. 75b-76a).

463 See above.

464 The Mppś, k. 17, p. 188a-b, tells this anecdote as follows: Śākyamuni at one time was a ṛṣi named *Chang chö li* (Śaṅkhācārya) with a top-knot in the shape of a conch (*śaṅkhaśikhā*). He always practiced the fourth dhyāna, interrupting his breath (*ānāpāna*); seated under a tree, he remained immobile. A bird, seeing him in this posture, mistook him for a piece of wood and laid her eggs (*aṇḍa)* in his top-knot (*śikhā*). When the Bodhisattva came out of the dhyāna and noticed that he had the bird's eggs on his head, he said to himself: "If I move, the mother will certainly not come back, and if she does not come, the eggs will spoil." Therefore he re-entered dhyāna and stayed there until the little birds flew away.

The case of □aṅkhacārya is not exceptional: "We know that the yogin in the old legends remained immobile on one leg: the birds made their nests in their hair" (Lav., *Dogme et Philosophie*, p. 183). The King liu yi siang (Chavannes, *Contes*, III, p. 237-238) tells of a brahmin in contemplation for three hundred years on whose body there grew a tree.

King Śaṅkha is well-known in Buddhist legend. He appears in the Gayāśīrṣasūtra, T 464, p. 481c1, and he is known for his quarrels with his brother Likhita (cf. Chavannes, *Contes*, IV, p. 120, 132).

465 Extract of a passage from the Mahāgovindīyasūtra which was summarized by Senart in the following way: "Once there reigned the king Diśāmpati. He had as *purohita* and counsellor the brahmin Govinda. When the latter died, he followed the advice of his son, prince Reṇu, and replaced Govinda by Govinda's son, Jyotipāla, who was called Mahāgovinda. The six kṣatriya royal electors (*rājakartāraḥ*), on the death of Diśāmpati, assured his succession to Reṇu by promising to distribute the kingdom amongst the seven of them. When the time came, it was Mahāgovinda who took charge of this division of the land, assigning to each his capital; he remained in charge of all their affairs; at the same time he taught seven thousand brahmins and seven hundred *snātaka*s."

The sūtra of Mahāgovinda is in the Dīgha, II, p. 220-252 (tr. Rh. D., *Dialogues*, II, p. 259-281; Tch'ang a han, T 1 (no. 3), k. 5, p. 30b-34b; Ta kien kou p'o lo men yuan k'i king, T 8, vo, I, p. 207-213.

This is how the Bodhisattva fulfills the six virtues.

4. *Sojourn in the Tuṣita heaven*.

The Buddha became a disciple under the Buddha Kāśyapa, observed the pure precepts (*viśuddaśikṣāpada*),[466] practiced the qualities (*guṇa*) and was reborn in the heaven of the *Teou chouai* (Tuṣita).

Question. - Why was the Bodhisattva born in the Tuṣita heaven and not above or below it? Possessing great power (*prabhāva*), he could have been reborn wherever he wished.

Answer. - 1. According to some, by virtue of the retribution of actions (*karmavipākahetoḥ),* he had to be reborn in that place.

2. Furthermore, at a level (*bhūmi)* lower than that, the fetters (*saṃyojana*) are too [89c] heavy; in a higher level, they are too light. In the heaven of the Tuṣitas, the fetters are neither too heavy nor too light, for there, wisdom (*prajñā*) is safe (*yogakṣema*).

3. Futhermore, the Bodhisattva does not want to miss the time when he is to become Buddha (*buddhapradurbhāvakāla*). If he were born in a lower level where the lifespan (*āyus*) is short (*hrasva*), his life would be over before the time of his coming as Buddha; if he were born in a higher level where the lifespan is long (*dīrgha*), his life would be prolonged beyond the time of his becoming Buddha. But among the Tuṣita gods, the span of life coincides with the period when Buddhas appear.[467]

4. Finally, the Buddha always dwells in a middling destiny (*madhyagati*). Now the Tuṣita gods are placed in the middle of the gods [of kāmadhātu] augmented by the Brahmakāyikas: they surpass three classes of gods, the Caturmahārājakāyikas, [the Trayastriṃṣas and the Yamas] and are below the other three classes, the Nirmāṇaratis, the Paranirmitavaśavartins and the Brahmakāyikas. Having come from the Tuṣitas, the

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T. W. Rhys-Davids, *Dialogues*, II, p. 270, gives a list of the cities and the tribes that befell to the share of each of the seven kings; this may be found in Dīgha, II, p. 235-236; Mahāvastu, III, p. 208; Tch'ang a han, T 1, p. 33a:

City	*Tribe*	*King*
1. Dantapura	Kālinga	Sattabhu
2. Potana	Assaka	Brahmadatta
3. Māhissatī	Avanti	Vessabhu
4. Roruka	Sovīra	Bharata
5. Mithilā	Videha	Reṇu
6. Campā	Aṅga	Dhattaraṭṭha
7. Bārāṇasī	Kāsi	Dhataraṭṭha

[466] The Buddha was called Jyotipala at tat time.

[467] The Tuṣita gods live 4,000 years, but the days that constitute these years are each equal to 400 ordinary years (Cf. Aṅguttara, I, p. 214; Kirfel, *Kosmographie der Inder*, p. 194).

Bodhisattva was born in Madhyadeśa 'Central land'.[468] It was in the middle of the night that he came down from heaven (*avatāra*); it was in the middle of the night that he left the land of *Kia p'i lo p'o* (Kapilavastu) and after having traveled the Middle Path (*madhyama pratipad*), he attained supreme and perfect enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*); it was the Middle Path that he preached to men; finally, it was in the middle of the night that he entered nirvāṇa without residue (*nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa*). Because he loved these 'middles', he was born in the intermediate heaven [of the Tuṣitas].

5. *The four 'vilokanas' and the entry into the womb*[469]

When the Bodhisattva had taken birth in Tuṣita heaven, he examined the world of men in four ways: I) examination of time (*kālavilokana*), ii) examination of place (*deśanavikolana*), iii) examination of family (*kulavilokana*), iv) examination of mother (*upapattisthāna*).

What is the examination of time? There are eight periods in which Buddhas appear: When the human lifespan is 84,000, 70,000, 60,000, 50,000, 40,000, 30,000, 20,000 and 100 years.[470] The Bodhisattva says to himself: "The duration of the human lifespan is one hundred years; the time of appearance of the Buddha has arrived." This is the examination of time.

What is the examination of place? The Buddhas are always born in Madhyadeśa, for it abounds in gold and silver, precious substances, foods, picturesque places, and its ground is pure.

What is examination of family? The Buddhas are born into two kinds of family, either the kṣatriyas or the brahmins, for the kṣatriyas have great power (*prabhāva*) whereas the brahmins have great wisdom (*prajñā*). It is there that the Buddhas are born according to the need of the times.

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468 The Madhyadeśa in question here is vaster than the Madhyadeśa of the old brahmanical literature. The latter is practically identical with the Āryāvarta whereas the Madhyadeśa of the Buddhist texts includes fourteen of the sixteen Mahājanapadas. For its precise limits, see Malalasekera, II, p. 418-419. Madhyadeśa is the birthplace of noble individuals (*purisājanīyā*), including the Buddha (cf. Sumaṅgala, I, p. 173; Aṣṭasāhasrikā, p. 336).

469 The sources are not in agreement on the number of the Bodhisattva's vilokanas:

1. Four vilokanas: Examination of time (*kāla*), continent (*dvīpa*), country (*deśa*) and family (*kula*): Mahāvastu, I, p. 197; II, p. 1; Lalitavistara, p.. 19-20 (tr. Foucaux, p. 20-21).

2. Five vilokanas: examination of mother or parents is added (*mātā*-, *janettīvilokana*): Nidānakathā, p. 48-49; Dhammapaddaṭṭha, I, p. 84; Ken pen chouo ... p'o seng, T 1450, k. 2, p. 106b-c (cf. Rockhill, *Life*, p. 15).

3. Eight vilokanas, adding to the previous five the examination of the period of gestation (*āyu*), the month of birth (*māsa*) and the date of leaving (*nekkhamma*): Milinda, p. 193.

470 According to the Dīgha, II, p. 2-7, the duration of the human lifespan was 80,000 years under Vipaśyin, 70,000 under Sikhin, 60,000 under Viśvabhū, 40,000 under Krakucchanda, 30,000 under Kanakamuni, 100 under Śākyamuni. See Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, p. 6. - These numbers are confirmed by various texts: Tch'an a han, T. 1, k. 1, p. 1; Ts'i fo king, T 2, p. 150; Ts'i fo fou mou sing tseu king, T 4, p. 159; Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 45, p. 790 [under Vipaśyin, the human lifespan is 84,000 and not 80,000 years]; Tch'ou yao king, T 212, k. 2, p. 615c. - Vibhāṣā, T 1545, k. 135, p. 700c ad Kośa, III, p. 193, have established that the Buddhas appear during epochs of decrease of the lifespan, when the duration of life decreases from 84,000 to 100 years.

What is the examination of the mother? The bodhisattva asks himself who is the mother who will be able to bear a bodhisattva as strong as Nārāyaṇa.[471]

When this examination is finished, he determines that only the family of king Śuddhodana, residing in Kapilavastu in Madhyadeśa, is capable of conceiving the Bodhisattva. Having thought thus, he descends from Tuṣita heaven and enters the womb of his mother (*mātṛkukṣi*) without loss of his full-mindedness.

[90a] Question. - Why do all the Bodhisattvas in their last birth (*paścima punarbhava)* come from heaven and not from among men)?

Answer. - 1. Because they have climbed up to the supreme destiny (*agragati*) and, of the six destinies (*gati*), that of the gods is the highest.

2. Furthermore, coming from heaven, they possess all kinds of beauty (*saundarya*) and miracles (*adbhuta*) which they would not have at their disposal if they were to come from a human destiny.

3. Finally, because men venerate (*satkurvanti*) the gods.

Question. - All people have a disturbed mind (*samalacitta)* at the moment of reincarnation (*pratisaṃdhi*) when they enter the womb of their mother (*mātṛikukṣi*).[472] Why then is it said that the Bodhisattva has an undisturbed mind when he enters his mother's womb?

Answer. - 1. According to some, at the moment of reincarnation (*pratisaṃdhi*), all beings have a disturbed mind (*viparyastamati*); but since the Bodhisattva has no loss of mindfulness (*nāsti bodhisattvasya muṣitā smṛtiḥ*), it is said that he enters his mother's womb with an undisturbed mind. When he is in the intermediate existence (*antarābhava*), he knows that he is in the intermediate existence. - When he is in the stage of the *Ko lo lo* (kalala), he knows that he is in the kalala stage, i.e., when, seven days after conception, the semen and blood (*śuraśoṇita*) coagulate (*saṃmūrchanti*)[473]. - When he is in the stage of the *Ngo feou t'o* (arbuda), he knows that he is in the stage of arbuda, i.e., two weeks after conception, he resembles an ulcer. - When he is in the stage of the *K'ie na* (ghana), he knows that he is in the *ghana* stage, i.e., three weeks after conception, he resembles frozen cream. - When he is in the stage of the *Wou p'ao* (peśin), he knows that he is in the *peśin* stage. - When he comes into the world, he knows that he comes into the world.[474] And so, as he has no loss of mindfulness (*smṛtihāni)*, it is said that he enters his mother's womb with correct mind.

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471 Nārāyāṇa is the one who has *nārāyaṇabala*, the strength of the seventh term of a series beginning with the elephant in which each term is ten times the preceding one. See P'i p'o cha, T 1545, k. 30, p. 155a; Kośa, VII, p. 73-74.

472 Cf. Saṃgraha, p. 55.

473 It is thanks to the vijñāna that the semen and blood coagulate to form the embryo. For this *saṃmūrchana*, see Saṃgraha, p. 13-14.

474 The Mppś does not enumerate the five embryonic stages in the traditional order: *kalala*, *arbuda*, *peśin, ghana, praśakhā*, which are found, e.g., in Saṃyutta, I, p. 206; Milinda, p. 125; Mahāvyutpatti, no. 4067-4071; Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 1300), k. 49, p. 337c; Kośa, II, p. 255; II, p. 58; IV, p. 119. - Here the Mppś omits the *praśakhā* stage which is also omitted in Milinda, p. 40 and Visuddhimagga, p. 236. - Some texts have eight embryonic stages; 1-5. *kalala ... praśakhā*,

2. Let us take another being [than the Bodhisattva] in the intermediate existence (*antarābhava*). If it is a male (*pumān*), he experiences a lustful mind (*rāgacitta*) for his mother (*mātṛ*) and says to himself: "This woman and I will make love"; on the other hand, he experiences hostility (*pratigha*) towards his father (*pitṛ*). If it is a female, she experiences a lustful thought for her father and says to herself: "This man and I will make love" and, on the other hand, she experiences hatred for her mother.[475] The Bodhisattva does not have these thoughts of aversion (*pratigha*) or of attraction (*anunaya*); he knows in advance who his mother and father are. He says: "This mother and father will nourish (*poṣayati*) my body. Being based (*āśritya*) on them, I will take birth and will attain supreme perfect enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*)." It is with this pure mind (*viśuddhacitta)* that he thinks of his parents and, at the moment of reincarnation (*pratisaṃdhi*), he enters into the womb (*garbham avakramate*). Consequently, it is said that he enters his mother's womb (*matṛikukṣi*) with correct mind.

6. *Birth and the thirty-two 'lakṣaṇas'*

At the end of ten months, with correct mind and without loss of mindfulness, the Bodhisattva left his mother's womb, took seven steps and uttered these words: "This is my last birth" (*paścima punarbhava*). King Śuddhodana asked the experts in marks (*lakṣaṇapratigrāhaka*): "Look and see if my son has the thirty-two marks of the Great Man (*dvātriṃśad mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*). If he has these thirty-two marks, he will have two possibilities: if he stays at home (*gṛhastha*), he will be a cakravartin king; if he goes forth from home (*pravrajita*), he will be a Buddha." The experts said: "The crown prince (*kumāra*) really does have the thirty-two marks of a Great Man; if he stays at home, he will be a cakravartin king; if he leaves home, he will be a Buddha." The king asked: "What are the thirty-two marks?" The experts replied:

1. *Supratiṣṭhapādataḥ*. "The soles of his feet are well set down." The soles of his feet are set down on the ground without a gap, not even a needle, could be inserted.

2. *Adhastāt pādatalayoś cakre jāte sahasrāre sanābhike sanemike tryākāraparipūrṇe*. "On the soles of his feet are two wheels with a thousand spokes, a hub and a rim and [90b] having three perfections." He has obtained this mark spontaneously (*svataḥ*); it was not made by an artisan. The divine artists like Viśvakarman are not able to make such a perfect mark.

Question. - Why could they not make it?

Answer. - Because these divine artisans such as Viśvakarman do not achieve the depth of wisdom (*prajñā*). This mark of the wheel is the reward for good actions (*kuśalakarmavipaka*). Although the divine artisans have obtained their knowledge [technique] as a reward of their life, this mark of the wheel comes from the practice of the roots of good (*kuśalamūlacaryā*) and wisdom (*prajñā*). The knowledge of a Viśvakarman is

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6. *keśalomāvasthā* (appearance of hair and nails), 7. *indriyāvasthā* (appearances of the senses), 8. *vyañjanāvasthā* (appearance of the organs). Cf. Kośa, III, p. 38, n. 1; Bukkho daijiten, p. 1420c.

[475] These behaviors of the gandharva, the disincarnate being seeking a womb, are described in almost the same words in Kośa, III, p. 50-51.

the result of one single existence, but this mark of the wheel comes from a wisdom extending over innumerable kalpas. This is why Viśvakarman could not make it and, still less, the other divine artisans.

3. *Dīrghāṅguliḥ*: "He has long fingers." His fingers are slender and straight; their arrangement is harmonious and the joints are accentuated.

4. *Āyatapādapārṣṇiḥ*: " He has a broad heel."

5. *Jālāṅgulihastapādaḥ*: "The digits of his hands and feet are webbed." He is like the king of the swans (*haṃsa*): when he spreads his fingers, the webs show, when he does not spread his fingers, the webs do not show.[476]

6. *Mṛdutaruṇapāṇipādaḥ*: "His hands and feet are soft and delicate." Like fine cotton cloth (*sūkṣmaṃ karpāsakambalam*), these members surpass the other parts of his body.

7. *Utsaṅgacaraṇaḥ*: "He has a prominent instep." When he treads on the ground, his foot neither widens nor retracts.

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476 But in Sanskrit, *jāla* does not mean 'web', and Burnouf, reluctant to place the Buddha "in the class of palmipeds", understands: "The digits of his hands and feet are reticulate." Foucher (*Art Gréco-bouddhique*, II, p. 306-312) adopts this interpretation and sees in these networks the lines of a hand "which have always played a part in chiromancy and, in our day, are used in judicial identification." Moreover, he establishes that, in representations of the Buddha, "the Gandharan sculptors showed only detached hands and hands separated from their sculptures, and did so only when constrained by the special needs of the construction." This opinion is held by J. N. Banerjea, *The webbed fingers of Buddha*, IHQ, VI, 1930, p. 717-727. W. F. Stutterheim, *Le jālalakṣaṇa de l'image du Bouddha*, Act. Or., VII, 1928, p. 232-237, referring to a passage of the Śakuntalā, claims that *jāla* means the red lines of tha hand held up to the light of the sun. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The webbed finger of Buddha*, IHQ, VII, 1931, p. 365-366, accepts Stutterheim's translation in the original meaning of *jāla* and explains, along with Foucher and Banerjea, the semantic shift of *jāla*, in the sense of membrane, as a misinterpretation of the sculptures. Answer of J. N. Banerjea, *The webbed fingers of Buddha*, IHQ, VII, 1931, p. 654-656..

Nevertheless, the texts are explicit. Without saying anything about the stereoptyped Tibetan translation: *phyags daṅ €abs dra bas ḥbrel pa*, "his hands and feet are attached by a membrane", the old translators and commentators agree in attributing to the Buddha hands and feet like "the king of the swans", and Senart, *Légende du Bouddha*, p. 145, was perhaps correct to understand 'membrane'. Here are some references:

Dīrghāgama, third mark (T 1, p. 5b: His hands and feet have a netted membrane (*wang man*: 120 and 8; 120 and 11) like the king of the geese *(ngo wang*). - Madhyamāgama, T 26, P. 686b: His hands and feet have a netted membrane (*wang man*) like the king of the geese (*yen wang*). - Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, sixth mark (T 1450, p. 108c): His hands and feet have a netted membrane (*wang man*). - Lalitavistara of Divākara, thirtieth mark (T 187, p. 557a): The digits of his hands and feet all have a membranous net (*wang man*: 120 and 8; 177 and 7). - Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra, seventh mark (T190, p. 692c): The space between the digits of the Kumāra's hands and feet is netted (lo wang). - Pañcaviṃśati, third mark (T 220, vol. 6, p. 967b): between each of the digits of the Bhagavat"s hands and feet there is a netted membrane (*man wang*) like in the king of the geese (*yen wang*). - Daśasāhasrikā, p. 108: *tasya hastapādayor jālāny avanaddhāni yādṛśam anyapuruṣāṇāṃ nāsti*. - Vibhāṣā, sixth mark (T 1543,p. 888a): His hands and feet are marked with a netted membrane (*wang man*), that is to say, between the digits of the Buddha's hands and feet there is a net-membrane like the digit of the king of the geese (*ngo wang*). - Aloka, p. 918: *rājahaṃsavaj jālāvanaddhāṅgulipāṇipādatā*.

The soles of his feet (*pādatala*) are like a red lotus (*padma*) in color; between the toes there is a membrane; the ends of his feet are the color of real coral (*pravāda*); the toenails (*nakha*) have the color of polished red copper (*tāmra*); the upper side of his feet are golden in color (*suvarṇavarna*) and the hairs (*roma*) covering it are the azure of lapis-lazuli (*vaidūrya*). These colors are marvelous; one would say an assortment of jewels, a varicolored necklace.

8. *Aiṇeyajaṅgaḥ*: "He has the limbs of an antelope." His legs taper gradually (*anupūratanuka*) as in Aiṇeya, the king of the antelopes (*mṛgarāja*).

9. *Sthitānavanatājānupralambabāhuḥ*: "Standing upright without bending over, his arms reach down to his knees." Without bending or straightening up again, he can touch his kness with the palms [of his hands].

10. *Kośagatavastiguhyaḥ*: "The secret part of his abdomen is concealed within a sheath" as in an elephant of good birth or a high-bred horse (*tadyathā varagotra ājāneya hasty, ājāneyo vāśvaḥ*).

Question. - Then why did his disciples see his secret parts when the Bodhisattva attained supreme complete enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*)?

Answer. - He showed them his sexual organs to save beings and dissipate the doubts of the crowd. Besides, according to some, the Buddha manifested (*nirmimīte*) an elephant or a well-bred horse and said to his disciples: "My sexual organs are like that."[477]

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[477] On this subject, the Mppś will make the following comments later (k. 26, p. 251c):

"The Buddha showed the mark of his tongue and his cryptorchidy. Some people had doubts about these two characteristics of the Buddha's body; they should have been able to attain the Path but because of these doubts, they did not. That is why the Buddha showed them these two marks. He put out his tongue and it covered his whole face: although his tongue was large, it went back easily into his mouth. Some people, seeing the Buddha put out his tongue, may have felt contempt because putting out one's tongue is the mark of a small child. But when they saw him put his tongue back in and preach the Dharma without any difficulty, they felt respect and cried out at the wonder. Some people had doubts about the cryptorchidy of the Buddha, an invisible mark; then the Bhagavat created a marvelous elephant or a wondrous stallion and, showing them, he declared: "My cryptorchidy is an invisible mark quite like that." Some even say that the Buddha took out his sex organs and showed them to someone to suppress his doubts. Teachers (*upadeśācārya*) say that [by this action] the Buddha shows his great compassion for, if a man sees the Buddha's cryptorchidy, he can accumulate roots of merit (*kuśakamūla)* and produce the mind of anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi."

We know in fact that several times the Buddha exhibited his sex organs and showed his tongue to the brahmins, experts in marks, who had come to examine him. Ambaṭṭha, Brahmāyu and Sela were successively favored with this sight. The episode is always told in the same words in the Pāli sources whereas the Chinese versions introduce some modifications.

Ambaṭṭhasutta in Dīgha, I, p. 106; Tch'ang a han, T 1, k. 13, p. 87c; Fo k'ai kiai fan tche a p'o king, T 20, p. 263b (in the latter text, the Buddha just puts out his tongue).

Brahmāyusutta in Majjhima, II, p. 143; Tchong a han, T 26, k. 41, p. 688b; Fan mo yu king, T 76, p. 885b.

Selasutta in Suttanipāta, III, no. 7; Majjhima, II, no. 92 (same as preceding).

The story is always the same: The brahmin comes to see if Gautama has the thirty-two marks of a Buddha. He easily determines the superhuman marks on the body of the Śākyan with two exceptions: the abnormal arrangement of the sex organ (*kosohita vatthaguhya*, literally, the part to be hidden by clothing enclosed in a sheath, and the hugeness of the tongue, *pahūtajivhatā*). Then the Buddha thought: "This brahmin does indeed see in me the thirty-two marks of the Great

11. *[Nyagrodha] parimaṇḍalaḥ*: Like the nyagrodha tree, the Buddha's body is rounded and is of the same size on all four sides.

12. *Ūrdhvāgraromaḥ*: "His hair rises up." On his body his hair curls upwards (*tasya kāye keśaromāṇi ātāny ūrdhvam ākuñcitāni*).

13. *Ekaikaromaḥ*: From each of his pores there arises a single hair (*tasyaikaromakūpebhya ekaikāni romāṇi jātāni*); his hairs are not disarranged (*avikṣiptāni)*; they are blue-black (*nīlāni*), of the color of lapis-lazuli (*vaidūrya*), curved to the right (*pradakṣiṇāvartāni)* and standing up (*ūrdhvāgrāṇi*).

14. *Suvarṇavarṇaḥ*: "He is golden in color."

Question. - What is this golden color?

Answer. - Placed beside gold (*suvarṇa*), iron (*ayas*) has no brilliance. The gold of today compared to the gold of the time of a Buddha has no brilliance. The gold of the time of a Buddha compared to the gold of the river Jambū (*jambūnadasuvarṇa*) has no brilliance. The gold of the river Jambū compared with the golden sand of the great ocean (*mahāsamudra*), on the path of a cakravartin king has no [90c] brilliance. The golden sand compared with the golden mountain has no brilliance. The golden mountain compared with Sumeru has no brilliance.

The gold of Mount Sumeru compared with the gold of the Trāyastrimśa gods' necklaces (*keyūra*) has no brilliance. The gold of the Trayastriṃśa gods' necklaces compared with the gold of the Yāma gods has no brilliance. The gold of the Yāma gods compared with the gold of the Tuṣita gods has no brilliance. The gold of the Tuṣita gods compared with the gold of the Nirmāṇarati gods has no brilliance. The gold of the Nirmāṇarati gods compared with the gold of the Paranirmitavaśavartin gods has no brilliance. The gold of

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Man except for two. He hesitates about these two, he doubts and does not have conviction or certainty (*kaṅkhati vicikicchati nādhimucchati na sampasīdati*), namely, the abnormal arrangement of my sex organ and the huge size of my tongue." Then the Bhagavat created in his own image a magical apparition (*tathārūpaṃ iddhābhisaṃkhāraṃ abhisaṃkhāsi)* so that the brahmin saw his sex organ enclosed in a sheath. Then the Bhagavat, putting out his tongue, touched and patted (*anumasi paṭimasi*) his two ears (*kaṇṇasota*), his two nostrils (*nāsikasoti*) amd covered his whole forehead with his tongue (*kevalam pi nalāṭamaṇḍalaṃ jivhāya chādesi*).

Such an exhibition shocked Menander deeply: in the Milindapaṅha (p. 167 sq.), he asks Nagasena how the Buddha was able "to show his cryptorchidy (*kosohita vaṭṭhaguhya*) to the brahmin Sela in the midst of the four assemblies, in the presence of gods and men." Nagasena answers that the Bhagavat did not show his secret parts but rather showed a magical phantom (*na Bhagavā guhyaṃ dassesi, iddhiyā pana chāyaṃ dassesi*). And by adding modesty, Buddhaghosa, in Sumaṅgala, I, p. 276, thinks it is proper to add that the apparition thus created was fully clothed in his undergarment (*nivāsananivattha*), girdled with a belt (*kāyabandhanabaddha*), covered with a robe (*cīvarapārūta*), and that it consisted solely of spectral substance (*chāyārūpakamatta*).

But we ask in vain with Rhys Davids (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, p. 131, n. 1) how Ambaṭṭha and others could have seen the Buddha's cryptorchidy in a fully clothed phantom. This is why it may be preferable to accept the explanation proposed here in the Mppś and believe that the Buddha created a magical elephant or stallion, saying to his disciples "My sex organ is like that."

the Paranirmitavaśavartin gods compared with the gold of the Bodhisattva's body has no brilliance. Such is this mark of the golden color.

15. *Vyāmaprabhaḥ*: "He has an aura the breadth of an armspan." He has an aura the breath of an armspan (*vyāma*) on all four sides. In the center of this aura the Buddha has supreme beauty; his splendor is equal to that of the king of the gods (*devarāja*).[478]

16. *Sūkṣmacchaviḥ*: "He has fine skin." Dust does not adhere to his body (r*ajo 'sya kāye nāvatiṣṭhati*); he is like the lotus leaf (*utpala*) that holds neither dust nor water. When the Bodhisattva climbs a mountain of dry earth, the earth does not stick to his feet. When the wind blows up a storm to destroy the mountain which becomes dispersed as dust, not a single dust grain sticks to the Buddha's body.

17. *Saptotsadaḥ*: "The seven parts of his body are well-developed." Seven parts of the body: the two hands (*hasta)*, the two feet (*pāda*), the two shoulders (*aṃsa*) and the nape of his neck (*grīvā*) are rounded, of fine color and surpass all other bodies.

18. *Citāntarāṃsaḥ*: "The bottom of his armpits are well-developed." They are without bumps or hollows.

19. *Siṃhapūrvārdhakāyaḥ*: The front part of his body is like that of a lion."

20. *Bṛhadṛjukāyaḥ*: "His body is broad and straight." Of all men, his body is the broadest and the straightest.

21. *Susaṃvṛttasaskandaḥ*: "His shoulders are completely rounded." He has no peer amongst those who straighten their shoulders.

22. *Catvāriṃśaddantaḥ*: "He has forty teeth", neither more nor less. Other men have thirty-two teeth; their body consists of more than three hundred bones (*asthi*) and the bones of their skull (*śīrṣakāsthi*) are nine in number.[479] The Bodhisattva has forty teeth and his skull is a single bone. In him, the teeth are numerous but the bones of the skull are few; among other men, the teeth are few but the skull bones are numerous. This is how the Bodhisattva differs from other men.

23. *Aviraladantaḥ*: "His teeth are closely spaced." No coarse (*sthūla*) or fine (*sūkṣma*) material can get in between his teeth. People who do not know the secret mark of his teeth say that he has but one single tooth. One could not introduce a single hair (*roman*) between them.

24. *Śukladantaḥ*: "His teeth are white"; they surpass the brightness of king Himavat.

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[478] This mark constitutes the usual brilliance (*prakṛtiprabhā*) of the Buddha. In the phantasmagoria of the Prajñās, the Buddha first emits rays from all parts of his body, then from all the pores of his skin; then only finally does he manifest his usual brilliance, an armspan in width, to make himself known to the spectators; see below, k. 8, p. 114c.

[479] The Mppś departs here from the facts of the Vibāṣā, T 1545, k. 177, p. 888c: Other men have only 32 teeth and their body contains 103 bones; the Buddha has 40 teeth; how can it be said that his body contains only 103 bones and not more? Among other men, the bones of the skull are nine in number, whereas in the Bhagavat the skull is only one piece. This is why the Buddha also has 103 bones.

The Buddha's teeth are relics highly sought after: cf. Hobogirin, *Butsuge*, p. 204.

25. *Siṃhahanuḥ*: "He has the jaw of a lion." Like a lion, king of the beasts, his jaw is straight (*sama*) and broad (*vipula*).

[91a] 26. *Rasarasāgraprāptaḥ*: "He has the best of all tastes." Some say: When the Buddha puts food into his mouth (*mukha*), all foods take on an exquisite flavor (*rasāgra*). Why? Because in all these foods there is the essence of exquisite flavor. People who do not possess this [26th] mark cannot give off this essence and as a consequence do not have this exquisite taste. - Others say: When the Buddha takes food and puts it in his mouth, the ends of his throat (*gala*) secrete ambrosia (*amṛta*) which concentrates all flavors (*rasa*).[480] As this food is pure, we say that he possesses the best of all tastes (*rasānāṃ rasāgraḥ*).

27. *Prabhūtajihvaḥ*. "He has a broad tongue". When the Buddha sticks his great tongue out of his mouth, it covers all the parts of his face up to the top of his hair (*sarvaṃ mukhamaṇḍalam avacchādayati keśaparyantam*). But when he puts it back in, his mouth is not filled up.

28. *Brahmasvaraḥ*. "He has the voice of Brahmā."[481] Five kinds of sounds come from the mouth of Brahmā, king of the gods: i) deep as thunder; ii) pure and clear, able to heard from afar and delighting the listeners; iii) penetrating and inspiring respect; iv) truthful and easy to understand; v) never tiring the listeners. These are also the five intonations from the mouth of the Bodhisattva. - [Other marks] "He has the voice of a sparrow (*kalaviṅkabhāṇin*)": his voice is pleasant (*manojña*) like the song of the kalaviṅka bird.

"He has the voice of a drum (*dundubhisvara*)": his voice is deep and powerful like that of a great drum.

29. *Abhinīlanetraḥ*: "His eyes are deep blue" like a beautiful blue lotus (*nīlotpala*).

30. *Gopakṣmanetraḥ*: "His eyelashes are like those of an ox." Like the king of the oxen, his eyelashes are long (*dīrgha*), beautiful (*abhirūpa*) and well-arranged (*avikṣipta*).

31. *Uṣṇīṣaśīrṣaḥ*: "His head is crowned with a protuberance." The Bodhisattva has a bony chignon like a fist on his head.[482]

32. *Ūrṇā*: "He has a tuft of white hairs." A tuft of white hair grows between his eyebrows (*ūrṇā cāsya bhruvor madhye jātā*), neither too high nor too low. It is white (*śvetā*), whorled to the right (*pradakṣiṇāvartā*), growing easily and at the height of five feet.[483]

The experts in marks added: "In earth and heaven, the youg prince (*kumāra*) possesses the thirty-two marks of the Great Man (*mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*) which all Bodhisattvas possess."

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[480] According to T 261, k. 4, p. 883, everything that the Tathāgata consumes, drinks, solid food, fish, is transformed into ambrosia in contact with his four canine teeth.

[481] For these five, eight ten and sixteen qualities of the voice of Brahmā, cf. Hobogirin, *Bonnon*, p. 133-134.

[482] For this mark. see Foucher, *Art Gréco-bouddhique*, II, p. 289-300; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The Buddha's cūdā, hair, uṣṇiṣā and crown*, JRAS, 1928, p. 815-840; J. N. Banerjea, *Uṣṇīṣaśiraskatā in the early Buddhist images of India*, IHQ, VII, 1931, p. 499-514.

[483] For the ūrṇā, see Foucher, *Art Gréco-bouddhique*, II, p. 288-289.

Question. - The cakravartin king also possesses these thirty-two marks. In what way are those of the Bodhisattva different?

Answer. - The marks of the Bodhisattva prevail over those of the cakravartin king in seven ways: they are i) very pure, ii) very distinct (*vibhakta*), iii) ineffaceable, iv) perfect, v) deeply marked, vi) conforming with the practice of wisdom (*prajñācaryānusārin*) and not conforming to the world (*lokānusārin*); vii) lasting (*deśastha*). The marks of a cakravartin king do not have these qualities.

Question. - Why are they called marks (*lakṣaṇa*)?

Answer. - Because they are easy to recognize. Thus water, which is different from fire, is recognized by its marks.

Why does the Bodhisattva have thirty-two marks, neither more nor less?[484]

Some say: The Buddha whose body is adorned (*alaṃkṛta*) with the thirty-two marks is beautiful (*abhirūpa*) and well-arranged (*avikṣipta*). If he had less than thirty-two marks his body would be ugly; if he had more than thirty-two marks he would be untidy. Thanks to the thirty-two marks, he is beautiful and well-arranged. Their number cannot be increased or decreased. The bodily marks [91b] are like the other attributes of the Buddha (*buddhadharma*) which cannot be increased or decreased.

Question. - Why does the Bodhisattva adorn his body with marks?

Answer. - 1. Some people have attained purity of faith (*śraddhāviśuddhi*) by seeing the bodily marks of the Buddha.[485] This is why he adorns his body with marks.

2. Furthermore, the Buddhas triumph (*abhibhavanti*) in every way: they triumph by means of their physical beauty (*kāyarūpa*), power (*prabhāva*), clan (*gotra*), family (*jāti*), wisdom (*prajñā*), *dhyāna*, deliverance (*vimukti*), etc. But if the Buddhas did not adorn themselves with marks, these superiorities would not be as numerous.

3. Finally, some say that supreme perfect enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*) resides in the body of the Buddhas but that if the corporeal marks did not adorn their body anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi would not reside in them. Thus when a man wishes to marry a noble maiden, the latter sends a messenger to him to say: "If you wish to marry me, you must first decorate your house, remove the filth and the bad smells. You must place in it beds, covers, linen, curtains, drapes, wall-coverings and perfumes so as to decorate it. Only after that will I enter your house." In the same way, anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi sends wisdom (*prajñā*) to the Bodhisattva to say to him: "If you want to attain me, first cultivate the marvelous marks and adorn your body with them. Only after that will I reside in you. If they do not adorn your body, I will not reside in you."[486] This is why the Bodhisattva cultivates the thirty-two marks and adorns his body with them, to attain anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi.

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[484] See the reply of Pārśva to this question in the Vibhāṣā, T 1545, k. 177, p. 889a.

[485] This was the case notably for Ambaṭṭha, Brahmāyu and Sela. See above.

[486] This prosopopeia of the Buddha and anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi is characteristic of the Prajñāpāramitā literature which tends to make out of prajñā the Mother of the Buddhas; cf. T 220, k. 306, p. 558b: All the Tathāgatas depend on the

7. *Enlightenment and Buddhahood*

Then the Bodhisattva gew up gradually and, having seen an old man, a sick man, he experienced disgust (*nirveda*) for worldly things. At midnight, he left his home (*abhiniṣkramaṇa*) and practiced asceticism (*duṣkaracarya*) for six years. Then he ate some sweetened milk-broth (*pāyasa*) of sixteen restorative qualities offered to him by the brāhmanī *Nant'o* (Nandā) and, under the tree of enlightenment (*bodhivṛkṣa*), he defied Māra's army of 18,000 koṭis of warriors and attained supreme perfect enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*).

Question. - What qualities must he have to attain in order to be called Buddha?

Answer. - 1. He is called Buddha when he has acquired the knowledge of cessation (*kṣayajñāna*) and the knowledge of non-arising (*anutpādajñāna*).[487]

2. According to others, he is called Buddha when he has acquired the ten strengths (*daśa balāni*), the four fearlessnesses (*catvāri vaiśārayāni*), the eighteen special attributes (*aṣṭādaśāveṇikā buddhadharmāḥ*), the three knowledges (*tisro vidyāḥ*), the [four] penetrations (*catasraḥ pratisaṃvidaḥ*), the three *smṛtyupasthānas* or equanimities (i. When one listens to the Dharma and one respects it, the Buddha feels no joy. ii. When one does not listen to the Dharma and one scorns it, the Buddha feels no sadness. iii. When one both respects and scorns the Dharma, the Buddha feels no emotion), great loving-kindness (*mahāmaitrī*) and great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*), the thirty-seven auxiliaries to enlightenment

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profound Prajñāpāramitā to realize (*sākṣātkāra*) the true nature (*tathatā*), the summit (*niṣṭhā*) of all dharmas and attain anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi. That is why it is said that the profound Prajñāpāramitā gives birth to the Buddhas, is 'the Mother of the Buddhas'. - In the chapter dedicated to the Mother of the Buddhas, the Pañcaviṃśati (T 223, k. 14, p. 323b) says that the actual Buddhas of the ten directions contemplate the profound Prajñāpāramitā with their buddha-eye because it gives birth to all the Buddhas who have attained it, that all the Buddhas who have attained it, attain it and who will attain anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi, attain it thanks to Prajñāpāramitā. - Many sūtras are dedicated to the glorification of the 'Mother of the Buddhas': cf. T 228, 229 and 258. - Many times, the Mppś shows in what sense this metaphor should be taken: k. 34, p. 314a: The Prajñāpāramitā is the Mother of the Buddhas. Among parents, the mother is the most meritorious; this is because the Buddhas consider the prajñā as their mother. The pratyutpannasamādhi (described in T 416-419) is their father: this samādhi can only prevent distractions (*vikṣiptacitta*) so that prajñā may be realized, but it cannot perceive the true nature of dharmas. Prajñāpāramitā itself sees all the dharmas and discerns their true nature. As a result of this great merit, it is called Mother; - k. 70, p.550a: Prajñāpāramitā is the Mother of the Buddhas, this is why the Buddha is supported by being based on it. In other sūtras it is said that the Buddha relies on the Dharma and that the Dharma is his teacher, but here the Buddha declares to Subhūti that this Dharma is the Prajñāpāramitā.

All these metaphors prepare the way for the 'Sakti-ism' of the Vajrayāna which pairs the Buddhas and bodhisattvas with female deities, with Mahiṣīs such as Locanā, Pāndaravāsinī, Māmaki, Tārā, etc. Cf. H. von Glasenapp, *Buddhistische Mysterien*, p. 154 sq.

[487] These two knowledges comprise bodhi: by means of the first, one knows in truth that the task has been accomplished; by means of the second, one knows that there is nothing further to be accomplished (Kośa, VI, p. 282; VII, p. 10). But it should not be forgotten that there are three kinds of bodhi and that only the Buddha possesses *anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*.

(*saptatriṃśad bodhipakṣyadharamāḥ*) and awareness of the general and specific characteristics of everything (*sarvadharmasvasāmānyalakṣaṇa*).[488]

Question. - Why is he called Bodhisattva as long as he has not attained Buddhahood and loses this name when he has acquired Buddhahood?

Answer. – As long as he has not attained Buddhahood, his mind remains subject to [91c] desire (*tṛṣṇ*ā) and attachment (*saṅga*); he seeks to secure anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi; this is why he is called Bodhisattva. But when he has attained Buddhahood and acquired the various great qualities (*guṇa*) of the Buddhas, he changes his name and is then called Budda. Thus a prince (*kumāra*) is called prince as long as he is not king (*rājan*), but when he becomes king, he is no longer called prince. Since he is king, he is no longer called prince even though he is the son of a king. In the same way, as long as the Bodhisattva has not attained Buddhahood, he is called Bodhisattva, but when he has attained Buddhahood, he is called Buddha.

In the Śrāvaka system, the disciples of Mahākātyāyanīputra define the Bodhisattva in the way that we have just described.

THE BODHISATTVA IN THE MAHĀYĀNA SYSTEM

The practitioners of the Mahāyāna say: The disciples of Kātyāyanīputra are beings [immersed] in saṃsāra; they do not recite and do not study the Mahāyānasūtras; they are not great bodhisattvas; they do not recognize the true nature (*satyalakṣaṇa*) of dharmas. By means of their keen faculties (*tīkṣṇendriya*) and their wisdom (*prajñā*), they have theories about the Buddhadharma: they define the fetters (*saṃyojana*), cognition (*jñāna*), *samādhi*, the faculties (*indriya*), etc. If they commit errors in these various subjects, what would happen if they were to give us a theory (*upadeśa*) regarding the Bodhisattva? If a weak man who wants to jump across a little brook does not succeed in crossing over, what would he do if he comes to a great river except to sink and drown and be lost?

Question. - How is he lost?

1. *Actions producing the thirty-two marks*

Answer. - The disciples of Mahākātyāniputra have said that one is called bodhisattva after three asamkhyeyas. But already in the course of these three asamkhyeyas, the bodhisattva has experienced no regret in giving his head (*śiras*), his eyes (*nayana*), his marrow (*majjā*) and his brain; such a sacrifice could not be attained by the arhats or the pratyekabuddhas.

Thus at one time, the Bodhisattva, the great chief of a caravan (*Sa t'o p'o*, *sārthavā*) was voyaging on the ocean. A violent wind having destroyed his ship, he said to the merchants: "Take hold of my head *(śiras*), my hair (*keśa*), my hands (*hasta*) and my feet (*pāda*) and I will take you across." When the merchants took

488 See the definition of these various attributes in Saṃgraha, p. 285-305.

hold of him, he killed himself with his knife (*śastra*). As a general rule, the ocean does not retain corpses (*kuṇapa*); a brisk wind began to blow and brought them to the shore.[489] Who would dare to deny that this was an act of great compassion (*mahākāruṇika*)?

When he had finished the second asamkhyeya and not yet entered into the third, the Bodhisattva received from the Buddha Dīpaṃkara the prophecy (*vyākaraṇa*) that he would be Buddha. Then he rose up into the sky (*ākāśa*), saw the Buddhas of the ten directions (*daśadigbuddha*) and, standing up in space, he praised the Buddha Dipaṃkara.[490] The Buddha Dīpaṃkara had said to him: "In one asamkhyeya, you will be Buddha with the name Śākyamuni." Since he did indeed receive this prophecy (*vyākaraṇa*), could one say, without committing a grave error, that he was not already Bodhisattva?

[92a] The disciples of Kātyāyanīputra have said that, during the three asamkhyeyas, the Bodhisattva did not possess the marks (*lakṣaṇa*) of the Buddha and did not yet accomplish the actions producing the thirty-two marks (*dvātriṃśalakṣaṇakarman*). [If this is so], how would they know that he is Bodhisattva? Everything must first manifest its characteristic marks; it is only later that one can recognize its reality. If it has no marks, one does not cognize it.

We Mahāyānists say: Receiving the prophecy that one will be Buddha, rising up into the sky, seeing the Buddhas of the ten directions, these are not the great marks. What was predicted by the Buddha is that one will act as a Buddha. The fact of acting as Buddha is the great mark. You ignore this mark and you adopt the thirty-two marks [of the Great Man]. But the cakravartin kings also possess these thirty-two marks;[491]

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489 This story is told in the Mahāvastu, III, p. 354-355:

Bhūtapūrvaṃ bhikṣavo atītam adhvane jambudvīpe vāṇijakā .... sarvasatvānāṃ anugrahapravṛtā.

The same story in the Tibetan Karmaśataka, 28, II, 13 (tr. Feer, p. 49-51), where the sārthavāha has the name *Dbyig dga* (Vasunandana) and, as in the Mahāvastu, his companions were saved by holding onto his floating corpse.

In the Hien yu king, T 202 (no. 50), k. 10, p. 42c-422b, the sārthvāha, who lived at the time of Brahmadatta, king of Benares, is called *Le na chö ye* (Ratnajaya). - In the Lieou tou tsi king, T 152 (no. 67), k. 6, p. 36b (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, I, p. 245-247), he is brought back to life by Śakra. - Other details may be found in the Ta pei king, T 380, k. 4, p. 963b.

490 This phenomenon of levitation is mentioned, among other sources, in the Mahāvastu, I, p. 239: *Samanantaravyākṛto .... Dīpaṃkareṇa Megho maṇavo.... saptatālān abhyudgataḥ*. - The frieze of Sikri, in the Lahore Museum, which shows the Bodhisattva four times in the same panel, places him, the last time, at the top of the frieze above the Buddha Dīpaṃkara (cf. Foucher, *Art Gréco-bouddhique*, I, p. 275).

491 The thirty-two marks adorn the body of the Buddhas and the cakravartin kings. It is said and often repeated that "for a young man endowed with the thirty-two marks, there are two paths and no others; if he remains at home he will be a cakravartin king; if he leaves home, he will be a perfect accomplished Buddha" (among other sources, cf. Dīgha, II, p. 16-17).

These marks are possessed, in full or partially, by yet other individuals: The Kathāvatthu, IV, 7, p. 283, in its refutation of the Uttarāpathakas, uses as an argument the non-bodhisattvas "who partially possess the marks" (*padesalakhaṇehi samannāgatā*). - According to the Yin kouo king, T 189, K. 2, p. 628b, among the Śākyas at the time of the Buddha, there were five hundred young princes endowed with a certain number of marks: three, ten, thirty-one or even thirty-two; in those who possess thirty-two, they were not very distinct (*vyakta*). - The Tsa p'i yu king, T 207, p. 522c, tells of a cakravartin king, father of 999 sons of whom some had twenty-eight marks, some had thirty and others had thirty-one.

devas and also mahārājas produce them by transformation (*nirmāṇa*); *Nan t'o* (Nanda)[492], *T'i p'o la* (Devadatta)[493]. etc., possessed thirty; *P'o po li* (Bāvari)[494] had three; the wife of *Mo ho kia chö* (Mahākāśyapa) had the mark of 'the golden color' (*suvarṇavarṇa*).[495] Even people of our generation have

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492 Nanda had thirty marks. At k. 29, p. 273a, the Mppś will be more explicit: "Other individuals than the Buddha possessed the marks.... Thus Nanda, from one lifetime to the next, obtained the adornment of the physical marks; in his last lifetime, he left home, became a monk (*śramaṇa*) and, when the saṃgha saw him at a distance, they mistook him for the Buddha and rose to meet him." This is an allusion to the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya, Che song liu, T 1435, K. 18, p. 130 (cf. the Tokharian fragment of the same Vinaya in Hoernle, *Remains*, P. 369): "The Buddha was dwelling in Kapilavastu. At that time, the āyuṣmat Nanda, the younger brother of the Buddha who had been born to a sister of the Buddha's mother, had a body quite like the Buddha's *with thirty marks* and four inches shorter than the Buddha. Nanda had a robe the same size as the Buddha's. When the bhikṣus were gathered together either at meal time or in the afternoon, if they saw Nanda coming at a distance, they arose to go and greet him: 'Here is our great leader coming!' When they came near, they saw that it was not the Buddha..." The same story occurs in the other Vinayas, especially in the Pāli Vinaya, IV, p. 173, where there is no mention of the thirty marks. But this detail is known to the Ken pen chouo ... tsa che, T 1451, K. 56, p. 912b.

493 Bāvari had three marks. The Mppś, k. 29, p. 273a, will return to this individual, but the passage presents difficulties. Poussin in *Siddhi*, p. 737, translates it as follows: "When Maitreya was a lay person, he had a teacher named *Po p'o li* (Bāvari), who had three marks: the ūrṇā, the tongue covering the face and the cryptorchidy." I [Lamotte] rather would understand it as: "When Maitreya was a 'White-Garment' (*avadātāvasana*), his teacher, Po p'o li, had three marks: the ūrṇā, the tongue covering his face and the cryptorchidy." This translation is called for not only by the Mppś, k. 4, p. 92a, which attributes three marks to Bāvari, but also by the Pārāyaṇa (Suttanipāta, v. 1019) which recognizes in him the same quality: *vīsaṃvassasatuṃ āyu.... vedān' pmaragū*. "He is 120 years old, in his family he is Bāvari; he has three marks on his body; he is learned in the three Vedas." Bāvari is especially known to the Vatthugāthās of the Pārāyaṇa (Suttanipata, V, 1) and to the 57th story of Hien yu king, T 202, k. 12, p. 432b-436c (see P. Demiéville, BEFEO, XX, p. 158; S. Lévi, JA, Oct.-Dec. 1925, p. 320-322; Mélanges Linossier, II, p. 371-373). In these latter texts, Bāvari has only two marks: black hair (*asitakeśa*) and the broad tongue (*prabhūtajihvā*)..., he is 120 years old..., he had 500 disciples."

494 Devadatta had thirty marks as the Mppś will say later (k. 14, p. 164c28). This detail is known to Hiuan tsang (Si yu ki, T 2087, k. 6, p. 900a), which has him say: "I have thirty marks, a few less than the Buddha; a great assembly follows me; how am I different from the Tathāgata?" - We know that elsewhere Devadatta claimed to tbe equal to the Buddha in family and superior to him in his magical powers (Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 47, p. 803a; Che song liu, T 1435, k. 36, p. 257).

495 The wife of Kāśyapa had a body golden in color. The Ken pen chouo ... pi tch'ou ni p'i nai yo, T 1443, k. 1, p. 909b, tells about her marriage with Kāśyapa: "When Kāśyapa had grown up, he had a golden statue made and declared to his parents that he would marry only a woman golden in color like the statue. His parents had three other statues made and each of the statues was carried about in one of the four directions so that the maidens would come and wonder at it. When young *Miao hien* (Bhadrā) arrived, she was so beautiful that the brilliance of the statue was eclipsed. Kāśyapa's father made arrangements with *Miao hien*'s father and the marriage of the two young people took place." (Chavannes, *Contes*, IV, p. 151) - An analogous account occurs in Tsa p'i yu king, T 207 (no. 9), p. 524a-525a (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, II, p. 14-20); Fo pen hing tsi king, T 190, K. 45, p. 862b. - The Apadāna, II, p. 578-584, dedicates a chapter to the therī Bhaddā Kāpilāni; it tells her earlier lives and her last lifetime and mentions, in v. 58, her marriage to Kāśyapa: *ghanakañcanabimbena.... vijjitassa me*. - See also the comm. on the Therigāthā in Rh. D., *Psalms of the Sisters*, p. 47-48, and Manoratha, I, p. 375-376.

one or two of these marks, such as deep black eyes (*abhinīlanetra*), long arms (*dīrghabāhu*), the upper part of the body like a lion (*siṃhapūrvārdhakāya*), etc. These various marks are encountered more or less frequently. So why do you attach so much importance to them?

In what sūtra is it said that the Bodhisattva does not accomplish the actions producing the marks during the three asaṃkhyeyakalpas? *Nan t'o* (Nanda) had given a bath to the Buddha *Pi p'o che* (Vipaśyin) and wished to obtain pure beauty (*saundarya*). On the stūpa of a pratyekabuddha he had painted a wall blue, and while drawing the image of the pratyekabuddha, he made the vow (*praṇidhāna*): "I wish to obtain the mark of the golden color (*suvarṇavarṇa*) always." Finally, he built the steps on the stūpa of the Buddha Kāśyapa.[496] As a result of these three merits (*puṇya*), he enjoyed happiness in all his lifetimes and

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496 See below, Mppś, k. 29, p. 273a: "In a previous lifetime, Nanda had given a bath to the saṃgha and made the following vow: 'I wish, from existence to existence, to be beautiful (*abhirūpa*) and graceful (*prāsāhika*).' In the course of another lifetime, having found the stūpa of a pratyekabuddha, he drew the picture of this pratyekabuddha and made the following vow: 'I wish that my body be adorned with the mark of the golden color from lifetime to lifetime.'

Cf. Mahākarmavibhaṅga, p. 38: *yathā āryasundaranandena kila Krakuhhande ..... ca prāptā me suvarṇavarṇatā*.

S. Lévi, who edited this text, found the final stanza in the Fo wou po ti tseu tseu chouo pen k'i king, T 199, p. 199b, also repeated in the Ken pen chouo ... yao che, T 1448, k. 17, p. 87b: "Nanda tells that at the time of the Buddha Vipaśyin, he had given a warm bath-house to the saṃgha (or: baths of warm perfumed water) while pronouncing the wish that he himself and the community be always pure and clean, stainless and without impediments, of irreproachable conduct, and with the color of the lotus. Next he was born among the gods, then among humans, always of marvelous beauty. Later, seeing the stūpa of a pratyekabuddha, he repaired it (or whitewashed it) and covered it with perfumed plaster and pronounced the vow: 'I wish that my organs be always complete, that my body be golden in color.' And he was reborn in Benares, the second son of king *Kia t'o* or *Tchi wei ni*; seeing the stūpa of the Buddha Kāśyapa, he hung a parasol over it. And the stanza of the Karmavibhaṅga is summarized: 'For having bathed the community, for having plastered a stūpa with golden colored plaster, for having given a parasol to the stūpa, I have attained innumerable blessings'."

S. Lévi refers again to the Fo pen hing tsi king, T 190, k. 57, p. 917, which he briefly summarizes: "The first episode took place at the time of Vipaśyin, at Pāṇḍumatī where the king Pāṇḍu was reigning; later, at the time of the Buddha Kāśyapa, the king of Benares was called *Ki li che* (Kṛṣi). The second son of this king, giving a golden parasol to the stūpa of Kāśyapa, also made the vow of being reborn with a golden colored body."

The Pāli Apadāna, I, p. 57, could also be cited, which does not agree with T 199. Nanda received his golden colored body from having given a robe to the Buddha Padumuttara: *Padumuttarassa bhagavato lokajeṭṭhassa.... hemavaṇṇo bhavissasi*. But the more detailed story occurs in the Mūlasarvativādin Vinaya, Ken pen chouo...tsa che, T 1451, k. 12, p. 260c-261c. In view of the repute received by the legend of Nanda since the discoveries at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (see J. P. Vogel, RAA, vol. XI, 1937, p. 115-118), It seems useful to give the translation:

Having conceived some doubt, the bhikṣus questioned the Great Teacher in order to dissipate them: "Bhadanta, what actions did the bhikṣu Nanda previously perform so as to have a golden-colored (*suvarṇavarṇa*) body, to be adorned with thirty marks (*lakṣaṇa*), to have a body only four inches shorter than the Bhagavat, and so that the Great Teacher, having compassion for a man so attached to pleasures that he drew him out of the ocean of saṃsāra and estabished him at once into definitive nirvāṇa (*ātyantikanirvāṇa*)? Please explain this to us."

The Buddha said to the bhikṣus: That is due to the ripening of the fruit of actions previously accomplished by the bhikṣu Nanda, etc.... And he spoke this stanza: 'Actions do not perish even after hundreds [of millions] of kalpas. Meeting the

favorable complex of conditions and time, they bear fruit for their creator (*na praṇaśyanti karmāṇi kalpakoṭiśatair api, sāmagrīṃ prāpya kālaṃ ca phalanti khalu dehinām*).'

a. Ninety-one kalpas ago, when the human life-span was 80,000 years, there appeared in the world the Buddha Vipaśyin, tathāgata, arhat, completely enlightened (*samyaksaṃbuddha*), endowed with the knowledges and the practices (*vidyādharaṇasaṃpanna*), thus-come (*sugata*), knower of the world (*lokavid*), without superior (*anuttara*), leader of those to be converted (*puruṣadamyasārathi)*, teacher of gods and men (*śāstā devamanuṣyāṇām*), buddha, bhagavat. Accompanied by 62,000 bhikṣus, he traveled amongst men. He reached the city of *Ts'in houei* (Bandhumatī), a royal residence, went to the forest and dwelled there. This Bhagavat had a half-brother, very attached to pleasures, whom Vipaśyin, tathāgata, arhat, samyaksaṃbuddha, had drawn out of the ocean of saṃsāra and had made him leave the world (*pravrajita*) to place him happily in ultimate nirvāṇa. At that time, the king of the land was called *Yeou ts'in* (Bandhumati): he governed his people justly; his estates were prosperous, opulent, abundant, happy and peaceful; there were no quarrels, no discord, no troubles, no misdeeds, no sickness; the buffalo, the cattle, the rice and the sugarcane were plentiful. But the half-brother of the king was very carried away by pleasure. Hearing that the Buddha and his community were staying in the Bandumati forest, the king ordered the princes, his relatives, his servants, ministers and ladies of the harem to go as a retinue to the Buddha. Prostrating at the feet of the Buddha, they withdrew and sat down at one side. But the king's brother, deep in his pleasures, did not want to go [with the others]. Then the ministers' sons and other friends went to him and said: "Good friend, don't you know that the king, the princes, the whole court, ministers and people have gone to the Buddha Vipaśyin to pay their respects, and by hearing the precious Dharma, they have obtained excellent deliverance? The human condition is very rare, but now you have obtained it. Why do you want to give yourself up to your pleasures without wanting to free yourself?" Hearing these reproaches, the king's brother was filled with shame; bowing his head, he joined his companions and they went together. At that time, the bhikṣu who was the Buddha's brother saw these friends who had gone together and asked them: "Gentlemen, why are you going with this man?" The friends gave the reason. The bhikṣu said to them: "I am the Buddha's brother; once when I was living in the world (*gṛhastu*), I also was very attached to pleasures; fortunately, the Great Teacher [my brother] forced me to abandon them and made me find peace (*kṣema*) and ultimate nirvāṇa. There are still such fools as I was [at one time]. These kind friends who are leading him away with them are really doing him a great service. You can go to the great Teacher who has no equal. When you are near him, have deep faith." The companions came to the Buddha who, considering their faculties and their earnestness, preached the Dharma to them. [The king's brother] arose from his seat and, throwing his upper garment over one shoulder (*ekāṃsam uttarāsaṅgaṃ kṛtvā*), he joined his palms to the Bhagavat (*yena Bhagavāṃs tenāñjaliṃ praṇamya*) and said: "Bhagavat, I would like to invite the great teacher and his noble assembly to come tomorrow to take a bath in my pool." The Buddha accepted by way of silence, and the young man, having understood that the Buddha accepted, bowed down to the Buddha's feet, took his leave and went away. Then he went to [his brother] the king, paid his respects and said: "Great king, I have gone to the Buddha, I have heard the Dharma, I have faith and I feel disgust (*saṃvegacitta*) for pleasures. I have asked the Buddha and the saṃgha to come tomorrow to take a bath in the pool. The Tathāgata, the great Teacher, has kindly accepted. The Buddha is entitled to the respect of gods and men; it would be fitting if the king would have the streets cleaned and the city decorated." The king said to himself: "The Buddha is going to come to the city; I should have it decorated. My brother's taste for pleasure is incorrigible; it is truly extraordinary (*adbhūta*) that the Buddha should have subdued it." [Addressing himself to his brother], he said: "Good, you may go and prepare the things necessary for the bath (*snānopakaraṇa*); I will decorate the city in the best possible way." Very happy, the king's brother took his leave and went away. The king then said to his ministers: "Proclaim everywhere the following edict: Tomorrow the Bhagavat will be within our walls. All of you needy people and strangers must decorate the city, clean the streets and come before the Great Teacher with perfumes and flowers." The ministers

obeyed and had the royal edict proclaimed everywhere. At once, in the entire city, the crowd began to remove the dirt, spread perfumes, burn aromatics, hang banners and strew flowers; the city was like the pleasure palace (*nandanavana*) of Śakra, king of the gods. However, the king's brother had prepared hot water and perfumed oils, decorated the bath and set out beds. When the Buddha Vipaśyin was about to enter the city, the ministers, the crown prince, the queen, the palace people, the courtesans and the citizens went out to meet him, prostrated at his feet and returned to the city following him. Then the king's brother led the Buddha into the bath filled with perfumed water. He saw that the Buddha's body was golden in color, adorned with the 32 major marks and the 80 minor marks (*anuvyañjana*); at this sight, he felt great joy and deep faith. When the bath was finished and the Buddha had put on his garments again, he prostrated at the feet pf the Bhagavat and made the following vow (*praṇidhāna*): "I have had the great good fortune today of meeting an eminent field of merit (*puṇyakṣetra*) and rendering him a small service. In reward for this good action, I would like my body, in future lifetimes, to be golden in color like that of the Buddha. The Buddha has already drawn his own brother from the pleasures to which he had been attached and has placed him in safety and definitive nirvāṇa. I would also like later to be the brother of a Buddha and have a golden colored body; and if I delight in luxuries, I would like the Buddha to force me to come out of the deep river of impure desire and lead me to nirvāṇa and the safety of peace (*kṣemapada).*

The Buddha added: Have no doubts, O bhikṣu. He who was then the pleasure-loving briother of king Bandhuma is the present bhikṣu Nanda. It is he who once invited the Buddha Vipaśyin to take a perfumed bath in his bath-house and who, with pure heart, wished for the reward I have said. Today he is the Buddha's brother and has a body golden in color; as he delighted in pleasures, I have forced him to go forth, renounce desire and leave home to reach nirvāṇa and the safety of peace.

b. Then the bhikṣus, having another doubt, asked the Bhagavat: "Bhadanta, what action did the bhikṣu Nanda once perform to have his body now adorned with the thirty mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa?

The Buddha said to the bhikṣus: That is the result of actions that he accomplished.... (as above). Once in a village there was a rich śreṣṭhin who had many material goods, great wealth and vast and extensive possessions. He had a garden (*udyāna*) full of flowers and fruits, with springs and pools, woods and hills, able to serve as shelter for monks. At that time, there were pratyekabuddhas who appeared in the world and settled in retreats out of compassion for beings; there was no Buddha in the world; these pratyekabuddhas were the only field of merit (*puṇyakṣetra*) at the time. One day a venerable pratyekabuddha, traveling among men, came to the village and, looking about the area, stopped in the garden. Seeing him, the gardener said: "Sugata, rest here from your weariness!" The venerable one settled in that place and during the night, entered into the concentration on fire (*tejaḥprabhāsamādhi*). Seeing this, the gardener said to himself: "This Bhadanta has accomplished extraordinary things." Then in the middle of the night, he went to his master and said: "Master, from now on you may rejoice. A Bhadanta has come to spend the night in your garden; he is endowed with marvelous powers and possesses the abhijñās; he emits great rays of light (*raśmi*) that light up the whole garden." At these words, the śreṣṭhin hastily went to the garden and, prostrating at the feet of the venerable one, said to him: "Noble One, it is great happiness for me that you have come here to beg your food. Stay here in this garden; I will always give you your food." Seeing his enthusiasm, the pratyekabuddha accepted. He stayed in the garden where he penetrated the sublime concentrations and the bliss of deliverance (*vimokṣasukha*). The he said to himself: "My rotting body has wandered [for a long time] in saṃsāra; I have done what had to be done (*kṛtakṛtya*), I must now enter nirvāṇa and realize the unborn (*anutpāda*)." Having this thought, he rose up into the sky, entered into the concentration of the brilliance of fire (*tejaḥprabhāsamādhi*) and manifested all the miracles (*prātihārya*); he sent forth great rays; in the upper part of his body he shone with reddish light; from the lower part of his body there flowed clear water. When he had rejected his body, he realized the unborn and nirvāṇa without residue (*nirupadhiṣeṣanirvāṇa*). Then the śreṣṭhin took his corpse, cremated it with aromatics and extinguished the funeral pyre with creamy milk. He gathered the ashes, placed them in a

wherever he was born, he always acquired great beauty. With this stock of merit (*puṇyaśeṣa*), he was reborn at Kapilavastu into the Śākya clan as younger brother [variant *ti*, preferable to *ti tseu*] to the Buddha. He possessed thirty marks of the Great Man and pure beauty. He went forth from home (*pravrajita*) and became arhat. The Buddha has said that of his five hundred disciples, the bhikṣu Nanda was foremost in beauty. These marks are thus easy to obtain (*sulabha*). Then why do you say that the Bodhisattva must 'plant' (*avaropayati)* them during ninety-one kalpas while others obtain them in one single lifetime (*janman*)? That is a serious error.

You [disciples of Kātyāyanīputra] say: "In the course of the first asaṃkhyeyakalpa, the Bodhisattva does not know whether or not he will become Buddha. - In the course of the second asaṃkhyeyakalpa, he does indeed know that he will be Buddha, but does not dare to announce it. - At the end of the third asaṃkhyeyakalpa, he does indeed know that he will be Buddha and he announces it to men." Where did the Buddha say that? In what sūtra did he teach that? Is it in the Three Baskets of the Listeners (*śrāvakadharmatripiṭaka*), or is it in the sūtras of the Greater Vehicle (*mahāyānasūtra)*?

The disciples of Kātyāyanīputra. - Although the Buddha did not say it in the Tripiṭaka, it is reasonable and plausible. Moreover, it is what the *A p'i t'an pi p'o cha* (Abhidharmavibhāṣā) teaches in the chapter on the Bodhisattva (Vibhāṣā, T 1545, k. 176, p. 886c).

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new urn, built a stūpa and hung it with parasols (*chattra*). Filled with respectful faith, he anointed [the stūpa] with thirty kinds of perfumed waters and made the vow (*praṇidhāna*) to seek the marks [of the Great Man].

The Buddha added: "Have no doubts, O bhikṣus. The śreṣṭhin is now Nanada. As a result of such faith and respect he has now acquired as reward the thirty marvellous marks.”

c. Then the bhikṣus had another doubt and asked the Bhagavat: "Bhadanta, what action did the bhikṣu Nanda formerly perform in order that, in the case that he did not leave home (*pravrajita*) and reject pleasures, that he would definitely have played the part of a powerful cakravartin king?

The Buddha said to the bhikṣhus: This is the result of actions that he accomplished, etc.... *(*as above*)* Once, during the good kalpa (*bhadrakalpa*) when the human lifespan was 20,000 years, the Buddha Kāśyapa appeared in the world. Endowed with ten appellations [tathāgata, arhat, etc.], he was staying in Vārāṇasī at Ṛṣipatana, in the Mṛgadāva. At that time, the king of the city, *Ki li chi* (Kṛkin) governed the people justly as a great king of Dharma. The king had three sons, the oldest, the second and the youngest. When the Buddha Kāśyapa had finished his ministry, he entered into nirvāṇa like a flame which has been extinguished. The king took the Buddha's corpse, cremated it with aromatic sandalwood (*candana*), etc., and extinguished the funeral pyre with perfumed milk. He gathered the ashes (*śarīra*), placed them in a golden urn, erected a great stūpa made of four jewels, one yojana long and wide and one-half yojana in height. At the time of circumambulation, the king's second son placed a parasol (*chattra*) on top.

The Buddha added: Have no doubts, O bhikṣus. He who was then the second son of the king is today Nanda. It was he who, out of respect, offered a parasol which he placed on the top of the stūpa. As a reward for this good action, for 2500 lifetimes he has been a powerful cakravartin king, reigning over one continent (*dvīpaka*) and in this actual lifetime, if he had not left home (*pravrajita*), he would also have been a powerful king with the wheel and would have acquired great sovereignty (*aiśvarya*).

The Mahāyānists. - From the first production of the mind of bodhi (*prathamacittotpāda*), the Bodhisattva knows that he will be Buddha. Thus, when the [92b] bodhisattva *A tchö lo* (Acala)[497], in the presence of the Buddha *Tch'ang cheou* (Dīrghapāṇi?), first produced the mind [of bodhi], he attained the diamond seat (*vajrāsana*) and immediately acquired buddhahood; errors (*viparyāsa*) and impure thoughts (*aviśuddhacitta*) do not arise in him. The four bodhisattvas of the *Cheou leng yen san mei* (Śuraṃgamasamādhi) received the prophecy (*vyākaraṇa*): the first received the prophecy without having produced the thought of bodhi; the second received the prophecy at the moment when he was about to produce the thought of bodhi; before the third one recieved it, the others all knew [that he would be Buddha], but he himself did not know it; before the fourth one received it, the others and he himself knew it. Then why do you say that in the course of the second asaṃkhyeyakalpa the Bodhisattva knows the prophecy but does not dare to proclaim [that he will be Buddha]? - Besides, the Buddha has said that for innumerable kalpas the Bodhisattva realizes the qualities (*guṇa*) in order to save beings. In these conditions, why do you speak of [only] three asaṃkhyeyakalpas, which are finite and limited?

The disciples of Kātyāyanīputra. - Although it is a matter [of these numberless asaṃkhyeyas] in the Mahāyānasūtras, we do not believe in them entirely.

The Mahāyānists. - That is a grave error, for [the Mahāyānasūtras] are the true Buddhadharma (*saddharma*) coming from the very mouth (*kaṇṭhokta*) of the Buddha. You cannot reject them. Moreover, you derive your orgin from the Mahāyāna;[498] how can you say that you do not entirely believe it?

You [disciples of Kātyāyanīputra] also say: "The Bodhisattva accomplishes the actions producing the thirty-two marks in the desire realm (*kāmadhātu*) and not in the realm of form (*rūpadhātu*) or in the formless realm *(ārūpyadhātu*)." [Without a doubt], in the ārūpyadhātu there is neither body (*kāya*) nor form (*rūpa*) and, as these thirty-two marks are bodily adornments, it is not possible to accomplish the actions that produce them in the ārūpyadhātu. But why could they not be accomplished in the rūpadhātu? In the

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497 Acala, or Acalanātha, is well-known in Vajrayana Buddhism and the Shingon sect; he is one of the five vidyārājas, protectors of the Dharma. He is closely connected to Vairocana and Prajñāpāramitā with whom he forms a trinity. He is shown bearing a sword and surrounded by flames. Cf. Grünwedel, *Mythologie d. Buddh.*, p. 162; W. De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, Leiden, 1935, p. 144 sq.; Glasenapp, *Buddh. Mysterien*, p. 80, 84, 98.

498 Historically the Greater Vehicle is later than the Lesser Vehicle but its practitioners often claim an origin at least as old for it. The well-known stanza *ādāv avyākaraṇāt* of the Sūtrāla[a]kāra, ed. Lévi, p. 3, repeated in Siddhi, p. 176, affirms that the Greater Vehicle is the authentic 'word of the Buddha' because "from its beginning, it coexists in the Lesser Vehicle (*samapravṛtteḥ*)", and the commentary explains: *samakālaṃ ca Śrāvakayānena Mahāyānasya pravṛttir upalabhyate na paścāt*. - According to some Mahāyānists, the scriptures of the Greater Vehicle, like those of the Lesser Vehicle, must have been compiled after the Buddha's death, and the Mppś, k. 100, p. 756b, seems to confirm them: "There are those who say: Whereas Mahākāśayapa, at the head of the bhikṣus, compiled the Tripiṭaka on Gṛdhrakūtaparvata immediately after the Buddha's nirvāṇa, the great bodhisattvas, Mañjuśrī, Maitreya, etc., taking Ānanda with them, compiled the Mahāyāna. Ānanda knew how to measure the extent of the aspirations and conduct of beings; that is why he did not preach the Mahāyāna to the śrāvakas [whom he judged to be unable to understand this teaching]." For this compilation of the Greater Vehicle which took place on Mount Vimalasvabhāva, south of Rājagṛha, see also the quotations gathered by Bu ston, II, p. 101.

rūpadhātu there are the great Brahmārājas who usually invite the Buddhas to turn the wheel of the Dharma (*dharmacakra*). Wise and pure, they are capable of seeking Buddhahood. Why do they not accomplish the actions producing the thrity-two marks?

You also say: "The Bodhisattva accomplishes these actions in his human births (*manuṣyagati*) and not in the other destinies." But he can accomplish them equally in animal or other destinies. Thus *So k'ie tou long wang* (read *So k'ie [lo] long wang tou* = Sāgaranāgarājaduhitā), the daughter of Sāgara, king of the nāgas, is a bodhisattva of the tenth level (*daśamā bhūmi*);[499] the nāga king *A na p'o ta to* (Anavataptanāgarāja) is a seventh-level bodhisattva (*saptamā bhūmi*)[500], and the king of the asuras, *Lo heou* (Rāhu) is also a great

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499 Cf. Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, p. 263-265 (tr. Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 160-162; Kern, p. 251-253). - Although female and only eight years of age, the daughter of Sāgara, king of the nāgas, had acquired anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi, which consitutes the state of Buddha. As the bodhisattva Prajñākūṭa and Śāriputra refused to believe that a woman could attain this high rank, she suppressed the signs indicating her sex in herself, showed herself endowed with male organs and transformed herself into a bodhisattva who went to the south. In this part of space there was the universe Vimalā; there, seated near the trunk of a bodhi tree made of the seven precious substances, this bodhisattva appeared in the condition of perfectly accomplished Buddha, bearing the thirty-two marks of the Great Man, having the body adorned with all the secondary marks, emitting light which spead in the ten directions and teaching the Dharma.

Here is the Sanskrit text of this passage: *Sāgaranāgarājaduhitā… tat strīndriyam anatarhitaṃ puruṣendriyaṃ… spjutitvā dharmaadeśanāṃ kurvāṇam*. - According to the previous indications, the Mppś is quite correct in making the daughter of Sāgara a tenth level bodhisattva, the ultimate stage of the career of the Bodhisattva and immediately preceding the attainment of Buddhahood.

In telling the story of Sāgara's daughter, the Mppś is referring to the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka; Kumārajīva, the translator of the Mppś, therefore was familiar with this story. This is worthy of note, for the passage referring to Sāgara's daughter was originally missing from the translation of the Sdhp made by Kumārajīva in 406; it was inserted only later, in the time of the Souei, in the form of a special chapter entitled *Devadatta* (cf. T 262, k. 4, p. 34b-35c). A tradition claims that the chapter originally appeared in Kumārajīva's version, but was removed at Th'ang-ngan. However that may be, the Devadatta chapter is old since its contents appeared as early as 286 AD in Dharmarakṣa's translation of the Sdgp (cf. T 263, k. 6) and was circulated at the end of the 5th century in Serindia and China independently of the rest of the Sdhp. On this question, see the P. Demiéville's note in *Bibliographie Bouddhique*, VII-VIII, 1937, p. 95-96 on the work of K. Fuse (in Japanese).

500 The Mppś will return to this individual later (k. 30, p. 344a): Among the beings immersed in the animal destinies, some do and others do not obtain Buddhahood; thus Anavataptanāgarāja, Sāgaranāgarāja, etc., obtain Buddhahood. - Anavatapta is one of the eight great nāga-kings; he lives in the Anavatapta pool from which flow the four great rivers of the world (see below, k. 7, p. 114a; k. 8, p. 116a). According to the Tch'ang a han, T 1, k. 18, p.117a, he does not have the three misfortunes of the other three dragon-kings, which are: i) wind and hot sand burn their skin and bones; ii) a violent wind blows in their palace and uncovers it; iii) the garuḍa bird torments them in the midst of their play. According to the Jou lai hing hien king, T 291, k. 2, p. 602c, the rains that emanate from his body make Jambudvīpa fertile. - For more details, see Hobogirin, *Anokudatsu*, p. 33. - Whereas the Mppś makes Anavatapta a bodhisattva of the seventh level, Hiuan tsang (Si yu ki, T 2087, k. 1, p. 869b) claims that he was a bodhisattva of the eighth level before taking on the form of a nāga.

bodhisattva.[501] Why do you say that the Bodhisattva cannot accomplish the actions producing the thirty-two marks in destinies other [than the human destiny]?

You also say: "The Bodhisattva accomplishes them in the human destiny and in Jambudvīpa." It is reasonable to say that he cannot accomplish them in *Yu tan lo* (Uttarakuru), for there men are without individuality (?) (F: personnalité), attached to pleasure (*rakta*) and without sharp faculties (*tīkṣnendriya*). But why could they not accomplish them in the other two continents, *K'iu t'o ni* (Godānīya) and *Fou p'o t'I* (Pūrvavideha) where merit (*puṇya*), wisdom (*prajñā*) and duration of life (*āyus*) are much greater than in Jambudvīpa?[502]

You also say: "A volition (*cetanā*) is necessary to accomplish each mark." But in the time of a finger snap, the mind (*citta*) arises and ceases sixteen times; in one thought, there is neither duration (*sthiti*) nor parts (*vibhāga*);[503] how could it accomplish a mark of the Great Man? [On the other hand], a mark of the Great Man cannot do without a mind for its accomplishment. Therefore [only] the [92c] coming together of many volitions (*bahucetanāsaṃyoga)* can accomplish one single mark. In the same way, in order to carry a heavy load, one single man is not enough; the united strength of several men is necessary. Similarly, in order to accomplish a mark, a great mind is necessary and to this effect, the joining of many volitions is indispensible. Therefore it is called 'the mark of one hundred merits' (*śatapuṇyalakṣaṇa*). It is impossible that a single volition could accomplish a determined mark. If other things cannot be accomplished by a single volition, what can be said of the mark of one hundred merits?

Why do you say that the mind of the Bodhisattva Śākyamuni was impure whereas that of his disciples was pure, that the mind of Bodhisattva Maitreya was impure whereas that of his disciples was pure? Where was that said? We cannot find anything like that in the Tripiṭaka or in the Mahāyāna. This statement is your imagination. You believe that only the Bodhisattva Śākyamuni saw the Buddha Puṣya in his cave of precious stones and praised him with one single stanza for seven days and seven nights. But the Bodhisattva Maitreya also praised the Buddha Puṣya in every way. The *A po t'o na king* (Avadānasūtra or the Avadānaśataka) is the only one that does not say anything about it. If you do not know that, that is not a sufficient reason. Then you add that the mind of Maitreya's disciples was pure; that is a complete contradiction.

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501 Rāhu, personification of the eclipse, appears in two well-known suttas in the Saṃyutta, the Candimasutta and the Suriyasutta, which the Mppś will reproduce later (k. 20, p. 136b). The palace of Rāhu is described in the Tch'ang a han, T 1, k. 20, p. 129b. - Rāhu has a city called *Kouang ming*, four parks, four wives called *Jou ying* 'Shadow', *Tchou hiang* 'Perfume', *Miao lin* 'Marvelous Forest' and *Cheng tö* 'Eminent Virtue'; his lifespan is 5,000 years where each day equals 500 human years (Hobogirin, *Ashura*, p. 42).

502 These four continents are described in Kośa, III, p. 145.

503 Sixteen mind moments arise and cease in the time that a material dharma lasts. "It is better to consider as a self this body made up of the four great elements rather than the mind. We see that this body lasts one year ... one hundred years and more. But that which bears the name of mind (*citta*), spirit (*manas*), consciousness (*vijñāna*) by day and by night is born as one and dies as another. In the same way that a monkey grasps one branch, lets it go, takes another...." (Samyutta, II, p. 94-95: Tsa a han, T 99, k. 12, p. 81c). - "Like a mountain river..., there is no *khaṇa, laya*, *muhutta* where it rests, but it flows on...; the life of men is short...That which arises cannot cease." (Aṇguttara, IV, p. 137).

2. *The six virtues*

You say: “[By the virtue of generosity], the Bodhisattva gives everything without feeling regret, like king Śibi who, to save the pigeon, gave his flesh to the falcon without feeling any regret." To give wealth (*āmiṣadāna*) is a lesser gift (*hīnadāna*); to give one's body (*kāyadāna*) is a middling gift (*madhyadāna*); to give anything whatsoever, provided that the mind is detached (*niḥsaṅga*) is the highest gift (*agradāna*).[504] [By telling the story of the gift of the body by king Śibi], why do you praise the middling gift as if it were the complete perfection of the virtue of generosity (*dānapāramitāparipūri*)?

Although its intention (*citta*) may be lofty and full of loving kindness (*maitrī*) and compassion (*karuṇā*), this [middling] generosity may or may not involve wisdom (*prajñā*). [King Śibi] is like a man who would sacrifice his body for his parents, his family or his teacher. Since he knows that he is sacrificing his life for a pigeon, his generosity is middling.

[The disciples of Kātyāyanīputra]. - The Bodhisattva [sacrifices himself] for all beings, for his parents, for his teacher, or for all people. This is why [if we accept your definition of highest generosity where detachment plays the essential part], the gift of the body will [never] constitute the complete virtue of generosity.

[The Mahāyānists]. - Although he sacrifices himself for all beings, his mind (*citta*) is impure (*aviśuddha*), for he does not know that he himself is non-existent (*anātmaka*); he does not know that the one who receives his gift (*pratigrāhaka*) is not a person, is not his teacher; he does not know that the thing given by him (*deyadravya*) is in reality neither the same as (*eka*) or different (*anya*) from him. Since his mind (*citta*) is attached (*sakta*) to the three concepts [of donor, recipient and thing given], it is impure (*aviśuddha*). It is in this world (*lokadhātu*) that he will receive the reward of his merit (*puṇyavipāka*); he will not be able to go directly to Buddhahood. Thus it is said in the Prajñāpāramitā that the three things [donor, recipient and the thing given] are non-existent (*anupalabdha*)[505] and that he should not be attached to them.

This is applied to the virtue of generosity but it is valid also [for the other virtues] up to and including the virtue of wisdom. [According to the disciples of Kātyāyanīputra], to divide the great earth, the cities, towns and villages and to make seven parts of it is the perfection of the virtue of wisdom [93a] (*prajñāpāramitāparipūri*). But the virtue of wisdom is immense (*apramāna*) and infinite (*ananta*) like the water of the ocean. To divide the earth is only ordinary mathematics (*gaṇanā*); it is a modest part (*hīnabhāga*) of conventional wisdom (*saṃvṛtiprajñā*), like one or two drops of water (*bindu*) in the ocean.

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[504] The highest generosity which constitutes, properly speaking, the virtue of generosity (*dānapāramitā)* rests in essence on knowledge free of concept (*nirvikalpakapāramitā*) which makes it triply pure (*trimaṇḍalapariśuddha*); it consists of making no distinction between the thing given (*deya*), the donor (*dāyaka*) and the recipient (*pratigrāhaka*). Cf. Pañcaviṃśhati, p. 264; Śatasāhasrikā, p. 92; Bodhicaryāvatāra, IX, st. 168; Pañjikā, p. 604; Uttaratantra, p. 120, 254; Saṃgraha, p. 185, 225; Siddhi, p. 629 n.

[505] Cf. Pañcaviṃśati, p. 264: *tatra katamā lokottarā dānapāramitā? .... tadvipākaṃ ca nopalabhate*. - Cf. Śatasāhasrikā, p. 92.

The true prajñāpāramitā is called the 'mother of the Buddhas' (*buddhamātṛi*) of the three times (*tryadhvan*); it reveals the true nature of all dharmas (*sarvadharmasatyalakṣaṇa)*. This prajñāpāramitā has no point of coming or point of going; it is like a magic show (*māyā*), an echo (*pratiśrutkā*), the moon reflected in water (*udakacandra*) which one sees and which immediately disappears. Out of compassion and, although this wisdom has but a single nature (*ekalakṣaṇa*), the āryas define it using all kinds of conventional expressions (*nāmasaṃketa*) as being the precious treasure of the wisdom of the Buddhas (*buddhaprajñāratnakośa*). You are speaking grave errors.

3. *The time of appearance of the Buddhas*

You speak of the four examinations (*vilokana*) made by the Bodhisattva: 1) examination of time (*kālavilokana*), 2) examination of place (*deśavilokana*), 3) examination of clan (*kulavilokana*), 4) examination of mother (*upapattisthānavilokana*). You add that that the Buddha appears in the world (*prādurbhavati)* when the human lifespan (*āyus*) is 80,000, 70,000, 60,000, 50,000, 40,000, 30,000, 20,000, 100 years. - But if the Buddhas always have compassion (*anukampa*) for beings, why do they appear only at these eight times and not at others? Just as a good medicine (*oṣadhi*) once swallowed, cures the sickness (*vyādhi*), so the Buddhadarma does not depend on time.

[The disciples of Kātyāyanīputra]. - Although the Bodhisattva has compassion for beings and although the Buddhas do not depend on time, when the lifespan surpasses 80,000 years, long-lived people (*dīrghāyus*) revel in pleasures (*sukha*); their fetters, lust, desire, etc. (*rāgatṛṣṇādisaṃyojana*) are heavy (*sthūla*) and their faculties are weak (*mṛdvindriya*). This is not the time to convert them. On the other hand, when the lifespan is less than 199 years, people have a short life (*alpāyus*) and are overcome with suffering (*duḥkha*): their fetters, hatred, etc. (*dveṣādisaṃyojana*) are thick (*sthūla*). This period of pleasure [when the lifespan is more than 80,000 years] and this period of suffering [when it is less than 199 years] are not times favorable to finding the Path (*mārgalābha*). This is why tha Buddhas do not appear [at those times].

[The Mahāyānists]. - 1. The lifespan of the gods is more than 10,000 years; that is because of their previous life (*pūrvajanma*). Although they have plenty of pleasures (*sukha*) and their sensual desires (*rāgatṛṣṇa*) are heavy *(sthūla*), they are able to find the Path (*mārga*). What could be said then of people who are not happy and whose thirty-two impurities are easily corrected, [except that they find the Path even more easily than the gods]? This is why, even when the human lifespan is greater than 80,000 years, the Buddhas must appear in the world. At this time, people are not sick and their minds are joyful; consequently, their faculties are keen (*tīkṣnendriya*) and they are virtuous. As a result of their virtues and their keen faculties, they can easily find the Path.

2. Furthermore, under the Buddha *Che tseu kou yin wang* (Siṃhadundubhisvararāja), the human lifespan is 100,000 years; under the Buddha *Ming wang* (Ālokarāja), it is 700 asaṃkhyeyakalpas; under the Buddha *A mi t'o* (Amitābha), it lasts innumerable asaṃkhyeyakalpas. How can you say that the Buddhas do not appear when the human lifespan is longer than 80,000 years?

[93b] [The disciples of Kātyāyanīputra]. - These teachings are in the Mahāyānasūtras, but in our system it is not a question of the Buddhas of the ten directions (*daśadigbuddha*) but only of the one hundred

Buddhas of the past (*atītabuddha*), Śākyamuni, *K'iu tch'en jo* (Krakucchanda), etc., and the five hundred Buddhas of the future (*anāgatabuddha*), Maitreya, etc.[506]

[The Mahāyānists]. - In the Mahāyānasūtras, we speak of the Buddhas of the three times (*tryadhvan*) and the ten directions (*daśadiś*) for various reasons. In the universes (*lokadhātu*) of the ten directions, all the torments rage: old age (*jarā*), sickness (*vyādhi*) and death (*maraṇa*), lust, (*rāga*), hatred (*dveṣa*) and delusion (*moha*), etc.; this is why the Buddhas must appear in these regions. It is said in a sūtra: "If old age, sickness, death and the afflictions (*kleśa*) did not exist, the Buddhas would not appear."[507] Furthermore, wherever there are many illnesses (*vyādhita)*, there should be many physicians (*vaidya*).

In one of your Śrāvaka texts, the *Tch'ang a han* (Dīrghāgama), king *P'i cha men* (Vaiśravaṇa) addresses the following stanza to the Buddha:

I bow before the Buddhas, past, future and present;

I take refuge (*śaraṇa*) in the Buddha Śākyamuni.[508]

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[506] For the number and names of the past and future Buddhas, refer to Malalasekera, II, p. 295 and Hobogirin, *Butsu*, p. 195-197.

[507] Cf. Aṅguttara, V, p. 144: *Tayo bhikkhave dhammā loke na saṃvijjeyyuṃ, ... Jāti ca jarā ca marmaṇañ ca*.

[508] The same passage of the Dīrghāgama will be cited later at k. 9, p. 126a:

In the Dīrghāgama, a sūtra says: There was a king of the asuras, gauardian of the northern region; along with many hundreds of *koṭi*s of asuras, he went to the Buddha during the last watch of the night and, having prostrated to the Buddha, he sat down at one side; emitting pure light, he illumined the entire Jetavana with a great light. Joining his palms together, he praised the Buddha with these two stanzas:

Great hero, I take refuge in you!
Buddha, the greatest among those who walk on two feet.
What you know by means of your wisdom-eye
The gods are unable to understand.

Whether they are past, future or present,
I bow before all the Buddhas.
Thus today taking refuge in the Buddha,
I also pay homage to the Buddhas of the three times."

This passage is the beginning of the *Āṭānāṭikasūtra* of which two versions exist. The first has a proof: 1) the Sanskrit text found in central Asia and published by H. Hoffmann, *Bruchstücke des Āṭānāṭikasūtra*, Leipzig, 1939, p. 33; 2) the Chinese translation by Fa hien, entitled P'i cha men t'ien sang king, T 1245, p. 217a; 3) the Tibetan translation of the Bkaḥ ḥgyur, entitled *Kun tu rgyu ba daṅ kun tu rgyu ba ma yin pa daṅ ḥtun paḥi mdo* (cf. Csoma-Feer, p. 327). In this version, the sūtra takes place in Śrāvastī in the Jetavana, and Vaiśravaṇa addresses two stanzas to the Buddha. - The second version has as proof: 1) the Pāli *Āṭānāṭiyasuttanata* of the Dīghanikāya, III, p. 194; 2) the Tibetan translation of the Bhaḥ ḥgyur, entitled *Lcaṅ lo can gyi pho braṅ gi mdo* (cf. Csoma-Feer, p. 288). In this second version, the sūtra is located at Rājagṛha on Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata, and Vaiśravaṇa does not address any stanzas to the Buddha.

The extracts given here by the Mppś are taken from the first version. To be convinced of this, a glance at the Sanskrit text published by Hoffmann, l.c., p. 33 is sufficient:

evaṃ mayā śrutam. ekasamayaṃ bhagavāṃ śrāvastyāṃ viharati sma jetavane .... velāyāṃ gāthāṃ babhāse,

In this sūtra of yours, it is said that the king bows down before the Buddhas of the past (*atīta*), the future (*anāgata*) and the present (*pratyutpanna*) and that he takes refuge in Buddha Śākyamuni. Thus we know that, in the present, there Buddhas other [than Śākyamuni]. If the other Buddhas did not exist, why would the king first bow down to the Buddhas of the three times, then afterwards take refuge specially (*pṛthak*) in Śākyamuni? This king had not yet renounced all desire (*avītarāga*), but he was at the side of Śākyamuni and, as a result of the affection and respect he had for him, he took refuge in him. As for the other Buddhas, he bowed down before them.

4. *Place of appearance of the Buddhas*

[The disciples of Kātyāyanīputra]. - The Buddha said: "Two Buddhas do not appear simultaneously in the same world (*ekasmin lokadhātu*), just as two cakravartin kings do not appear simultaneously in the same world."[509] Therefore it is wrong that presently there are other Buddhas [than Śākyamuni].

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nam'astu te mahāvīra....

tvāṃ cāhaṃśaraṇaṃ gataḥ//

Instead of indicating the title of the sūtra, the Mppś, citing this passage twice, refers only to the collection, the *Dīrghāgama*. The Dīrghāgama which it uses is not the Pāli Dīghanikāya of the Theravādin-Vibhajjavādins since the Āṭānāṭikasuttanata found there does not contain the stanzas spoken by Vaiśravaṇa in honor of the Buddha. Neither is it the Dīrghāgama translated into Chinese about 412-413 by Buddhayaśas under the name *Tch'ang a han* (T 1) and which actually belongs to the Dharmaguptas (cf. the arguments of Watanabe, Przyluski and Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke buddh. Sūtras*, Lepzig, 1932, p. 229); indeed, this collection does not contain the *Āṭānāṭikasūtra*.

We have noticed several times already that the Mppś, citing 'the Vinaya' without any more precision, almost always is referring to the Che song liu (T 1435), the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya. We may therefore assume that the Dīrghāgama which is being used here also belongs to the Sarvāstivādin school. The Sarvāstivādins had a collection of eighteen 'great sūtras' of which the sixth, the *A t'cha na kien* (in the Ts'in language: 'Sūtra of the council of the demonic spirits') is none other than the *Āṭānāṭikasūtra* (cf. Che song liu, T 1435, k. 24, p. 174b; translation in S. Lévi, *Sur la récitation primitive des textes bouddhiques*, JA, May-June 1915, p. 419). Four of these 'great sūtras' have been found at Chotscho in central Asia, in a small anthology of sūtras ed. by E. Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke buddh. Sūtras*, Leipzig, 1932: these are the *Mahānidāna*, the *Śakrapraśna*, the *Bimbasāra* and the *Mahāsamājasūtra*. This anthology is indisputably of SarvaÔtivādin provenance (cf. Waldschmidt, p. 228).

509 A phrase which the Mppś will return to later, (k. 9, p. 125a) which is found in several sūtras.

a) In Pāli, e.g., in Aṅguttara, I p. 27-28: *Aṭṭhānaṃ etaṃ bhikkhave anavakāso yaṃ .... acarimaṃ uppajjeyyuṃ n'etaṃ ṭhānaṃ vijjatti*.

b) In Sanskrit, e.g., in Kośavyākhyā, p. 338: *Asthānam anavakāśo yad apūrvācaramau dvau tathāgatau loka utpadyayeyātām*.

c) In mixed Sanskrit, e.g., in Mahāvastu, III, p. 199: *Asthānaṃ khalv etam anavakāśaṃ .... loke utpadyensuḥ*.

We know from the Kośavyākyā that *asthānam* refers to the present and *anavakāśaḥ* to the future. Thus it may be translated: "It is impossible that in the present, in the future, two Tathāgatas appear in the same world without one preceding and the other following."

The phrase appears in many sūtras, e.g., Dīgha, II, p. 225; III, p. 114; Majjhima, III, p. 65; Aṅguttara, I, p. 27; Milinda, p. 236; Mahāvastu, III, p. 199; Tch'ang a han, T 1, k. 5, p. 31a; k. 12, p. 79a; Tchong a han, T 26, k. 47, p. 724a. - The great

[The Mahāyānists]. – 1. No doubt the Buddha said that; but you misunderstand the meaning of his words. The Buddha means that two Buddhas do not appear simultaneously in the same trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu (or trichiliomegachiliocosm); he does not say that in the universes of the ten directions (*daśadiglokadhātu*) there are not actually [several] Buddhas. Thus, two cakravartin kings do not appear simultaneously in the same caturdvīpika (or universe of four continents), for these very powerful beings have no rival in their domain. Consequently, in one caturdvīpaka there is one single cakravartin only. In the same way, two Buddhas do not appear simultaneously in one single trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu. Here the sūtra puts the Buddhas and the cakravartin kings on the same level. If you believe that there are [other] cakravartins in the other cāturdvīpakas, why do you not believe that there are [other] Buddhas in the other trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātus?[510]

2. Furthermore, one single Buddha cannot save all beings. If one single Buddha could save all beings, there would be no need for other Buddhas and only one single Buddha would appea*r*. But the qualities of the Buddhas (*buddhadharma*), who save beings to be converted (*vaineya*), perish as soon as they arise (*jātamātrā nirudhyante*) like the flame that is extinguished when the candle is used up; indeed, conditioned dharmas (*saṃskṛtadharma*) are transitory (*anitya)* and empty of self nature (*svabhāvaśhūnya*). Thus, in the present, there must be yet other Buddhas.[511]

[93c] 3. Finally, beings are numberless and suffering (*duḥkha*) is immense. This is why there must be magnanimous bodhisattvas and numberless Buddhas who appear in the world to save beings.

[The disciples of Kātyāyanīputra]. - It is said in the sūtra that the Buddha appears from age to age after a number of years as immense as the flower of the *Ngeou t'an p'o lo* (Udumbara) tree which appears once at regular times.[512] If the ten directions were full of Buddhas, the Buddha would appear easily, he could easily be found and we would not say that it is difficult to meet him.

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treatises have tried to interpret it: see, e.g., Kośa, III, p. 198-201; Bodh. bhūmi, p. 92; Madhyāntavibhaṅga, p. 152; and especially Saṃgraha, p. 332-333, 338.

[510] The interpretation given here by the Mahāyānists is recorded in the Madhyāntavibhaṅga, p. 152: *tathāgatayoś cakravartinoś .... api cāturdvīpaka evety apare*. - Tr. : "The [sūtra] says that two Tathāgatas and two cakravartins do not arise [simultaneously in the same world}. According to some, the world in question is a trichiliomegachiliocosm if it concerns Tathāgatas, but a universe-of-four-continents if it concerns the cakravartins. According to others, in both cases it is a matter of a universe-of-four-contintents." The Kośavyākhyā, p. 338, also mentions this two-fold explanation: "What should be understood by 'this same world? By 'this same world' one should understand either one single cāturdvīpaka or one single trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu."

[511] In several places (p. 272-273, 284, 328-329), the Saṃgraha shows how there must be one and many Buddhas at the same time.

[512] The post-canonical texts repeat ad nauseam that the appearance of a Buddha is as rare as the appearance of a flower on the Udumbara tree (*Ficus glomerata*) which bears fruit but does not have visible flowers: - Lalitavistara, p. 105: *tadyathā audumbarapuṣpaṃ ..... loke utpadyante*.

Tr. "Just as the Udumbara flower very rarely appears in the world, in the same way very rarely, in the course of many nayutas of koṭis of kalpas, do the Buddha Bhagavats appear in the world." - Sukhāvatīvyuha, v. 2: *tadyathaudumbarapuṣpāṇāṃ loke .... sudurlabhaḥ prādurbhāvaḥ*. Tr. "Just as, in the world, the appearance of the

[The Mahāyānists]. - No! It is in one single mahāsāhasralokadhātu that the Buddha usually appears after an immense number of years. It is not a question of the ten directions. Because sinners do not know how to honor him and do not seek the Path (*mārga*), we say that the Buddha appears from age to age after an immense number of years. Moreover, as punishment for their sins (*āpattipāka*), these beings fall into the evil destinies (*durgati*) where, for innumerable kalpas, they do not even hear the name of Buddha pronounced and still less see one. Due to these people, the appearance of the Buddha is said to be rare.

[The disciples of Kātyāyanīputra]. - If there really are numerous Buddhas and bodhisattvas in the ten directions, why do they not come to save all beings from sin (*āpatti*) and suffering (*duḥkha*)?

Udumbara flowers is very rare, in the same way the appearance of the Tathāgatas who desire the interest, who desire the good, who are full of compassion, is very rare." Saddharmapuṇḍarikā, p. 39: *tadyathāpi nāma udumbārapuṣpaṃ ... dharmadeśanāṃ kathayati*. Tr. "Just as the Udumbara flower appears only at certain times and in certain places, so are the times and places rare where the Tathāgata teaches the Dharma." - Sūtrālaṃkāra, tr. Huber, p. 396: "The Buddha is like the Udumbara flower wich is very hard to find." - The Mppś will return twice to this comparison at k. 9, p. 125c.

By glancing at these post-canonical and late works, many other examples of this comparison may be found. On the other hand, it does not occur in the Pāli suttas. Moreover, the Mppś is explicit: "It is said, *in the sūtra*, that the Buddha appears from age to age like the Udumbara flower." Having found nothing comparable in the Pāli canon, I [Lamotte] have turned my search towards the fragments of Sanskrit sūtras discovered in central Asia where the Sarvāstivādin influence was dominant. Here the comparison in question has been found in a fragment of the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, published by E. Waldschmidt, in his *Beitrage zur Textgeschichte des Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, Nachrichten v. d. gesell. der Wissens. zu Göttingen, Philol. Hist. Klasse, Band II, Nr. 3, 1939, p. 58 as note. In the Pāli Mahāparinibbanasuttānta (Dīgha, II, p. 155-156), the last moments of the Buddha are described in the following way: The Buddha asked the monks if they have any doubts concerning the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṃgha; on Ānanda's negative relply, he answered: Now, O monks, I have just this to say: All that is composite will decay; work tirelessly. These were the last words of the Tathāgata. - But the fragment of the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra in Sanskrit is more detailed. Having reported the negative reponse of Ānanda, the text continues: *atha bhagavān uttarāsaṅgam ekānte vivṛtya .... tatra tathāgatasya paścimā vācā*, Tr. "Then the Bhagavat lifted his undergarment on one side and said to the monks: Look, O monks, at the body of the Tathāgata. Look well, O monks, at the body of the Tathāgata. Why? The Tathāgatas, saints, the perfectly enlightened ones, are as rarely seen as an Udumbara flower. Well then, O monks, be tranquil! Everything compounded is perishable. Those were the last words of the Tathāgata."

The Mppś is therefore quite right when it tells us that the comparison with the Udumbara flower occurs 'in a sūtra'. As E. Waldschmidt comments, it also occurs in the Chinese versions of the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra:

T 1, k. 4, p. 26b: "The Tathāgatas appear in the world from age to age like the Udumbara flower which appears once in an epoch."

T 6, k. 2, p. 188b: "Usually it is difficult to meet a Buddha. There is on earth an Udumbara tree which does not flower but which bears fruit; if it produces a flower, then there is a Buddha in the world."

T 5, k. 2, p. 172c: "In Jambudvīpa there is a venerable king of the trees called Udumbara; it has fruits but no flowers. When it has flowers, then there is a Buddha in the world."

Previously we have seen that the flower of the Udumbara that grew north of Lake Mandākinī blossomed at the same time as the Buddha Śākyamuni and died at the same time he did.

[The Mahāyānists]. - These beings [have accumulated] faults (*āpatti*) and very serious taints (*mala*) for innumerable asaṃkhyeyakalpas. Although they have accrued all sorts of other merits (*puṇya*), they do not possess the qualities (*guṇa*) required to see a Buddha. Thus they do not see any. Some stanzas say:

When the reward for merits is far off,

When sins (*āpatti*) are not erased,

For that time, one cannot see

The Bhadanta, the man endowed with power.

Among the ārya bhadanta (i.e., the Buddhas)

Their intentions are unchangeable:

Out of loving kindness (*maitrī*) and compassion (*anukampā*) for all men,

They want to save them at all times.

But it is necessary that the merits (*puṇya*) of beings be ripe,

That their wisdom (*prajñā*) and their faculties (*indriya*) be keen,

That they thus fulfill the conditions of salvation

In order they may then attain deliverance.

In the same way that the great nāga king

Makes the rain fall in accordance with wishes,

So it is in accordance with his former actions, sins or merits

That each man is recompensed

[The disciples of Kātyāyanīputra]: [According to you], the Buddha is able to save men full of merits (*puṇya*) and endowed with wisdom (*prajñā*) but does not save men deprived of merits and wisdom. If that is so, men full of merits and endowed with wisdom do not derive their salvation from the Buddha.

[The Mahāyānists]: These merits and this wisdom do indeed derive their origin from the Buddha. If the Buddha did not appear in the world, the bodhisattvas would teach as Path (*mārga*) the ten good causes (*daśakuśalanidāna*),[513] the four limitless ones (*catvary apramāṇāni*)[514] and the various causes and conditions (*hetupratyaya*) that assure the retribution of sins and merits (*āpattipuṇyavipāka*) in the course of rebirths (*punarbhava*). If there were no Bodhisattva, this is the admonition found in all kinds of sūtras: "The person who practices this doctrine carries out meritorious actions."

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513 The ten wholesome paths of action (*kuśalakarmapatha*) will be described below, k. 8, p. 120b.

514 Loving kindness (*maitrī*), compassion (*karuṇā*), joy (*muditā*) and equanimity (*upekṣā*). See bibliography in Saṃgraha p. 52.

Furthermore, whatever the merits (*puṇya*) and the wisdom (*prajñā*) of men, [94a] if the Buddha did not appear in the world, men would receive their reward (*vipāka*) in this world but they would not be able to find the Path (*mārga*). [On the other hand], if the Buddha appears in this world, men find the Path and this is a great benefit. Thus, although a person has eyes, he sees nothing if the sun (*sūrya*) does not rise; light is necessary so that he can see something. However, he cannot say: "I have eyes; of what use are they to me?" The Buddha has said: "Two causes, two conditions give rise to right vision: 1) hearing the Dharma from another's mouth; 2) reflecting properly oneself."[515] Thanks to these merits, a man can be assured of a wholesome mind (*kuśalacitta*), sharp faculties (*tīkṣṇendriya*) and wisdom (*prajñā*) and thus reflect correctly. This is why we know that men derive their salvation from the Buddha.

These are the various and numerous errors [which we, Mahāyānists, discover among the disciples of Kātyāyanīputra], but as we wish to give the teaching (*upadeśa*) of the Prajñāpāramitā, we cannot expand further on secondary subjects.

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515 Aṅguttara, I, p. 87: *Dve 'me bhikkhave paccayā sammādiṭṭhiyā .... yoniso ca mansikāro*. - Cited also in Kośavyākhyā, p. 188 and Saṃgraha, p. 65. - The Nettipakaraṇa, p. 8, explains that the wisdom coming from meditation (*bhāvanāmayī paññā*) is the knowledge (*ñāṇa*) produced *parato ca ghosena paccattasamuṭṭhitena ca yonisomanasikārena*.

CHAPTER IX: THE MAHĀSATTVAS

The Sūtra says: Mahāsattva. What is a mahāsattva?[516]

Answer. - 1. *Mahā* means great, and *sattva* means being or bravery. The person who is able to accomplish a great work without regressing or turning back in his bravery is called mahāsattva.

2. Moreover, he is called mahÔattva because he is the chief of many beings.

3. Furthermore, he is called mahāÔattva because he feels great loving kindness (*mahāmaitrī)* amd great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*) for many beings; he establishes them (*avasthāpayati*) in the Greater Vehicle, he travels the great Path (*mahāmārga*) and attains a very high place.

4. Furthermore, he is called mahāsattva because he is endowed (*samanvāgata*) with the marks of the Great Man (*mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*).

The characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*) of the mahāsattva are described in the *Tsan fo kie* (Buddhastotragāthā):

Only the Buddha is the unique man, the foremost,

Father and mother of the threefold world, the omniscient one,

Among all beings he has no peer,

Homage to the Bhagavat who is unequaled!

Common people practice loving kindness in their own personal interest.

They seek a reward by making gifts.

[**94b**]The Buddha, in his great loving kindness, has no such goal.

He is as beneficent towards his enemies as towards his friends.

5. Furthermore, he is called mahāsattva because he must preach the Dharma and destroy the great wrong views (*mithyādṛṣṭi*) and the afflictions (*kleṣa*), such as great craving (*mahātṛṣṇā*), pride (*abhimāna*), great attachment to the self (*ātmasneha*), etc., in all others as well as in himself.

6. Finally, like the great ocean (*mahāsamudra*), beings (*sattva*) are without beginning and without end (*apūrvamadhyacarama*). A skillful teacher of arithmetic (*gaṇanācārya*) who would keep track for numberless years would not reach the end of them. This is what the Buddha said to the bodhisattva *Wou tsin yi* (Akṣayamati): "If all the universes (*lokadhātu*) of the ten directions to the ends of space *(ākaśa*)

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516 'Mahāsattva' refers to the altruistic virtues of the Bodhisattva, whereas the word 'bodhisattva' indicates rather his personal qualities. At least this is the most current interpretation; cf. Āloka, p. 22: *bodhau* sarvadharmāsaktatāyāṃ svārthasampadi sattvam abhiprāyo yeṣāṃ te *bodhisattvāḥ*. śrāvakā api syur evam ity āha: *mahāsattvā* iti. *mahatyāṃ* parārthasampadi sattvaṃ yeṣāṃ te *mahāsattvāḥ*. mahāsattvaṃ cānyathā 'pi tīrthikasādhujanavat syād iti bodhisattvagrahaṇam. - The epithet 'mahāsattva' is rendered in Tibetan as *sems dpaḥ chen po* "Great hero of mind", and in Chinese as *Ta che* "Great hero", *Ta tschong cheng* or *Ta yeou ts'ing* "Great being". Other definitions in Hobogirin, *Mahasatsu*, p. 141-142.

formed a single body of water, and innumerable and incalculable beings came, each with a hair, and took away one drop of it, there would still remain an incalculable number of beings. If by thus removing a drop on the end of a hair they succeeded in completely emptying this great body of water, the number of beings would still not be exhausted." This is why the number of beings is limitless (*ananta*), immense (*apramāṇa*), incalculable (*asaṃkhyeya*) and inconceivable (*acintya*).[517] The [bodhisattva] wishes to save them all, free them all from suffering and establish them all in the happiness of unconditioned safety (*asaṃskṛtayogakṣemasukha*). He is called mahasattva because he has made this great resolution to save these numerous beings.

Thus, *Ngeou chö na yeou p'o yi* (Āśā, the upāsikā) [518]said to the bodhisattva *Siu ta na* (Sudhana) in the *Pou k'o sseu yi king* (Acintyasūtra):[519]

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517 That the number of beings is infinite (*sattakāyo ananto*) is an old teaching. In his note on *Le Buddha éternel*, Siddhi, p. 807-808, de La Vallée Poussin has brought together a few references:

Kośa, III, p. 10: Even if no new being were to appear, even if innumerable Buddhas were to make innumerable beings attain nirvāṇa, the beings of the innumerable universes would never be exhausted.

Mahāvastu, I, p. xxxiii: But, Kāśyapa objects, if so many Buddhas exist and a single one leads an infinite number of creatures to nirvāṇa, soon they would lead all beings there. Kātyāyana answers by means of the immense number of pṛthagjanas which exist following the statement of the Buddha.

Cheou tchang louen, T 1657, p. 505b: Each of the Bhagavats who appear in the world lead an incalculable number of beings to nirvāṇa. Nevertheless, beings are not exhausted because they are infinite, like space. This is the teaching of the bodhisattva Vasubandhu.

518 The name of this upāsika, Āśā 'Hope' in the original Sanskrit, is transliterated in a bizarre fashion in all the Chinese translations. There is *Ngeou chö na* (85 and 11; 135 and 2; 163 and 4) in the Mppś, k. 4, p. 94b14. - *Hieou chö* (9 and 4; 64 and 8) in T 278, k. 47, p.697c7, and in T 279, k. 63, p. 342c21-22. - *Yi chö na* (9 and 4; 135 and 2; 163 and 4) in T 293, k. 7, p. 693b21.

Sudhana was addressed by Sāgarasvaja in the following words:

a. Gaṇḍavyūha, p. 99: *gaccha kulaputrehaiva .... bodhisattvacaryāyāṃ śikṣitavyam*. - Go, then, O son of noble family! Here in the Dakhan there is a region called Samudravetādī where there is a park called Samanatavyūha, east of the city of Mahāprabha; there dwells the Buddhist laywoman, Āśā, the wife of prince Suprabha. Go and find her and ask her how the bodhisattva should exert himself in the practice of the bodhisattva.

Instead of Samudravetāḍi, Mitra, *Nep. Buddh*. *Lit*., p. 91, reads Samudravelatī 'Shore of the Ocean'.

b. T 278, k. 47, p. 697c: Here in the Dekhan, there is a region called *Hai tch'ao* (85 and 7; 85 and 12: 'Flow of the Ocean'), where there is a park (*udyāna*) called *P'ou tchouang yen* (Samantavyūha); it is there that the upāsikā called *Hieou chö* (9 and 8; Āśā ?) lives. Go and find her and ask her, etc.

d. T 293, k. 7, p. 693b: Go south from here. You will come to the region of *Hai tch'ao* (85 and 7; 85 and 12; Flow of the Ocean). It has a large city called *Yuan man kouang* (41 and 10; 85 and 11; 10 and 4): Mahāprabha). That city has a king called *Miao yuan kouang* (38 and 4; 31 and 10; 10 and 4: Supraprabha). East of this city there is a park called *P'ou tchouang yen* (Samantavyūha). The king has a wife called *Yi chö na* (9 and 4; 135 and 2; 163 and 4: (Āśā ?): she is an upāsikā, she lives in this forest and is engaged in the practices of a bodhisattva. Go there and find her and ask her, etc.

519 Acintyasūtra, i.e., the Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra, a section of the Avataṃsaka. The passage quoted here occurs: i) in the Sanskrit text of the Gaṇḍavyūha, ed D. T. Suzuki-H. Idzumi, Kyoto, 1934-1936, p. 195-110; ii) in the version by Buddhabhadra, T 278, k. 47, p. 698c25 sq.; iii) in the version by Śiṣānanda, T 279, k. 64, p. 344b3 sq.; iv) in the version

"The bodhisattva-mahāsattvas do not produce the thought of supreme perfect enlightenment to save just one man alone (*na khalv ekasaṃdhāraṇatayā bodhisattvānāṃ mahāsattvānām anuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau cittam utpadyate*). Nor to save just two, three, etc., up to ten. Nor to save just 100 (*po* = śata), 1,000 (*ts'ien* = sahasra), 10,000 (*wan* = prabheda), 100,000 (*che wan* = lakṣha), 1,000,000 (*po wan* = atilakṣa), 10,000,000 (*yi* = koṭi), 100,000,000 (*che yi* = madhya), 1,000,000,000 (*po yi* = ayuta), 10,000,000,000 (*ts'ien yi* = mahāyuta), 100,000,000,000 (*wan yi* = nayuta)... [and so on, each term ten times as great as the preceding, up to the 122nd term of the series 1, 10, 100, 1,000... called anabhilāpya-anabhilāpya and equal to 1 followed by 121 zeros].

They do not produce the thought of bodhi just to save a number of beings equal to that of the atoms (*paramāṇu*) contained in one country, or in two or three up to ten, or one hundred, a thousand, ten thousand, one *koṭi*, one *ayuta*, one *nayuta* up to *anabhilāpyānabhilāpya* countries.

They do not produce the thought of bodhi just to save a number of beings equal to that of the atoms contained in Jambudvīpa, or in Godānīya, Uttarakuru and Pūrvavbideha.

[**95a**] They do not produce the thought of bodhi just to save the number of beings equal to that of the atoms contained in one sāhasra-cūḍika-lokadhātu (small chiliocosm), or in one dvisāhasra-madhyama-lokadhātu (dichiliocosm, medium universe), or in one trisāhasra-mahāsāharsra-lokadhmatu (trichiliomegachiliocosm), or in two, three, up to ten, a hundred, a thousand, ten thousand, one *koṭi*, one *ayuta*, one *nayuta* and up to *anabhilāpyānabhilāpya* trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātus.

They do not produce the thought of bodhi in order to serve and honor (*pūjopasthānatā*) just one Buddha, or a number of Buddhas equal to that of the number of atoms contained in one country, or even a number of Buddhas equal to that of the atoms contained in an *anabhilāpyānabhilāpya* number of trisāhasramahmasāhasralokadhātus.

They do not produce the thought of bodhi to purify just one single buddhafield (*ekabuddhakṣetrapariśodhana*) or even a number of buddhakśetras equal to that of the number of atoms contained in *anabhilāpyānabhilāpya* number of trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātus.

They do not produce the thought of bodhi to assure just one single teaching of the Buddha (*ekatathāgataśāsanasaṃdhāraṇa*) or even a number of *tathāgataśāsana* equal to that of the atoms contained in an *anabhilāpyānabhilāpya* number of tris....

They do not produce the thought of bodhi to prevent the cessation of one single lineage of Buddhas (*ekabuddhavaṃśachedanāvaraṇa)*, or even that of a number of *buddhavaṃśa* equal to that of the atoms contained in an *anabhilāpyānabhilāpya* number of tris....

They do not produce the thought of bodhi to know in detail just one single vow of Buddha (*ekabuddhapraṇidhānavibhaktiparijñā*), or even a number of *buddhapraṇidhāna* equal to that of the atoms contained in an *anabhilāynabhilpya* of tris....

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of Prajñā, T 293,, k. 8, p. 695c sq. The quotation of the Mppś does not reproduce any of these four versions exactly. The long list of numbers has been abridged in the three Chinese versions; that of the Sanskrit text does not correspond exactly with the list found here. The Mppś thus uses a special version of the Gaṇḍavyūha which has not come down to us.

They do not produce the thought of bodhi to adorn one single buddhafield (*ekabuddhakṣetravyūhāvataraṇa*), or even a number of *buddhakṣetra* equal to that of the atoms contained in an *anabhilāpyānabhilāpya* of tris....

They do not produce the thought of bodhi to know in detail one single Buddha assembly (*ekabuddhaparśanmaṇḍalavibhaktyavataraṇa*), or even a number of *buddhaparṣanmaṇḍala* equal to that of the atoms contained in an *anabhilāpyānabjilāpya* number of tris....

They do not produce the thought of bodhi to remember one single preaching of the Buddha (*ekatathāgatadharmacakrasaṃdhāraṇa*), or even a number of *tathāgatadharmacakra* s equal to that of the atoms contained in an *anabhilāpyānabhilāpya* number of tris....

They do not produce the thought of bodhi to cognize (*avataraṇa*)[520] the thoughts of one single being (*ekasattvacitta*), or the faculties of one single being (*ekasattvendriya*), or the succession of the cosmic periods (*kalpaparaṃparā*) in one single trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu.

They do not produce the thought of bodhi in order to destroy the afflictions of just one single being [**95b**] (*ekasattvakleśasamuccheda*), or even the *kleśa*s of a number of beings equal to the atoms contained in an *anabhilāpyānabhilāpya* number of trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu.

But here are the aspirations (*pranidhāna*) of the bodhisattva-mahāsattvas. The bodhisattvas produce the thought of bodhi and realize supreme perfect enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*) [for the following ten purposes]:

1) in order to convert the beings of the ten directions (*anavaśeṣasarvasattvavinayāya*),

2) in order to serve and honor all the Buddhas of the ten directions (*anavaśeṣasarvabuddhakṣetrapariśodanāya*),

3) in order to purify all the buddha fields of the ten directions (*anavaśeṣasarvabuddhakhetrapariśodhanāya*),

4) In order to retain firmly all the teachings of the Buddhas of the ten directions (*anavaśeṣabuddhaśāsanasaṃdhāraṇāya*),

5) in order to know in detail all the buddha fields (*sarvabuddhakṣetrabhaktyavataṇāya*),

6) in order to know in depth all the buddha assemblies (*sarvabuddhaparṣanmaṇḍalāvataraṇāya*),

7) in order to know in detail the minds of all beings (*sarvacittāvagāhanatāyai*),

8) in order to cut through the afflictions of all beings (*sarvasattvakleśasamucchedāya*),

9) in order to know in depth the faculties of all beings (*sarvasattvendritāvataraṇarāyai*).

These headings are the main ones (*pramukha*); they summarize the hundred, thousand, ten thousand, ten millions of *asaṃkhyeya* rules relating to the Path (*mārgadharmaparyāya*) which the bodhisattva must

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[520] Monier-Williams: *avataraṇa* = descending, translation.

know and penetrate. By means of this wisdom (*prajñā*) and knowledge (j*ñāna*) the bodhisattvas adorn all the buddha fields."

Āśā [also] said: " O son of noble family (*kulaputra*), thus would I like to have a universe (*lokadhātu*) where all beings are completely pure (*viśudda*) and where all the afflictions (*kleśa*) are cut through (*samucchinna*)."

Sudhana asked: "What is deliverance (*vimokṣa*)?"

Āṣā answered: "It is the banner of freedom-from-grief and of safety (*aśokayogakṣemadhvaja*). I know this single gate of deliverance (*ekavimokṣamukha*), but I am unable to understand these bodhisattvas; their great mind is like the ocean for they are in possession of all the buddhadharmas (*ete bodhisattvāḥ sāgarasamacittāḥ sarvabuddhadharmasaṃpratīcchanatayā*); their mind is unshakeable like Mount Sumeru (*merukalpācalacittāḥ*); they are like the king of physicians for they are able to cure all [the sicknesses] of the afflictions (*bhaiśajarājopamāḥ sarvakleśavyādhipramokṣaṇatyā)*; they are like the sun for they are able to scatter all the shadows [of ignorance] (*ādityakalpāḥ sarvāvidyāndhāravidhamanatayā)*; they are like the earth for they are able to support all beings (*dhāraṇīsamāḥ sarvasattvāśrayapratiṣṭhānabhūtatayā*); they are like the wind for they can strengthen all beings (*mārutasadṛśāḥ sarvajagadarthakaraṇatayā*); they are like fire for they can burn away the afflictions of all the heretics (*tejokalpāḥ sarvatīrthikakleśadahanatayā)*; they are like cloud for they can make the rain of Dharma (*meghopamā dharmavarṣapravarṣaṇatayā*) fall; they are like the moon for the rays of their merits light up everything (*candropamāḥ puṇyaraśmibhiḥ sarvālokakaraṇatayā*); they are like Śakradevendra for they protect all beings (*śakropamāḥ sarvajagadārakṣāpratipannatayā*). The practices of the bodhisattvas (*bodhisattvacaryā*) are very profound (*gambhīra*); how could I be know them all?"

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The bodhisattvas are called mahāsattva because they make the great vow (*mahāpraṇidhāna*), because they want to do the great work and because they want to arrive at the great place.

Finally, in the Mahāprajñāpāramitasūtra, [in the chapter entitled] *Mo ho sa to siang* (Mahāsattvalakṣāṇa), [521] the Buddha himself said that such and such characteristics are the characteristics of the mahāsattvas; and the great disciples such as *Chö li fou* (Śāriputra), *Siu p'ou t'i* (Subhūti), *Fou leou na* (Pūrṇa), etc., each have spoken about this chapter, therefore it was necessary to give it fully here.

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521 This chapter dedicated to 'Characteristics of the Mahāsattva' is part of the Pañcavimśati. It is called *Sarvasattvāgratācittaparivarta* in the Sanskrit text (ed. N. Dutt, p. 169-172); - *Mo ho sa p'in* (Mahāsattvaparivarta) in Mokṣala's version, T 221, chap. XV, k. 3, p. 19c-20a; - *Mo ho sa p'in* (Mahāsattvaparivarta) in Dharmarakṣa's version, T 222, chap. XI, k. 5, p. 178-181; - *Kin kang p'in* (Vajraparivarta) in Kumārajīva's version, T 223, chap. XIII, k. 4, p. 243b-244a.

CHAPTER X: THE QUALITIES OF THE BODHISATTVAS

Text of the sūtra commented on in this chapter (cf. Pañcaviṃśati, p. 4; Śatasāhasrikā, p. 4-5):

Bodhisattvaiḥ sārdhaṃ sarvair (1) dhāraṇīpratilabdhaiḥ (2) samādhipratilabdhaiḥ śūnyatā-nimittāpraṇihitagocaraiḥ (3) samatākṣāntipratilabdhair (4) asaṅgadhāraṇīpratilabdhair (5) pañcābhijñair (6) ādeyavacanair (7) akusīdair (8) apagatalābhayaśaścittair (9) nirāmiṣadharmadeśakair (10) gambhīradharmakṣāntipāraṃgatair (11) vaiṣāradyaprāptair (12) mārakarmasamatikrāntaiḥ (13) karmāvaraṇapratiprasrabdhaiḥ (14) pratītyasamutpannadharmanirdeśakuśalair

(15) asaṃkhyeyakalpapraṇidhānasusamārabdhaiḥ (16) smitamukhair pūrvābhilāpibhir (17) mahāparṣanmadhye vaiśāradyasamanvāgatair (18) anantakalpakoṭidharmanirdeśaniḥsaraṇakuśalaiḥ.

He was accompanied by bodhisattvas who possessed the dhāraṇis, who coursed in the concentrations of emptiness, signlessness and wishlessness[522], who possessed the equalities and the patiences, who had acquired the unhindered dhāraṇis, who possessed the five superknowledges, who had words worthy of faith, who were without laziness, who had rejected covetousness and ambition, who preached the doctrine with disinterest, who had crossed over to the other shore of the acceptance of the profound dharmas, who had attained the fearlessnesses, who had gone beyond the works of Māra, who were freed of the action obstacle, who were skilled in teaching dependent origination, who had formulated their vows for incalculable periods; they spoke with smiling faces; in the great assembly, they were endowed with the fearlessnesses; for innumerable *koṭis* of kalpas, they were skilled in preaching the Dharma and in surpassing.

1. DHĀRAṆIPRATILABDHA

[95c] *Sūtra*: All these bodhisattvas possessed the dhāraṇīs, coursed in the concentrations of emptiness, signlessness and wishlessness, possessed the equalities and the patiences. (*Sarvair dhāraṇīpratilabdhaiḥ śūnyatānimittāpraṇihitasamādhigocaraiḥ*).

Śāstra: Question. - Why does the sūtra then praise the bodhisattva-mahāsattvas by means of these three points?

Answer. - 1. In order to emphasize the real qualities (*guṇa*) of the bodhisattvas, the sūtra must praise them. It praises that in which one ought to have faith in order that one may believe in it. It praises the bodhisattvas because all beings do not believe in their profound (*gambhīra*) and pure (*viśuddha*) qualities.

2. Furthermore, in the beginning the sūtra mentioned the bodhisattva-mahāsattvas because they possessed the dhāraṇīs, the concentrations (*samādhi*), the patiences (*kṣānti*) and the other qualities (*guṇa*).

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[522] This is the usual translation for *āpraṇihita*. Monier-Williams gives for *praṇihita* : 'directed towards, committed, resolved, determined, fixed upon, intent upon, one who has his thoughts concentrated on one point', etc.

Question. - We understand the reason for the order followed here, but what is it that is called a dhāraṇī? What is a dhāraṇī?

Answer. - 1. In the Ts'in language, dhāraṇī means 'capable of holding' (*dhāraṇa*) or 'capable of preventing' (*vidhāraṇa*).

a. 'Capable of holding': Joining all sorts of good dharmas (*kuśaladharma*), dharāṇī 'holds' them (*dhārayati*) so that they are not dispersed or lost.[523] It is like a good vessel (*bhājana*) filled with water from which the water does not leak out.

b. 'Capable of preventing': Detesting the roots of evil (*akuśalamūla*), dhāraṇī prevents them (*vidhārayati*) from arising. It prevents the committing of evil by those who would want to commit it. That is what is called dhāraṇi.

This dhāraṇī is associated with mind (*cittasaṃprayukta)* or dissociated from mind (*cittaviprayukta*), impure (*sāsrava*) or pure (*anāsrava*), nonmaterial (*ārūpya*), invisible (*anidarśana*), not offering resistance (*apratigha*); it is contained in one element (*dhātu*), one basis of consciousness (*āyatana*) and one aggregate (*skandha*), namely, dharmadhatu, dharmāyatana and saṃskāraskandha.[524]

Nine knowledges (*jñāna*) cognize it [Note: it is outside the knowledge of destruction of the afflictions (*kṣayajñāna*)]. One single consciousness (*vijñāna*) is aware of it [Note: the mental consciousness (*manovijñāna*)]. According to the Abhidharma, this is the definition of dhāraṇī.

2. Furthermore, the bodhisattva who possesses dhāraṇī, (*smṛtibala*) is able to retain and not forget all the teachings that he has heard (*śrutadharma*) by the power of his memory,.

3. Furthermore, dhāraṇī accompanies the bodhisattva always. Like a chronic fever, it never leaves him; like a ghost, it always follows him. It is like the good and the bad disciplines (*saṃvara*).

[96a] 4. Furthermore, dhāraṇī prevents the bodhisattva from falling into the two chasms of the earth. It is like the kind father who rescues his son as he is about to fall into a ditch.

5. Finally, when the bodhisattva has the power of the dhāraṇīs, neither king Māra, his family nor his warriors can unsettle him, destroy or conquer him. He is like Mount Sumeru which the worldly wind cannot shake.

Question. - How many types of dhāraṇī are there?

Answer. - There are many types:[525]

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523 Cf. Lalitavistara, P. 35: *dhāraṇī pratilambho dharmālokamukhaṃ sarvabuddhabhāṣitādhāraṇatāyai saṃvartate*.

524 For these categories, see Kośa, I, p. 30.

525 Among the various types of dhāraṇI, we may note:

a. Mahādharmadhāraṇī, Siddhi, p. 613-614.

b. Śruta-, vibhajyajñāna- and ghoṣapraveśadhāraṇis fully defined here and to which the Mppś will return at k. 28, p. 268.

c. Dharma-, artha-, mantra- and kṣāntilābhadhāraṇīs in Bodh. bhūmi, p. 272-273.

d. The twelve dhāraṇīs of the Mahāvyutpatti, no. 747-758.

1) The first is called *śrutadharadhāraṇī*. The person who possesses this dhāraṇī never forgets the words and the teachings that he has heard with his ears.

2) There is also the *vibhajyajñānadhāraṇī*. The person who possesses it knows in detail the qualities of beings, how tall they are or how short they are, how beautiful or how ugly they are. A stanza says:

Among elephants, horses and metals

Among wood, stones and garments,

Among men, women, and waters,

There are all kinds of differences.

Individuals [of the same species] bear the same name

But their values differ.

The person who possesses this dhāraṇī

Can always distinguish them.

3) Finally there is the *ghoṣapraveṣadhāraṇī*. The bodhisattva who possesses it hears all kinds of words and neither rejoices nor is irritated by sounds. For kalpas as numerous as the sands of the Ganges (*gaṅganadīvālukopamakalpa*) all beings may slander him and abuse him, but he would feel no irritation.

Question. - The impurities (*āsrava*) are not destroyed (*kṣīna*) in the bodhisattva: how then can he withstand this evil treatment for kalpas as numerous as the sands of the Ganges?

Answer. – 1) We have said that here it is a matter of the bodhisattva who has acquired this dhāraṇī [and not of all bodhisattvas indiscriminately].

2) Furthermore, although he has not destroyed his impurities, the bodhisattva possesses great wisdom (*mahājñāna*), keen faculties (*tīkṣnendriya*) and is able to be attentive (*manasikāra*). He chases away any angry thought by saying to himself: "If my ear (ś*rotendriya*) did not perceive sounds at such a great distance, to whom would these insult reach?"

3) Moreover, if he hears insults, he passes them by. Who would be irritated by what he does not distinguish? It is the ordinary person (*pṛthagjana*) who is attached to the self and who develops hatred (*dveṣa*) by distinguishing 'yes' and 'no'.

4) Moreover, the person who knows that words perish as soon as they arise (*jātamātrā nirudyante*) and that 'before' and 'after' are not joined, feels no anger. He knows that dharmas have no inner guide; [under these conditions] who insults, who is irritated?

The person who hears various words from different sides [considers] some as good and others as bad. But if good and bad are indeterminate (*aniyata*), one does not get irritated when one is insulted. The person who knows that words are indeterminate (i.e., neither good nor bad) feels neither anger nor joy. If his friends insult him, he is not angry insulted though he may be; but if his enemies slander him, he feels animosity. If he has to undergo wind or rain, he goes back into his house or takes his coat; if the ground is

thorny, he puts on his shoes; if it is very cold, [96b] he makes a fire; when it is hot, he looks for water. He looks for a remedy (*pratikāra*) for all these troubles without getting irritated about them. [The bodhisattva] acts in the same way with regard to insults and nastiness. It is only by loving-kindness (*maitrī*) and compassion (*karuṇā*) that he puts an end to them; he never experiences anger.

5) Furthermore, the bodhisattva knows that all dharmas are non-arising (*anutpanna*), unceasing (*aniruddha*) and empty of self-nature (s*vabhāvaśūnya*). If anyone hates him, insults him, strikes or kills him, he considers that as a dream (*svapna*), as a [magical] metamorphosis (*nirmāṇa*): "Who then gets angry, who is insulting?"

6) Finally, if, during kalpas as numerous as the sands of the Ganges (*gaṅgānadīvalukopamakalpa*), beings praise him and offer him robes (*cīvara*), food (*āhāra*), flowers (*puṣpa*), perfumes (*gandha*) and necklaces (*keyūra*), the bodhisattva who has acquired this dhāraṇī (read *t'o lo ni* instead of *jen*) feels no emotion, no joy, no attachment.

Question. - Now we know all the reasons why the bodhisattva does not get angry [when he is insulted], but we do not know why he feels no joy (*muditā*) when his qualities (*guṇa*) are praised.

Answer. – 1) The bodhisattva knows that all offerings and all tributes (*satkāra*) are transitory (*anitya*). If today there are reasons why people come to praise and honor him, tomorrow there will be others who will expose him to hatred, blows and death. This is why he is not joyful [when he is praised].

2) Furthermore, the bodhisattva says to himself: "They come to praise and honor me because I have qualities (*guṇa*) and wisdom (*prajñā*). It is my qualities and not my person that they praise. Why should I be joyful?"

3) Furthermore, "If this person praises my activity (*kāritra*) and my qualities (*guṇa*), it is out of desire for a reward (*phalavipāka*) rather than out of admiration for me. Thus, when a man plants seed-grain. waters it and cultivates it, the earth feels no joy."

4) "If someone honors me and I welcome him joyfully, my merit (*puṇya*) will be slight and his also will be of little value." This is why he does not rejoice.

5) Finally, the bodhisattva considers all dharmas as a dream (*svapna*) or an echo (*pratiśrutkā*). He asks himself: " Who is praising me? Who is rejoicing? I have not found deliverance (*vimokṣa*) in the threefold world (*tridhātuka*); my impurities (*āsrava*) have not been destroyed (*kṣīṇa*); I have not attained Buddhahood. Why should I rejoice in obtaining praise? If anyone should rejoice, it is only the Buddha, the unique man (*eka pudgala*), for all qualities *(guṇa)* are perfected (*paripūrṇa*) in him." This is why the bodhisattva feels no joy in receiving all sorts of praise, tribute or offerings.

These are the characteristics of the *ghoṣapraveśadhāraṇī*. There are yet other dhāraṇīs:

Tsi mie t'o lo ni (śāntidhāraṇī), *Wou pien t'o lo ni* (anantadhāraṇī), *Souei ti kouan t'o lo ni* (bhūmyanupaśyanādhāraṇī), *Wei tö t'o lo ni* (anubhāvadhāraṇī), *Houa yen t'o lo ni*

(padmavyūhadhāraṇ*ī*), *Yin tsing t'o lo ni* (goṣapariśuddhidhāraṇī), *Hiu k'ong tsang t'o lo ni* (gaganagarbhadhāraṇī), *Hai tsang t'o lo ni* (sāgaragarbhadhāraṇī), *Fen pie tchou fa ti t'o lo ni*

(sarvadharmabhūmiprabhedadhāraṇī), *Ming tschou fa yi t'o lo ni* (sarvadharmārthālokadhāraṇī)[526] and so on.

In all (*samāstaḥ*), there are five hundred dhāraṇīs. If they were all described in detail, it would be endless. That is why it is said that the bodhisattvas have acquired the dhāraṇīs (*dhāraṇīpratilabdha*).

2. SAMĀDHIGOCARA

The three concentrations (*samādhi*) are those of emptiness (*śūnyatā*), wishlessness (*apraṇihita*) and signlessness (*ānimitta*).[527]

1) Some say: Śūnyatā is seeing that the five aggregates (*skandha*) are not the self (*anātman*) and do not belong to the self (*anātmya*). - *Apraṇihita* is, within the *śūnyatāsamādhi*, not producing the three poisons (*triviṣa*, namely, passion, aggression and ignorance) in the future.[528] - *Ānimitta* has for its object (*ālambana*) the dharma free of the following ten marks (*daśanimittarahita*): *a*) the five dusts (*rajas*, namely, color, sound, smell, taste and touch); *b*) male and female; *c*) arising (*utpāda*), continuance (*sthiti)*, cessation (*bhaṅga*).

2) Others say: *Śūnyatāsamādhi* is the concentration in which one knows that the true nature of all dharmas (*sarvadharmasatyalakṣaṇa*) is absolutely empty (*atyantaśūnya*). - When one knows this emptiness, there is *apraṇidhāna*.

What is *apraṇidhāna*? It is not considering dharmas to be empty (*śūnya*) or non-empty (*aśūnya*), existent (*sat)* or non-existent (*asat*), etc. The Buddha said in a stanza from the *Fa kiu* (Dharmapada):

> When one considers existence, one is afraid;
>
> When one considers non-existence, one is also afraid.
>
> This is why one should not be attached to existence

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[526] Except for the *ananta*- and the *padmavyūhadhāraṇī* cited in the Mahāvyutpatti, no. 751 and 753, the restoration of the Sanskrit terms is conjectural.

[527] The three samādhis are not always cited in the same order or defined in the same way:

i) The Pāli sources have *suññato samādhi, animitto samādhi, appaṇihito samādhi*: Vinaya, III, p. 93; Dīgha, III, p. 219; Saṃyutta, IV, p. 360; Milinda, p. 337. Definitions in Atthasālinī, p. 179 sq. - Same order in Kośa, VIII, p. 184.

ii) *Śūnyatāsamādhi, apraṇihitasamādhi, ānimmittasamādhi* in most of the Sanskrit and Chinese sources: Tch'ang a han, T 1 (no. 9), k. 8, p. 50b; Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 16, p. 630b; P'i p'o cha. T 1545, k. 104, p. 538a; Sūtrālaṃkāra, XVIII, 77, ed. Lévi, p. 148; Bodh. bhūmi, p. 276, which has good definitions.

[528] In *śūnyatāsamādhi,* one knows that whatever is conditioned (*saṃskṛta)* is not the self, does not belong to the self, that it is empty (*śūnya*) without self nature (*svabhāvavena virahita*). As a result, in the next samādhi, the *apraṇihitasamādhi*, one does not form either *praṇidhāna* or *apraṇidhāna* towards them or, in the words of the Mppś, one does not feel passion (*rāga*), aggression (*dveṣa*) or ignorance (*moha*) towards them. *Apraṇihita* thus consists of not producing the three poisons towards future conditioned phenomena. Cf. the definition of Bodh. bhūmi, p. 276: *apraṇihitasamādhiḥ katamaḥ. iha bodhisattvasya .... ity ucyate*.

Or to non-existence.

This is *aparaṇihitasamādhi.*

What is *ānimittasamādhi*? All dharmas are free of marks (*animitta*). Not accepting them, not adhering to them is *ānimittasamādhi*. A stanza says:

When words (*vāda*) are stopped

The functioning of the mind (*cittapravṛtti*) also ceases.

This is non-arising (*anutpāda*), non-cessation (*anirodha*)

The similarity with nirvāṇa.

3) Furthermore, śūnyatā is the eighteen emptinesses (*aṣṭadaśaśūnyatā*).[529] - *Apraṇihitasamādhi* is not searching for any kind of *bhāva* or existence. (Note: the five *gati*s, *upapattibhava*, *pūrvakālabhava*, *maraṇabhava*, *antarābhava* and *karmabhava*; cf. Kośa, III, p. 117). - *Ānimittasamādhi* is suppressing all the marks of the dharmas (*sarvadharmanimitta*) and not paying attention to them (*amanasikāra*).

Question. - There are *dhyāna*s and attainments (*samāpatti)* of all sorts. Why talk here only about these three concentrations (*samādhi)*?

Answer. - In these three samādhis, the attentiveness (*manasikāra*) is close to nirvāṇa; as a result, the mind of the person is neither too high nor too low, but evened out (*sama*) and motionless (*acala*). This is not the case in other states [of mind]. This is why we speak here only of these three samādhis. In the other samāpattis, sometimes it is desire (*kāma*) that predominates, sometimes pride (*māna*), sometimes wrong views (*dṛṣṭi*); but in these three samādhis, it is the absolute (*paramārtha*), the true reality (*bhūtārtha*), the ability to attain the gates of nirvāṇa. This is why, among all the dhyānas and samāpattis, these three emptinesses are the three gates of deliverance (*vimokṣamukha*) and are also called the three samādhis, for these three samādhis are the true samādhi. The other *samāpatti*s also have the name 'samāpatti'. Moreover, except for the four principal dhyānas (*mauladhyāna*), the concentrations from the *anāgamya* up to the *bhavāgra* [97a] are called samāpatti and also samādhi, but not dhyāna. As for the four dhyānas, they are called samāpatti or also dhyāna or also samādhi. The other concentrations as well are called samāpatti or also samādhi: for example, the four *apramāṇa*s, the four *ārūpyasamāpattis*, the four *pratisaṃvid*s, the six *abhijñā*s, the eight *vimokṣa*s, the eight *abhibhvāyatana*s, the nine *anupūrvasamāpatti*s, the ten *kṛtsnāyatana*s and the other *samāpattidharma*s.

Some say that there are twenty-three kinds of samādhi; others say sixty-five, still others say five hundred. But as the Mahāyana is great, there are innumerable samādhis, such as:

Pien fa sing tchouang yen san mei, Neng tchao yi ts'ie san che fa to san mei, Pou fen pie tche kouan fa sing ti san mei, Jou wou ti fo fa san mei, Jou hiu k'ong wou ti wou pien tchao san mei, Jou lai li hung kouan san mei. Fo wou wei tchouang yen li p'in chen san mei, Fa sing men siuan tsang san mei,

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[529] List and definition of the 18 *śūnyatā*s in Pañcavimśati, ed. N. Dutt, p. 24, 195-198; commentary in Mppś, k. 31, p. 285b-296b.

Yi ts'ie che kiai wou ngai tchouang yen pien yue san mei, Pien tchouang yen fa yun kouang san mei.

The bodhisattva acquires innumerable samādhis of this kind.

Furthermore, in the Prajñāpāramitā, in the *Mo ho yen yi* chapter (Mahāyānārtha)[530], the 108 samādhis are enumerated as a whole *(samāsataḥ*: the first is the *Hiu k'ong pou tche pou jan san mei* (Śūraṃgamasamādhi) and the last is the *Hiu k'ong pou tche pou jan san mei* (Ākāśasaṅgavimuktinirupalepasamādhi). If they were to be enumerated in detail, there are innumerable samādhis. This is why the sūtra says that the bodhisattvas have acquired the concentrations (*samādhipratilabdha*) and course in emptiness, wishlessness and signlessness (*śūnyatāpraṇihitānimittagocara*).

Question. - The sūtra says first of all that the bodhisattvas have obtained the concentrations (*samādhi-pratilabdha*); why does it then say that they course in emptiness, wishlessness and signlessness (*śūnyatāpraṇihitānimittagocara*)? [Is that not a tautology?]

Answer. - First the sūtra speaks about samādhi but says nothing about its characteristics. Now it wants to speak about its characteristics and it enumerates emptiness, wishlessness and signlessness. When someone courses in emptiness, wishlessness and signlessness, it can be said that they have acquired the true samādhis (*bhūtalakṣaṇasamādhi*). Some stanzas say:

He who observes the purity of the precepts (*śīlavisuddhi*)

Is called a true bhikṣu.

He who contemplates emptiness (*śūnyatā*)

Has truly obtained the samādhis.

He who demonstrates zeal (*vīrya*)

Is called a true devotee.

He who has attained nirvāṇa

Is called truly blessed.

3. SAMATĀKṢĀNTIPRATILABDHA

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530 This chapter, dedicated to the Meaning of the Mahāyāna and where the 108 samādhis are enumerated, is part of the Pañcaviṃśati. It is entitled *Mo ho yen p'in* (Mahāyānaparivarta) in Mokṣala's version, T 221, chap. XIX, k. 4, p. 22c-24c; - *San mei p'in* (Samādhiparivarta) in Dharmarakṣa's version T 222, chap. XVI, k. 6, p. 188c-193a; - *Wen tch'eng* (Yānaparipṛcchā) in Kumārajīva's version, T 223, XVIII, k. 5, p. 250a-253b. - A Sanskrit list of the 108 samādhis occurs in the Pañcaviṃśati,. ed. N. Dutt, p. 142-144; Mahāvyutpatti, no. 506-623.

The bodhisattvas have acquired the equalities (*samatā*)[531] and the patiences (*kṣānti*).

Question. - What are the equalities and what are the patiences?

Answer. - There are two kinds of equalities (*samatā*): equality toward beings (*sattvasamatā*) and equality toward dharmas (*dharmasamatā*).[532] There are also two types of patiences (*kṣānti*), patience towards beings (*sattvakṣānti)* and patience towards dharmas (*dharmakṣānti*).

1) What is *sattvasamatā*? This is to share one's thoughts (*citta*), memories (*smṛti)*, affection (*anunaya*) and benefits (*arthakriyā*) equally with all beings.

Question. - By the power of loving-kindness (*maitrī*) and compassion (*karuṇā*) one grants an equal part in one's memories to all beings, but one cannot consider all in the same way. Why?

[97b] The bodhisattva follows the path of truth (*satyamārga*), is free of error (*viparyāsa*) and is in accord with the nature of phenomena (*dharmalakṣaṇa*). How could he consider the good person and the evil person, the great man and the small man, a human and an animal (*tiryañc*), as identical (*eka*) and equal (*sama)*? In the evil person there is really an evil nature (*akuṣalalakṣaṇa*); in the good person there is truly a good nature (*kuśalalakṣaṇa*); the same for the great man and the small man. The specific nature of the cow (*golakṣaṇa*) occurs in the cow and that of the horse (*aśvalakṣaṇa*) occurs in the horse. The specific nature of the cow does not occur in the horse and that of the horse does not occur in the cow, for the horse is not the cow. Each being has its own specific nature. Would not the bodhisattva be making a mistake in considering all as identical and equal?

Answer. - If the good nature and the evil nature truly existed, the bodhisattva would be making a mistake [in confusing the good person and the evil person], for he would be misconstruing the nature of dharmas (*dharmalakṣaṇa*). But phenomena are non-real: the good nature is not real, the evil nature is neither many nor rare. That which is not a human is not an animal. [Among phenomena] there is neither identity (*ekatva*) nor difference (*pṛthaktva*). This is why your objection is not valid. Some stanzas define the nature of dharmas as follows:

Non-arisen (*anutpanna*), non-destroyed (*aniruddha*),

Unceasing (*anucchinna*), non-eternal (*aśaśvata*),

Neither identical (*eka*) nor different (*anya*),

Without coming or going,

Dharmas resulting from causes (*pratītyasamutpanna*)

Escape from all vain prolixity (*prapañca*).

The Buddha is able to define them;

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[531] For the equalities, see Hobogirin, *Byßdß*, p. 270-276.

[532] *Sattvasamatā* and *dharmasamatā* are well described in Bodh, bhūmi, p. 286: *bodhisattvo 'nukaṃpāsahagatena cittena samacitto ....cetasā sarvasattveṣu samacitto viharati*.

I pay homage to him.

Furthermore, in regard to beings, [the bodhisattva] is not attached (*nābhiniviśate*) to a nature (*lakṣaṇa*) of any kind of nature; beings are empty of characteristics (*lakṣaṇaśūnya*); from this point of view, they are identical (*eka*), equal (*sama*), without difference (*ananya*). Seeing this is s*attvasamatā*. The person who maintains an unfettered equality of mind (*cittasamatā*) toward them enters directly into the absence of regression (*avinivartana*); he is called *samatākṣāntipratilabdha*. The bodhisattva who has acquired the equalities and the patiences experiences no hatred or anger toward beings. He loves them like a loving mother loves her son. A stanza says:

To consider sounds as echoes (*pratiśrutka*)

And bodily actions as reflections (*pratibimba*);

The person who sees things thus,

How could he not be patient?

This is what is called *sattvasamatākṣānti*.

2) What is *dharmasamatākṣānti*? [The bodhisattva] is established in the doctrine of non-duality (*advayadharmaparyāya*) and the doctrine of the true nature (*satyalakṣaṇadharmaparyāya*) in respect to all dharmas, good (*kuśala*) or bad (*akuśala*), impure (*sāsrava*) or pure (*anāsrava*), conditioned (*saṃskṛta*) or unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*), etc. Then when he has penetrated deeply into the true nature of dharmas (*dharmāṇām satyalakṣaṇam*), his patience of mind (*cittakṣānti)* enters directly into the elimination of controversy (*nirdvandva*) and the absence of obstacles (*anāvaraṇa*). This is what is called *dharmasamatākṣānti*. A stanza says:

Dharmas are non-arisen (*anutpanna*) and non-destroyed (*aniruddha*),

Neither unborn nor non-destroyed,

Both non-arisen and non-destroyed, neither non-arisen nor non-destroyed,

Both neither non-arisen nor non-destroyed, nor arisen nor destroyed.

[97c] Those who have acquired deliverance (*vimokṣapratilabdha*) [Note: deliverance is the suppression of wrong views] reject all vain prolixity (*prapañca*). When the path of discourse (*vādamārga*) is suppressed (*samucchinna*), one penetrates deeply into the Buddha's Dharma. The mind is penetrating, free of obstacles (*anāvaraṇa*), immoveable (*acala*) and non-regressing (*avinivartana*). This is what is called *anutpattika[dharma]kṣānti.* This is why it is said that the bodhisattvas are *samatākṣāntipratilabdha*.

4. ASAṄGADHĀRAṆIPRATILABDHA

Sūtra: These bodhisattvas have obtained the dhāraṇī without obstacles (*asaṅgadhāraṇīpratilabdha).*

Śāstra: Question - The sūtra has already said that the bodhisattvas have obtained the dhāraṇīs (*dhāraṇīpratilabdha*); why does it repeat here that they have obtained the dhāraṇī without obstacles (*asaṅgadhāraṇī*)?

Answer. – 1) Because the *asaṅgadhāraṇī* is very important. Just as the samādhi called 'King of Samādhi' is the most important of all the samādhis in the way that a king is relative to his subjects; just as the 'Deliverance without Obstacles' (*asaṅgavimokṣa*) [Note: this is the deliverance acquired when one reaches Buddhahood] is the most important of all the vimokṣas, so the *asaṅgadhāraṇī* is superior to all the dhāraṇīs.

2) Furthermore, the sūtra says first that the bodhisattvas have acquired the dhāraṇīs, but we do not know what kind of dhāraṇī. There are small dhāraṇīs such as those obtained by the cakravartin kings, the ṛṣīs, etc.: for example, the śrutadharadhāraṇī, the sattvaprabhedadhāraṇī, the namaḥśaraṇāparityāgadhāraṇī. Other people can likewise possess the lesser dhāraṇīs of this kind. But this asaṅgadhāraṇī cannot be obtained by heretics (*tīrthika*), śrāvakas, pratyekabuddhas and [even] the beginning bodhisattvas (*ādikārmikabodhisattva*). Only the bodhisattvas full of immense merit (*apramānapuṇya*), wisdom (*prajñā*) and great power (*mahābala*) are able to possess it. That is why it is spoken of separately here.

3) Finally, these bodhisattvas who have assured their own interest (*anuprāptasvakārtha*) desire only to benefit beings, preach the Dharma to them and convert them ceaselessly. They use this *asaṅgadhāraṇī* as basis. This is why the bodhisattvas always practice the *asaṅgadhāraṇī*.

5. PAÑCĀBHIJÑA

Sūtra: These bodhisattvas possessed all the five superknowledges (*sarvaiḥ pañcābhijñaiḥ*).

Śāstra: The five *abhijñā*s are: i) magical power (*ṛddhi*), ii) the divine eye (*divyacakṣus*), iii) the divine ear (*divyaśrotra*), iv) knowledge of others' minds (*paracittajñāna*); v) memory of former lifetimes (*pūrvanivāsānusmṛti*).[533]

A. What is ṛddhi or magical power?[534]

1) There are four kinds of *gamana* or movement:[535] *i*) to go by flying like a bird (*yathā śakuniḥ pakṣī)* without encountering any obstacles (*āvaraṇa*);[536] *ii*) to change distance into proximity

[533] The sources for these abhijñās are numerous. See Rhys Davids-Stede, s.v. *Abhiñña*; P'i p'o cha, T 1545.p. 727b; Kośa, VII, p. 97-126; Mahāvyutpatti, np. 202-209; Dharmasaṃgraha, ch. XX; Pañcaviṃśati. 83-88; Daśabhūmika, p. 34-37; Madh. āvatara, p. 56 (tr. Lav., in Muséon, 1907, p. 301); Śikṣasamuccaya, p. 243; Pañjikā, p. 428; Sūtrālaṃkāra, ed. Lévi, VII, 1;XXI, 48; Bodh. bhūmi, p. 58; Uttaratantra, p. 148. 180, 199; A p'i ta mo tsi louen, T 1605, k. 7, p. 691b; A p'i ta mo tsa tsi louen, T 1606, k. 14, p. 759c. - Among the works, we may mention: P. Demiéville, *La mémoire des existences antérieures*, BEFEO, XXVII, 1927, p. 283-298; L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Le Bouddha et le Abhijñā*, 1931, p. 335-342; S. Lindquist, *Siddhi und Abhiññā, eine Studie über die klassischen Wunder des Yoga*, Uppsala, 1935.

[534]The main source is the Sūtra of the Ṛddhyabhijñā, the Pāli text of which is in Dīgha, I, p. 78; Majjhima, I, p. 34; Aṅguttara, III, p. 280; and the Sanskrit text in Pañcaviṃśati, p. 83; Kośavyākhyā, p. 654; Mahāvyutpatti, no. 211-230.

(*dūrasyāsannīkaraṇa*) and thus to arrive without going;[537] *iii*) diving and emerging *(nimajjanaunmajjana); iv)* moving in one moment *(ekakṣaṇagamana).*[538]

2) *Nirmāṇa* or creation consists of making small what is large, making large what [98a] is small, multiplying what is singular and creating all kinds of objects (*dravya)*. The creations of heretics (*tīrthika*) do not last longer than seven days whereas the mastery of creation (*nirmāṇavaśitā*) of the Buddha and his disciples has unlimited duration.

3) The *āryaṛddhi* or noble magical power consists of purifying unpleasant and impure substances (*apriyāviṣuddhavastu*) constituting the six classes of outer objects (*bāhyāyatana*) by means of a glance: color, sound, etc., or also making pleasant and pure substances (*priyaviṣuddhavastu*) impure. Only the Buddha has this *āryaṛddhi*.[539]

Ṛddhyabhijñā is the result of the development (*bhāvanā*) of the four bases of miraculous power (*ṛddhipāda*).[540] Having a material object (*rūpālambana*), *ṛddhipāda* and *abhijñā* are produced successively and cannot be acquired simultaneously.

B. Abhijñā of the *divyacakṣus* or divine eye. A pure form (*rūpaprasāda*) derived from the four great elements (*caturmahābhūtabhautika*) that occurs in the eye is called *divyacakṣus.* It is able to see beings (*sattva*) and substances (*dravya)* that occur in the six destinies (*ṣaḍgati*) of its own level and of lower levels. The divine eye is never incapable of distinguishing between a nearby (*saṃnikṛṣṭa*) and a distant (*viprakṛṣṭa*) form (*rūpa*), between a coarse (*sthūla*) and a subtle (*sūkṣma*) form.

There are two kinds of *divyacakṣus*, the one that comes from retribution (*vipākalabdha*) and the one that comes from practice (*bhāvanlabdha*). In so far as it makes up part of the five abhijñās, the *divyacakusus* comes from practice and not from retribution. Why? Because it is acquired by continual attentiveness (*satatamanasikāra*) to all types of lights (*āloka*). Furthermore, some say that the bodhisattvas who have

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535 The Kośa knows of only three movements: movement of transport, movement of *adhimokṣa*, rapid movement like the mind.

536 See explanations of Visuddhimagga, p. 396.

537 This is done by the power of resolve (*adhimokṣa*). - Paṭisambhidhā, II, p. 209, cited in Visuddhimagga, p. 401: *Sace so iddhimā cetovasippatto brahmalokaṃ gantukāmo hoti, dūre pi santike adhṭṭāti:* Transl.: If this magician who has acquired mastery of mind wants to go to the world of Brahmā, he does *adhiṭṭhāna* so that what is far away becomes close at hand: "May it be close at hand" and it becomes close.

538 This displacement rapid as thought (*manojava*) belongs to the Buddha; cf. Kośa, VII, p. 113.

539 Dīgha, III, p. 112, has already distinguished *iddhi sāsavā sa-upadhikā "no ariyā"* (the *iddhi* of miracles) from *iddhi asāsavā anupadhikā "ariyā"* which is equanimity (*upekkhā*). This distinction is repeated in Kośa, VI, p. 285.

540 Kośa, VII, p. 123, develops this further: Because of a preparatory practice (*prayoga*) consisting of meditation on light and sound (*āloka, śabda*) - the practitioner being supported by the dhyānas - in the practitioner's eye and ear (which are of kamadhātu) a 'pure *rūpa*' (*rūpaprasāda,* cf. Kośa, I, p. 13), a subtle and excellent substance derived from the great elements (*bhautika*) is caused, having the level of the dhyāna that had been used as point of support. This rūpa constitutes eye and ear; it sees and hears; it constitutes what is called the divine eye, the divine ear. Arising as a result of a substance (*rūpa*) of the level of the dhyānas, the organs are divine in the proper sense of the word.

acquired acquiescence in the doctrine of non-arising (*anutpattikadharmakṣānti*) are not limited to the six destinies (*ṣaḍgati)*. It is solely in order to convert beings by virtue of their dharmakāya that they appear in the ten directions (*daśadiś*). In the bodhisattvas of the threefold world (*tridhātuka*) who have not yet attained the dharmakāya, the *divyacakusus* results sometimes from practice and sometimes from retribution.

Question. - The qualities (*guṇa*) of the bodhisattvas surpass those of the arhats and the pratyekabuddhas. Why praise their divine eye of lesser quality which is shared with ordinary people (*pṛthagjana*) and not praise their eye of wisdom (*prajñācakṣus*), their Dharma eye (*dharmacakṣus*) or their Buddha eye (*buddhacakṣus*)?[541]

Answer. -There are three kinds of gods (*deva*): i) the metaphorical gods (*saṃmatideva*), ii) the gods by birth (*upapattideva)*, iii) the pure gods (*viśuddhideva)*.[542] The cakravartin kings and other mahārājas are called *saṃmatideva*. The gods of the caturmahārajakāyika heaven up to those of the bhavāgra are called *upapattideva.* The Buddhas, the dharmakāya bodhisattvas, the pratyekabuddhas and the arhats are called *viśuddhideva.* These obtain the divine eye by practice and this is called the *divyacakṣurabhijñā*. This eye of the Buddhas, the dharmakāya bodhisattvas and the *viśuddhideva*s, cannot be acquired by ordinary people *(pṛthagjana)* who lack the five *abhijñā*s, nor can it be acquired by the śrāvakas and the pratyekabuddhas. Why? The lesser arhats see a sāhasralokadhātu if their intellect is small, a dvisāhasralokadhātu if their intellect is great. The higher arhats see a dvisāhasralokadhātu if their intellect is small, a trisāhasraloka-dhātu of their intellect is great. It is the same for the pratyekabuddhas.[543] - Such is the *divyacakṣurabhijñā*.

C. What is the *abhijñā* of the *divyaśrotra*, or the divine ear? It is a subtle form (*rūpaprasāda*) derived from the four great material elements (*caturmahābhūtabhautika*) which occurs in the ear and which allows all the [98b] sounds (*śabda*) and words of the gods, men and beings in the three unfortunate destinies [the hells, the pretas and animals] to be heard. How is the *divyaśrotrabhijñā* obtained? It is obtained by practice (*bhāvanā*), by continually reflecting on all kinds of sounds. Such is the *divyaśrotrābhijñā*.

D. What is the *abhijñā* of the *pūrvanivāsānusmṛti*, or memory of previous lifetimes? It is the faculty of going back in memory over the course of days, months and years as far as the period of the gestation in the

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541 These 'eyes' will be defined below, k. 7, p. 112b.

542 These three types of gods to which the Mppś will return later, k. 7, p. 112b, have already been mentioned in the canonical literature: Cullaniddesa, p. 307; Vibhaṅga, p. 422: *Tayo devā: sammatidevā, upapattidevā, visuddhideva ..... arahanto vuccanti*.

Later, at k. 22, p. 227c, the Mppś will explain that there are four kinds of gods. "The nominal gods, the gods by birth, the gods of purity and the gods of native purity. The nominal gods are, for example, the king who is called *T'ien tseu* (Son of god, or devaputra)." According to Lévi, *Devaputra*, JA, Jan-Mar. 1934, p. 11, this is an allusion to the Kuṣāṇa dynasty whose princes Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, Vāsudeva, have always taken the title of *devaputra*. This fact is worth remembering in the matter of dating the Mppś.

543 Kośa, VII, p. 124. The mahāśrāvakas, wishing to see by the divine eye, put forth a great effort, see a *dvisāhasra madhyama lokadhātu*. The pratyekabuddhas see a *trisāhasra mahāsāhasra lokadhātu*. The Buddha bhagavat sees the *asaṃkhya lokadhātu*; he sees whatever he wishes.

womb and, finally, past existences:[544] one lifetime, ten lifetimes, a hundred, a thousand, ten thousand, a *koṭi* of lifetimes. The great arhats and pratyekabuddhas can go back over 80,000 great kalpas. The great bodhisattvas and the Buddhas know an unlimited (*aparmāṇa*) number of kalpas. Such is the *pūrvanivāsānusmṛtyabhijñā*.

E. What is the *abhijñā* of *paracittajñāna* or knowledge of others' minds? It is knowing if another's mind (*paracitta*) is stained (*samala*) or stainless (*vimala*). The practitioner first considers [his own mind] in its arising (*utpāda*), its duration (*sthiti*) and its destruction (*bhaṅga*). By ceaselessly reflecting on it (*satatamanasikāra*) he succeeds in discerning in others the signs (*nimitta*) of joy (*muditā*), of hatred (*dveṣa*) and of fear (*bhaya, viṣāda*). Having seen these signs, then he knows the mind.[545]. This is the first gate of the knowledge of others' minds.

We have finished the explanation of the five *abhijñā*s.

6. ĀDEYAVACANA

Sūtra: Their words are worthy of faith (*ādeyavacanaiḥ*).[546]

Śāstra: The devas, manuṣyas, nāgas, asuras and all great men accord faith to their speech and this is the reward (*vipāka*) for their language that is free of frivolity (*asaṃbhinnapralāpa*). The punishment for those of frivolous speech[547] is that nobody believes them even if they speak the truth. Some stanzas say:

> They fall among the pretas,
>
> Flames shoot out of their mouth.
>
> On all sides, they utter loud cries:
>
> This is the punishment for their sins of speech.
>
> They have heard much (*bahuśruta*) and seen much (*bahudṛṣṭa*).

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[544] Kośa, VII, p. 103: the practitioner who wishes to remember previous lifetimes begins by seizing the nature (*nimittam udgṛhya = cittaprakāraṃ paricchidya*) of the mind which is about to perish; from this mind, he goes back by considering (*manasikurvan*) the states which immediately succeed one another in the present existence back to the mind at conception (*pratisaṃdhicitta*). When he reaches a moment of mind of the intermediate existence (*antarābhava*), the abijñā is realized.

[545] Kośa, VII, p. 102: The practitioner who wishes to know others' minds first considers, in his own series, the nature (*nimitta*) of the body and of the mind: "Such is my body, such is my mind." When he has considered his own body and his own mind, envisaging in the same way the series of another, he takes into account the nature of the body and the mind of another: in this way he knows the mind of another and the abhijñā arises. When the abhijñā is realized, the practitioner no longer considers the body, the *rūpa*; he knows the mind directly.

[546] *Ādeyavacanatā* was one of the qualities of Anāthapiṇḍika; cf. Vinaya, II, p. 158. - This virtue is described in Bodh. bhūmi, p. 28-29: *yat puṇaḥ śraddheyo bhavati pratyayitaḥ .... iyaṃ ucyate ādeyavacanatā*.

[547] Frivolous speech (*saṃbhinnapralāpa*) is one of the ten akuśalakarmapathas; cf. below, k. 8, p. 120b.

They preach the Dharma in the great assemblies,

But as a result of their lack of good faith (*chanda*)

Nobody believes them.

The person who desires vast renown (*ming wen* = *yaśas*)

And wishes to believed by people

Should therefore show straightforwardness

And avoid frivolous discourse (*saṃbhinnapralāpa*).

7. AKUSĪDA

Sūtra: They were without laziness (*akusīdaiḥ*).

Śāstra: In householders (*gṛhastha*), laziness (*kausīdya*) ruins wealth (*dhana*) and merits (*puṇya*); among monastics (*pravrajita*), it ruins celestial happiness (*svargasukha*) and the bliss of nirvāṇa (*nirvāṇasukha*); in both, one's good name (*yaśas*) is lost. Even great culprits and great thieves avoid laziness. A stanza says:

Laziness ruins good minds.

The shadows of ignorance replace the light of wisdom.

All good resolutions disappear.

Great works also are doomed to failure.

This is why the bodhisattvas are said to be *akusīda*.

8. APAGATALĀBHAYAŚAŚCITTA

Sūtra: *Apagatalābhayaśaścittaiḥ*; they have renounced greed (*lābhacitta*) and ambition (*yaśaścitta*).[548]

Śāstra: Greed is like a thief; it destroys the root of the qualities (*guṇamūla*). Just as a heavy frost destroys the five grains, so greed and ambition destroy the young shoots (*bīja*) of the qualities (*guṇa*) and prevent them from prospering. The Buddha made the following comparison (*upamāna*): "Just as a horse-hair rope

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[548] There are eight *lokadharma*s with which a person may be especially preoccupied and which lead to his ruin: gain (*lābha*) and glory (*yaśaś*) are among them. Cf. Dīgha, III, p. 260; Aṅguttara, IV, p. 156 sq.; Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 40, p. 764b. The canonical scriptures many times note the dangers of gain and honors (*lābhasakkāra*: cf. Vinaya, II, p. 196; Ittivuttaka, p. 73), of gain, honor and fame (*lābhasakkhārasiloka*: cf. Majjhima, I, p. 192; Samyutta, II, p. 227, 237; Anguttara, II, p. 73; II, p. 343, 377).

(*vālarajju*) binds a man, tears his skin (*chavi)* and breaks his bones (*asthi)*, so the [98c] greedy man destroys the root of the qualities."[549] Some stanzas say:

Those who enter into a forest of sandalwood (*candana*)

Gather up only leaves (*parṇa*);

Or who go into the seven-jewel mountain (*saptaratnagiri*)

Collect only crystals (*sphaṭika*).

[In the same way], some men having entered into the Buddha's Dharma

Do not seek the bliss of nirvāṇa

But turn back to the pursuit of wealth and honors:

They are cheating themselves!

This is why the disciple of the Buddha

Who wants to taste the taste of ambrosia (*amṛtarasa*),

Must abandon this blend of poison

And zealously seek the bliss of nirvāṇa.

Just as a heavy frost

Destroys the five cereals,

So the man attached to wealth and pleasures

Destroys respect (*hrī)* and discipline (*dhūta*).

From now on in this life, he burns up the roots of good;

In the next life, he falls into hell.

Like Devadatta

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549 This comparison occurs in Saṃyutta, II, p. 328, in the *Rajjusutta* which, error excepted, does not appear in the Chinese Tripiṭaka: *Seyyathāpi bhikkhave balavā puriso daḷhāya .... aṭṭhiṃ chetvā aṭṭhimiñjam āhacca tiṭṭhati*. "If a man wraps a strong horse-hair rope around his leg tightly and saws it back and forth, the rope will cut through his skin, flesh, muscles and bones successively, and will not stop until it has pierced the marrow; in the same way, gain, honors and glory successively cut through the skin, etc."

This comparison is repeated in the Ta tchouang yen louen king, T 201 (no, 41), k. 7, p. 293a, but E. Huber, in his translation of the Sūtrālaṃkāra, has understood it wrongly: "Greed is more terrible than an enemy ... Such is the anguish of the rough rope (as note: We do not know what this anguish consists of) that tears the skin, destroys the flesh and bone and does not stop before having penetrated the marrow." *Mao cheng* is not a "rough rope" but a horse-hair rope (*vālarajju*) with which limbs are sawed off.

Who was lost out of greed.[550]

This is why the bodhisattvas are said to be *apagatalābhayaśaśhcitta*.

9. NIRĀMIṢADHARMADEŚAKA

Sūtra: They preached the Dharma disinterestedly (*nirāmiṣadharmadeśakaiḥ*).

Śāstra: It is out of loving-kindness (*maitrī*) and compassion (*karuṇā*) that they preach the Dharma to beings, without greed for robes (*cīvara*), food (*āhāra*), fame (*yaśaś*) or power (*prabhāva*). If they preach the Dharma, it is with great loving-kindness and great compassion because their minds (*citta*) are pure (*viśuddha*) and because they have attained acquiescence in the doctrine of the non-arising of phenomena (*anutpattikadharmakṣānti*). Some stanzas say:

The learned preacher, rational, skillful in speech,

Who preaches the Dharma well and stimulates people's spirits

But who transgresses against the doctrine and commits wrongdoings

Is like a cloud that thunders but cannot produce any rain.

The accomplished person, learned and wise,

But reticent, clumsy in speech and not eloquent,

Cannot reveal the precious treasure of the doctrine:

He is like a small shower without thunder.

The undisciplined person without wisdom

Who preaches badly and lacks good behavior

Is an evil teacher without shame:

He is like a little cloud with no thunder and no rain.

The learned person, wise and eloquent,

Who preaches the Dharma skillfully and stimulates people's spirits,

Who observes the doctrine fearlessly with an honest heart,

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[550] Devadatta is the archetype of those destroyed by their greed and selfish preoccupations. See Aṅguttara, IV, p. 160: *Aṭṭhahi asaddhammehi abhibhūto* .... etc.

Is like a great cloud that thunders and rains abundantly.[551]

The great leader of the doctrine, guardian of the mirror of the doctrine,

Who illuminates the Buddhadharma, treasury of wisdom,

Who, guardian and propagator of the sayings, who rings the bell of the doctrine,

Is like an ocean-going ship that assures to all the crossing of the sea.

[99a] Like the king of the bees gathering nectar

He preaches according to the counsel and intentions of the Buddha.

He helps the Buddha, illuminates his doctrine and saves beings:

Such a teacher of the doctrine is very difficult to find.

10. GAMBHIRADHARMAKṢĀNTIPĀRAṂGATA

Sūtra: They have crossed over to the other shore of the patience relating to the profound dharmas (*gambhīradharmakṣāntipāramgataiḥ*).

Śāstra: What are the profound dharmas (*gambhīradharma*)?

1) The twelve causes and conditions (*dvādaśahetupratyaya)* are called *gambhīradharma*. Thus the Buddha said to Ānanda: "The twelve causes and conditions (or pratītyasamutpāda) are profound (*gambhīra*), difficult to probe (*durvigāhya*) and difficult to understand (*duranubodha*)."

2) Also, we call *gambhīradharma* the breaking of the thread (*jāla*) of the sixty-two wrong views (*dṛṣṭigata*) relating to the past (*atīta*) and the future (*anāgata*). Thus the Buddha said to the bhikṣus: "The foolish ignorant person (*bālo 'śrutavān*) who wants to praise the Buddha finds only meager praises. In order to praise the Buddha truly, one should praise the purity of the precepts (*śīlaśuddhi*), renunciation of desire (*vairāgya*), the profound doctrine (*dharma gambhīra*), difficult to sound (*durvigāhya*) and difficult to understand (*duranubodha*)."[552]

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[551] These first four stanzas seem to be a versification of a passage of the Aṅguttara, II, p. 102 (cf. Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 18, p. 635a) devoted to the four types of rain-clouds (*valāhaka*): The person who speaks and does not act (*bhāsitā no kattā*) is compared to a cloud that thunders and does not rain (*gajjitā no vassitā*); the person who acts but does not speak (*kattā no bhāsitā*), to a cloud that rains but does not thunder (*vassitā no gajjitā*); the person who does not speak and does not act (*n'eva bhāsitā no kattā*), to a cloud that neither thunders nor rains (*n'eva gajjitā no vassitā*); the person who speaks and acts (*bhāsitā ca kattā ca*), to a cloud that both thunders and rains (*gajjitā ca vassitā ca*).

[552] *Brahmajālasutta* in Dīgha, I, p. 12 (Tchang a han, T 1, k. 14, p. 89c18-21; Fan wang lieou che eul kien king, T 21, p. 266a): *Idaṃ kho taṃ bhikkhave appamattakaṃ ..... sammā vadammanā vadeyyuṃ*. "Such, O monks, are the trifles, the

Here the *Fan wang king* (Brahmajālasūtra) should be discussed fully.

3) The three gates of deliverance (*vimokṣamukha*) are also called (*gambhīradharma*) as the Buddha said in the Prajñāpāramitā. The gods praised him, saying: "O Bhagavat, this doctrine is profound", and the Buddha replied: "This profound doctrine has as its meaning (*artha*) emptiness (*śūnyatā*), wishlessness (*apraṇihita*) and signlessness (*ānimitta*)."

4) The explanation of the nature of all dharmas (*sarvadharmalakṣaṇanirmocana*) is also called *gambhīradharma*: the true (*satya*) nature, indestructible (*akṣaya*) and immutable (*akṣobya*, *acala*).

5) Finally, we also call *gambhīradharma* the exclusion of inner conceptual knowledge (*adhyātmacittasaṃjñājñāna*) and the fixing of the concentrated mind (*samāhitacittaikāgratā*) on the pure true nature of all dharmas (*sarvadharmaviśuddhasatyalakṣaṇa*). Just as, in the thick of a fog, one sees something that is not yellow as yellow, so by the play of conceptual knowledge one finds dharmas that are merely superficial. Just as a pure eye, not surrounded by fog, sees correctly as yellow that which is yellow, so the pure eye of wisdom (*prajñācakṣurviṣuddhi)*, freed from conceptual knowledge, sees the true nature of dharmas. - When mixed with a yellow substance, clear water becomes yellow (*pīta*); the water changes color [according to the dye]: blue (*nīla*), red (*lohita*), white (*avadāta*), etc. It is the same for the mind: By the activity of conceptual knowledge, the fool (*bāla*) finds various natures in dharmas. Seeing that the true nature of dharmas is neither empty (*śūnya*) nor non-empty (*aśūnya)*, neither existent (*sat*) nor non-existent (*asat*), and penetrating deeply into this doctrine without deviations or blockage, this is what is called "having crossed over to the other shore of the acquiescence relating to profound dharmas" (*gambhīradharmakṣāntipāraṃgata*). *Pāraṃgata* (in Chinese, *tou*) means "having obtained" the gambhīradharma. When [this acquiescence] is full, complete and without obstacle (*asaṅga*), one has "reached the other shore" (*pāraṃgata*).

11. VAIŚĀRADYAPRĀPTA

Sūtra: They have obtained the fearlessnesses (*vaiśāradhyaprāptaiḥ*).

Śāstra: The bodhisattvas are endowed with the four *vaiśāradya*s.

Question. - The bodhisattvas have not 'done what had to be done' (*kṛtakṛtya*) and have not acquired omniscience (*sarvajñāna*); how can the sūtra say that they have acquired the four *vaiśāradya*s?

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minute details of the simple morality of which worldly people speak when praising the Tathāgata. But there are other profound dharmas, difficult to see, difficult to understand, peaceful, exquisite, eluding controversy, subtle and cognizable only by the wise. These are the ones which the Tathāgata himself recognized and realized and which he truly propounds; one should speak of these when one wants to praise the Tathāgata properly in a manner conforming to the truth."

Answer. - The *vaiśāradya*s, the fearlessnesses, are of two types: the *vaiśāradya* of the Buddha and the *vaiśāradya* of the bodhisattva.[553] These bodhisattvas do not possess the vaiśāradyas of the Buddha but they have acquired those of the [99b] bodhisattva. This is why they are called *vaiśāradyaprāpta*.

Question. - What are the four *vaiśāradya*s of the bodhisattva?

Answer. – 1) He preaches the Dharma in the assembly with assurance because he remembers everything that he has heard, because he has acquired the dhāraṇīs and because he always remembers without forgetting.

2) In the assembly he preaches with assurance because he knows all beings, the means of liberating them, the strength or weakness of their faculties (*indriya*) and, in this way, he preaches the Dharma to them according to their needs (*yathāyogam*).

3) In the assembly he preaches the Dharma with assurance because he sees in the [four] directions - east (*pūrvasyāṃ diśi*), south (*dakṣiṇasyāṃ diśi*), west (*paścimāyāṃ diśi*) and north (*uttarasyāṃ diśi*) - in the four intermediate directions (*vidiś*) and also at the zenith (*upasiṣṭād diśi*) and the nadir (*adhastād diśi*), that there is nobody who can come and make any objection (*codana*) to which he would be unable to reply correctly.

4) In the great assembly he preaches the Dharma with assurance for he authorizes all beings to set objections for him; he answers appropriately according to their wishes and he is able to cut through the doubts (*saṃśayacchedana*) of all beings.

12. MĀRAKARMASAMATIKRĀNTA

Sūtra: They have passed beyond the works of Māra (*mārakarmasamatikrānaiḥ*).

Śāstra: 1) There are four kinds of māras: *a*) the affliction-māra (*kleśamāra*), *b*) the aggregate-māra (*skandhamāra*), *c*) the death-māra (*mṛtyumāra*), *d*) the son-of-god-māra (*devaputramāra*), chief of the parinirmitavaśavartin gods.[554] By attaining the state of bodhisattva, these bodhisattvas have destroyed the *kleśamāra*; by acquiring the dharmakāya, they have destroyed the *skandhamāra*; by being always one-pointed (*ekacitta*), by not adhering to any (heavenly) sphere and by entering into the immoveable concentrations (*acalasamādhi*), they have destroyed the paranirmitavaśavartin *devaputramāra*. This is why it is said that they have passed beyond the works of Māra.

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[553] The *vaiśāradya*s of the Buddha are listed in the Mahāvyutpatti no. 131-134; those of the bodhisattva, ibid., no. 782-785. See also Saṃgraha, p. 59, for a short bibliography of the *vaiśāradya*s.

[554] These four māras are mentioned in Mahāvastu, III, p. 273, 281; Madh, vṛtti, p. 442; Dharmasaṃgraha, ch. LXXX; Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 198. - The late Pāli sources recognize a further māra, *abhisaṅkhāra-māra*; cf. Malalasekera, II, p. 611-613.

2) Furthermore, in the Prajñāpāramitā, in the chapter on *Kio mo* (Mārāvabodhaparivarta),[555] the Buddha spoke of the activities and the works of Māra. When one has completely gone beyond the activities and works of Māra, one merits the epithet *mārakarmasamatikrānta*.

3) Furthermore, rejection of the true nature of dharmas (s*arvadharmasatyalakṣaṇa*) and the other destructions of this kind are called māra as well.

4) Finally, the afflictions (*kleśa*), the fetters (*saṃyojana*), the bonds of desire (*kāmabandhana*), the outburst of attachment (*rāgaparyavasthāna*), the aggregates, the bases of consciousness and the elements (*skandhāyatanadhātu*), the god Māra (*māradeva*), Māra's people (*mārakāyika*), Māra's servants (*mārajana*), etc., are also called Māra.

Question. - Where is it that the bonds of desire (*kāmabandhana*) and other fetters (*saṃyojana)* are called māra?

Answer. - In the *Tsa tsang king* (Kṣudraka),[556] the Buddha addressed the following stanzas to king Māra:[557]

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555 This chapter dedicated to Māra is in the Pañcaviṃśati. It is entitled *Kio mo p'in* (Mārāvabodhaparivarta) in Mokṣala's version, T 221, chap. XLVII, k. 10, p. 72c-74b; - *Mo che p'in* (Mārakarmaparivarta) in Kumārajīva's version, T 223, chap. XLVI, k. 13, p. 318b-320b. The Mārakarmaparivarta, chap. 21 of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā, ed. R. Mitra, p. 385-396, is very similar.

556 S. Lévi, *Les seize Arhats protecteurs de la loi*, Extract of JA, 1916, p. 32 sq., shows how the Chinese translators rendered the name *Kṣudraka āgama* by the words *Tsa tsang,* 'mixed collection [piṭaka]' in order to distinguish it from *Tsa a han*, the traditional designation for the *Saṃyukta āgama*. But I [Lamotte] doubt whether *Tsa tsang king* restores an original *Kṣudrakāgama*, because the Mppś is familiar with only four *āgama*s, namely, Ekottara, Madhyama, Dīrgha and Saṃyukta (cf. Mppś. T 1509, k. 2, p. 69c; k. 33, p. 306c) , in contrast with Pāli Buddhism which knows five nikāyas, namely, Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṃyutta, Aṅguttara and Khuddaka. If it then cites a Kṣudraka, it cannot be under the title of *āgama*, but only under the name of a sūtra or group of separate sūtras. This is why, in the manner of the Kośavyākhyā, p. 33 (*Arthavargīyāṇi sūtrāṇi kṣudraka paṭhyante*), I [Lamotte] have translated *Tsa tsang king* only as "kṣudraka".

557 These stanzas occur, with a few differences, in the Suttanipāta, v.436-439, 443-445, 449, and Lalitavistara, p. 262-263, the texts of which follow:

Suttanipāta:	Lalitavistara:
436) Kāmma te paṭhamā senā....	*Kāmās te prathamma senā....*
catutthī taṇhaq puvuccati//	*trṣṇā senā carurthikā//*
437) Pañcamī thīnamiddhhan te.,,,	*Paṇcamī styānamiddhaṃ te....*
makkho thambho te aṭthamo//	*krodhamrakṣau tathāṣṭami//*
438) lābho siloko sakkāro....	*Lābaślokau ca satkāro....*
pare ca avajānati//	*yaś ca vai dhvaṃsayet parān//*
439) Esā, Namuci, te senā....	*Eṣā hi Namuceh senā*
jetvā ca labhate sukhaṃ//	*kṛṣṇabandho pratāpinaḥ/*
440) Esa muñjaṃ parihae....	
yañce jīve parājita//	
441) Pagāḷhā ettha na dissanti....	*Atrāvagāḍhā dṛśyante*

Desires (*kāma*) are your first army (*senā*),
The army of sadness (*arati*) is the second,
The army of hunger and thirst (*kṣutpipāsā*) is the third,
The army of greed (*ṭriṣṇā*) is the fourth.

The fifth is the army of languor and torpor (*styānamiddha*),
The army of fear (*bhaya*) is the sixth.
Doubt (*vicikitsā*) is the seventh army
The army of anger (*krodha*) and hypocrisy (*mrakṣa*) is the eighth.

The ninth army is covetousness (*labdhā*)
And attachment to vain glory (*mithyāyśaś*),
The tenth army is self-praise (*ātmotkarṣa*)
And distrust of others (*parāvajñā*).

[99c] These, your armies,
No person in the world
Or any god
Can destroy them.

By the power of wisdom's arrow,

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yena gachanti subbhatā// *Ete śramaṇabrāhmaṇāḥ.*
442) Samantā dhajiniṃ disvā....
Mā maṃ ṭhānā acāvayi//
443) Yaṃ te taṃ na-ppasahati (sic*)....* *Yā te senā dharṣayati....*
āmaṃ pattaṃ va asmanā// *te āmapātram ivāmbunā//*
444) Vasiṃkaritvā saṃkappaṃ.... *Smṛtiṃ sūpasthitāṃ kṛtvā....*
sāvake vinayaṃ puthu// *kiṃ kariṣyasi durmate//*
445) Ty-appamattā pahitattā....
yattha gantvā na socare//
449) Tassa sokaparetassa vīṇā.... (In prose) *Evam ukte Māraḥ ....*
tatt' ev' antaradhāyatha// *tatraivāntaradhāt.*

By cultivating concentration and wisdom,

I will smash your army, O Mara,

Like a clay pot (*āmapātra*).

With a mind solely cultivating wisdom

I will save the world.

My disciples, full of energy,

Ever mindful, will cultivate wisdom.

Following my example, they will progress in accordance with the Dharma

And will certainly reach nirvāṇa.

Even though you do not want to let them,

They will go where you cannot go.

Then king Māra, on hearing this,

Angry and confused, departed;

And the evil army of māras

Also disappeared and vanished.

Such is the māra of the fetters (*saṃyojana*).

Question. - Where are the five aggregates (*skandha*), the eighteen elements (*dhātu*) and the twelve bases of consciousness (*āyatana*) named māra?

Answer. - On Mount *Mo kiu lo* (Makula), the Buddha taught [the following] to the disciple *Lo t'o* (Rādha):[558] "The form aggregate (*rūpaskandha*) is māra; feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saṃjñā*), formation

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[558] The Mppś seems to attach great importance to the Rādhasūtras to which it often refers (see also k. 31, p. 282a18 and p. 295b28). Rādha appears in the 46 suttas of the Rādhasaṃyutta (Saṃyutta, III, p. 188-201) and in the sūtras no. 111-129 of the Tsa a han, T 99, k. 6, p. 37c-41b. But whereas the Rādhasuttas of the Saṃyutta take place at Sāvatthi, the Rādhasūtras of the Tsa a han are located, as here, on Mount *Mo kiu lo* (64 and 11; 64 and 5; 122 and 14). Two questions arise: Where is *Mo kiu lo*? Is there a connection between *Mo kiu lo* and Śrāvastī?
There is a *Maṅkulapabbata* in the Comm. of Buddhavaṃsa, p. 3, and a *Makula* or *Maṅkulakārāma* in the legend of Pūrna. The traditions relating to this individual are found in Majjhima, III, p. 267-270 (tr. Chalmers, II, p. 307-308); Saṃyutta, IV, p. 60-63 (tr. Woodward, *Kindred Sayings*, IV, p. 34-36); Tsa a han, T 99, no. 215, k. 8, p. 54b, and no, 311, k. 13, 89b-c; Divyāvadāna, p. 24-55 (tr. Burnouf, Introduction, p. 200-245); Ken pen chouo... yao che, T 1448, k. 1, p. 7c-17a; Theragāthā Comm., in Rh. D., *Brethren*, p. 70-71; Karmavibhaṅga, p. 63-64; Papañcasūdanī, V, p. 85-92;

(*saṃskāra*) and consciousness (*vijñāna*) are also māra.[559] Wishing to create for oneself a material existence (*rūpātmabhāva*) in the future (*anāgatajanma*) is to seek an unstable sphere (*calasthāna*); wishing to create a non-material existence (*ārūpyātmabhāva*) is again seeking an unstable sphere; wishing to create an aware, non-aware, neither aware nor non-aware existence (*saṃjñā-asaṃjñā-naivasaṃjñānāsaṃjñā-ātmabhāva*) is still seeking an unstable sphere. This instability is a bond of Māra (*mārabandhana*); stability is the elimination of bonds, deliverance from evil." At this place, the Buddha said that the *skandha*s, *dhātu*s and *āyatana*s are māra.

It goes without saying that the vaśavartin devaputramāra, the mārakāyikas and the mārajanas are māra.

Sāratthappakāsinī, II, p. 374-379. - In T 99, p. 89b, *Si fang chou lou na* "Śroṇā of the west"; in T 1448, p. 12a, - Chou na po lo k'ie, "Śroṇāparāntaka". He was born at Śūrpāraka [in Pāli, Suppāraka; - in T 1448, p. 7c, *Chou po lo kia*], at the time of the Greeks the major port of India on the sea of Oman (Périple of the Erythrean Sea, ed. H. Frisk, 52; Ptolemy, ed. L Renou, VII, i, v. 6). Honored by Aśoka with a rock edict (Hultsch, *Inscr. of Aśoka*, p. 118), but reduced today to the rank of a modest locality by the name of Sopāra in the district of Bombay. A Buddhist stūpa has been discovered here with relics enshrined in stone, silver and gold caskets, as well as a coin from king Andhra Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

Pūrṇa, having become a rich merchant, went to Śrāvastī with a large caravan; there he met the Buddha, was converted and entered the Order where he was distinguished by his zeal. One day he requested from the Buddha a short sermon that he could memorize so as to return to the Śroṇāparāntakas; this is when the Buddha preached the Punṇṇovādasutta (Majjhima, III, p. 267-270). Pūrṇa returned to his compatriots, the Śroṇāpārantakas. According to the Papañcasūdanī and the Sāratthappakmasinī (loc. cit.) he lived in *Ambahattapabbata*, then successively in *Samuddagirivihāra*, and *Mātulagiri*, and finally in *Makula(kā)rāma* (variant *Maṅkulalārāma*). In this monastery, located "not too near and not too far from the mercantile city of Śūrpāraka" (cf. Papañca, V, p. 87: *vāṇijagāmassa nātidūro nāccāsanno*). Pūrṇa gathered around himself a large number of male and female disciples, and with the sandalwood which his brother had given him, he built a *maṇḍalamāla* "circular pavilion" (Papañca, II, p. 377), also called by the Divyāvadāna, p. 43, *candanamāla prāsada*, "monastery or palace with levels or a sandalwood pavilion" (see the explanations by S. Lévi in Karmavibhaṅga, p. 63 and 64 as note: this palace is represented on a miniature studied by Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, pl. I, no. 6). The Buddha flew there with 500 arhats and stayed overnight. The Papañca and the Sārattha (loc. cit) tell us that on returning, he stopped near the river Narmadā (in Pāli, Nammadā, the present Nerbudda, which marks the boundary between Uttarapatha and Dakṣiṇāpatha); he was received by the king of the nāgas at whose request he left his foot-print on the bank. - In all likelihood, the Makulapabbata where Pūrṇa had built his monastery is identical with *Mo kiu lo chan* where the Tsa a han and the Mppś locate the Rādhasūtras.

But then why does the Saṃyutta locate the Rādhasuttas at Sāvatthi? Would it be out of a spirit of rivalry, in order to make Gangetic India the sole cradle of Buddhist texts and eliminate Aparānta (western India) from the map of holy places? The reason is simpler: Śrāvastī and the big ports of Aparānta were in close touch. Śrāvastī was separated from Sūrpāraka by a distance of 100 to 125 yojanas (cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 44; Dhammapadaṭṭha, II, p. 214) which could be traveled in one night (*ekarattiparivāsena*) if the performance of Bāhiva Dārucīriya (Udāna, I, 10, p. 7) is to be believed. We have seen that Pūrṇa, a native of Śūrpāraka, led his caravans to Śrāvastī; we know from the Divyāvadāna, p. 34, that the Śrāvastī merchants brought their wares to Śūrpāraka to load them onto the ships. The latter city was also an export and import port of western India. The Apadāna, II, p. 476 and Jātaka, III, p. 188 tell us that there was regular traffic between Śūrpāraka, Bharukaccha, the actual Broach) and the enigmatic Suvarṇa-bhūmi, the Chruse Chersonesos of the Greeks. The echo of the Rādhasūtras preached at *Śūrpāraka* would have been heard at Śrāvastī or vice versa.

[559] Cf. Saṃyutta, III,p. 195: *Rūpaṃ kho Rādha Māro vedanā .... viññānam Māradhammo*.

Question. - Why is he called Māra?

Answer. - He is called Māra because he carries off (*harati*) the āyuṣmat and because he destroys the good root of the dharmas of the Path and of the qualities (*guṇa*).The heretics (*tīrthika*) call him *Yu tchou* (Kāmādhipati), *Houa tsien* (Kusumāyudha) or also *Wou tsien* (Pañcāyudha).[560] In the Buddhist texts, he is called Māra because he destroys all good works.

His actions and works are called *mārakarman*.

Question. - What are the works of Māra?

Answer. – 1) They are defined in the chapter of the *Kio mo* (Mārāvabodhaparivarta).[561]

2) Furthermore, if people have had to undergo happiness and misfortune in the course of successive lifetimes, the causes are the fetters (*samyojana*) as well as king Māra, who is called the enemy of the Buddha (*buddhavairin*), the thief of the holy ones (*āryacaura*). Because he destroys [100a] the actions of all who are ascending the current (*pratisrotagāmin*), because he has a horror of nirvāṇa, he is called Māra.

3) Māra has three types of actions: *a*) play *(līlā*), laughter (*hāsya*), idle chatter (*ālapā*), singing (*gītā*), dancing (*nṛtya*), and everything that provokes desire (*rāga)*; *b*) iron fetters (*bandahana*), beating (*ghaṭṭana*), whipping (*kaśa*), wounds (*prahāradāna*), spikes (*kaṇtaka*), knives (*śastra*), slashing (*saṃchedana*) and everything that is caused by hatred (*dveṣa); c)* [demented mortifications] such as being burned, being frozen, tearing out one's hair (*keśolluñcana)*, starving, jumping into the fire, throwing oneself into the water, falling onto spears and everything that results from stupidity *(moha*).

4) Finally, the great hindrances (*ādīnava*), impure attachments to the world, that is all the work of Māra. Hatred of the good, scorn of nirvāṇa and of the path to nirvāṇa are also the work of Māra. Plunging into the ocean of suffering without ever awakening and innumerable errors of this kind are all the work of Māra. When one has rejected and abandoned these, one is *mārakarmasamatikrānta*.

13. KARMĀVARAṆAPRATIPRASRABDHA

Sūtra: They were liberated from the action-obstacle (*karmāvaraṇapratiprasrabdhaiḥ*).

Śāstra: The person who is liberated from all evil actions (*pāpakarman*) is called *karmāvaraṇapratiprasrabdha*.

Question. - There are three kinds of obstacles (*āvaraṇa*): i) the obstacle consisting of the afflictions (*kleśāvaraṇa*), ii) the obstacle consisting of action (*karmāvaraṇa*), iii) the obstacle consisting of retribution (*vipākāvaraṇa*).[562] Why does the sūtra set aside two of these and speak only of the *karmāvaraṇa* here?

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560 The epithets of Kāma, god of love, are innumerable: *Kusuma: -astraḥ, -āyudhaḥ, -iṣuḥ, -bāṇaḥ. –śaraḥ; Pañca: -iśuḥ, -bānaḥ, -śaraḥ.* These five armies are: *aravindam aśokaṃ ca cūtaṃ ca navamallikā / nīlotpalaṃ ca pañcaite Pañcabāṇasya sāyakāḥ*.

561 See above.

562 A detailed study of these three obstacles may be found in Kośa, IV, p. 202-205.

Answer. - Of these three obstacles, action is the greatest. Once accumulated (*upacitta*),[563] actions last for hundreds of *koṭi* of kalpas without being lost, changed or deteriorating; they produce their fruit of retribution (*vipākaphala*) without loss of time; when these long-lasting actions meet the favorable complex [of conditions] and time (*sa,,rīṃ prāpya kālaṃ ca*), they produce their fruit of retribution.[564]

They are like rice grains (*śālibīja*) that have fallen on the ground which, at the proper time, germinate without being lost or deteriorating. That is [the teaching] of the omniscient (*sarvajñā*) buddhas worthy of respect by all. If Sumeru, king of the mountains, cannot reverse his actions, what can be said about an ordinary person (*pṛthagjana*)? Some stanzas say:

The wheel of transmigration (*saṃsāracakra*) drags man along

With his afflictions (*kleśa*) and his fetters (*saṃyojana*).

Very powerful, it turns freely;

Nobody can stop it.

Actions carried out during previous lifetimes

Change into all kinds of forms.

The power of action is very strong;

It has no equal in the world.

The actions of previous lifetimes are the masters

Forcing a person to undergo their retribution.

The wheel turns by the power of actions,

It turns in the sea of saṃsāra.

The waters of the ocean can dry up,

The earth of Sumeru can be exhausted,

But the actions of previous lifetimes

Are never used up, never exhausted.

Actions accumulated (*upacitta*) for a long time

Follow their creator

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563 Action accomplished (*kṛta*) and action accumulated (*upacitta*) must be distinguished. Action is said to be 'accumulated' because of its intentional nature (*saṃcetanataḥ*), its completion (*samāptatva*), absence of regret (*kaukṛtya*) and counteragent (*pratipakṣa*), its accompaniment (*parivāra*) and retribution (*vipāka*). See Kośa, IV, p. 243-244.

564 Paraphrase of a well-known stanza endlessly repeated in the Vinayas and the Avadānas, such as the Divya, the Avadānaśataka, etc.: *na praṇaśyanti .... khalu dehinām*. "Actions do not perish, even after hundreds of millions of cosmic periods. Meeting the desired complex [of conditions] and time, they ripen for the spirit."

Like a creditor

Relentlessly following his debtor.[565]

Nobody can escape

The fruit of the retribution of action;

There is no place to escape it;

One cannot escape it by asking for pardon.

[100b] Action relentlessly pursues

The beings of the threefold world.

It is like the *K'o li lo tch'a*.[566]

This action was defined by the Buddha.

Wind does not penetrate into solids,

The waves do not turn back in their course,

Space suffers no harm,

Neither does non-action.

Actions have tremendous power

Which is never ineffectual.

When the time of retribution has come

One cannot escape from it, one cannot avoid it.

From the earth [one can] rise up to the sky

From the sky, one can penetrate the Himavat,

From the Himavat, one can plunge into the ocean:

Nowhere will one escape from action.[567]

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565 An allusion to a theory of the Sāmittīyas on the mechanism of retribution: good or bad action perishes as soon as born, but it deposits in the series (*saṃtāna*) of the agent a certain entity called *avipraṇaśa* comparable to the page on which debts (*ṛinapattra*) are recorded. See Madh. vṛtti, p. 317-323 (tr. Lamotte, in MCB, IV, 1935-36, p. 276-280); Madh. avatāra, p. 126, l. 12 (tr. Lav. Muséon, 1910, p. 318); *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa*, MCB, IV, 1935-36, p. 230, n. 37).

566 *K'o li lo tch'a* is the name of a tree according to the Bukkyo daijiten, p. 212a.

567 Cf. the stanza of Divyāvadāna, p. 532, 561, and the Sanskrit Udānavarga, p. 98:

naivāntarīkṣe na samudramadhye .... yatra sthitaṃ na prasaheta karma//

It has its Pāli correspondent in Dhammapada, no. 127:

na antalikkhe na samuddamajjhe .... yatthaṭṭhito muñceyya pāpakammā//

Action forever follows us,

Never does it leave us.

It goes straight on, it does not miss its time

Like the tide which follows the moon.

This is why, [in order to praise them], it is said that the bodhisattvas are liberated from every action-obstacle (*sarvakarmāvaraṇapratiprasrabdha*).

14. PRATĪITYASAMUTPANNADHARMANIRDEŚAKUŚALA

Sūtra: They were skilled in teaching dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpannadharmanirdeśakuśalaiḥ).*

Śāstra: They are capable of teaching the twelve-membered (*dvādaśāṅgapratītyasamutpāda*)[568] in different ways (*nānādharmaparyāyaiḥ*) .

Affliction (*kleśa*), action (*karman*) and basis (*vastu*) arise one after the other (*krama*) according to a continuous development (*paramparaprabandha*); this is called the twelve-membered pratītyasamutpāda.[569]

Three of these [twelve members] are called affliction (*kleśa*): ignorance (*avidyā*), craving (*tṛṣṇā*) and grasping (*upādāna*); two members are called action (*karman*): formations (*saṃskāra*) and coming into existence (*bhava*); the other seven are called bases (*vastu*).[570]

In genera*l (samāsataḥ),* the three categories, affliction (*kleśa*), action (*karman*) and suffering (*duḥkha*) are mutual and reciprocal causes and conditions (*paraṃparānyonyahetupratyaya*): 1) *Kleśa* is cause and condition for *karman* [because *avidyā* precedes the *saṃskāra*s and *upādāna* precedes *bhava*]; 2) *karman* is cause and condition for *duḥkha* [because *saṃskāra* precedes *vijñāna* and *bhava* precedes *jāti*]; 3) *duḥkha* is cause and condition for *duḥkha* [because *vijñāna* precedes *nāmarūpa*; *nāmarūpa* precedes *ṣadāyatana*; *ṣadāyatana* precedes *sparśa*; *sparśa* precedes *vedanā*; *jāti* precedes *jarāmaraṇa*]; 4) *duḥkha* is cause and condition for *kleśa* [because *vedanā* precedes *tṛṣṇa*].[571] Since *kleśa* is cause and condition for *karman*, *karman* cause and condition for *duḥkha*, and *duḥkha* cause and condition for *duḥkha*, it is a matter of mutual and reciprocal causes and conditions.

1. *Avidyā*, ignorance, is all the afflictions (*kleśa*) of past existence (*atītyajanma*).

It is often quoted in the Vinayas: cf. Che song liu, T 1435, k. 36, p. 260b; Ken pen chouo ... p'o seng che, T 1450, k. 18, p. 192c.

568 In the third chapter of the Kośa, p. 60-138, there is a complete explanation of the problems related to pratītyasamutpāda, along with an abundant bibliography. The monograph of L. de La Vallee Poussin, *Théorie des douze causes*, Gand, 1913, is still very instructive.

569 Cf. Kośa, III, 68, 116.

570 ibid., p. 68.

571 ibid., p. 69.

2. From *avidyā* there arise actions (*karman*) which realize fruition in a universe (*lokadhātu*). These are the *saṃskāra*s, formations.

3. From *saṃskāra* there arises a defiled mind (*samalacitta*), initial cause of the [present] existence. Because it is aware in the way that a calf (*vatsa*) is aware of its mother, it is called *vijñāna,* consciousness.

4. This *vijñāna* produces both the four formless aggregates (*arūpiskandha*) [perception (*saṃjñā*), feeling (*vedanā*), volition (*saṃskāra*), consciousness (*vijñāna*)] and form (*rūpa*) which serves as base them. This is name and form, *nāmarūpa*.

5. From this *nāmarūpa* there arise the six sense organs, eye, etc. (*cakṣurādiṣaḍindriya*). These are the *ṣaḍāyatana*s, the six [inner] bases of consciousness.

6. The meeting (*saṃnipāta*) of organ (*indriya*), object (*viṣaya*) and a consciousness (*vijñāna*) is called *sparśa*, contact.

7. From *sparśa* there arises *vedanā*, sensation.

8. Within *vedanā* there arises an adherence of mind (*cittābhiniveśa*) called craving or thirst, *tṛṣṇā*.

9. The tendency caused by *tṛṣṇā* is called *upādāna,* grasping, attachment.

10. From this *upādāna* comes action (*karman*) which brings about the new existence (*punarbhavahetupratyaya*) which is called *bhava*, the act of existence.

11. As a consequence of this *bhava*, one reassumes the five aggregates (*skandha*) of the new lifetime (*punarbhava)*. This is called *jāti*, birth.

12. The decay of the five skandhas coming from this *jāti* is called *jarāmaraṇa*, old-age-and-death. *Jarāmaraṇa* gives rise to dissatisfaction (*daurmanasya*), sorrow [100c] (*parideva*) and all kinds of worries (*śoka*); and thus the mass of suffering (*duḥkhaskandhasamudaya*) accumulates.

If the purity of the true nature of dharmas (*dharmasatyalakṣaṇaviusuddhi)* is considered one-pointedly (*ekacitta*), ignorance (*avidyā*) vanishes. When *avidya* has disappeared, the formations (*saṃskāra*) also vanish and, as a result, [all the members of pratītyasamutpāda disappear one after the other] until the entire mass of suffering (*duḥkhaskandhasamudaya*) vanishes. The person who, by means of these soteriological means (*upāya*) and by not being attached to wrong views (*mithyādṛṣṭi*), is able to teach people, is said to be skillful (*kuśala*). Also said to be skillful is the person who, examining these twelve causes-and-conditions, rejects any system and refuses to adhere to it so as to understand only the true nature [underlying the pratītyasamutpāda]. Thus, in the Prajñāpāramitā in the chapter entitled *Pou k'o tsin* (Ākṣayaparivarta), the Buddha says to Subhūti: "Avidyā is indestructible (*akṣaya*) like space; the saṃskāras are indestructible like space and similarly [all the members of pratītyasamutpāda] and the mass of suffering (*duḥkhaskandhasamudaya*) are indestructible like space. The bodhisattva should know that. The person who understands that cuts off the head of ignorance without falliong into it. The person who sees the

twelve-membered pratītyasamutpāda in that way will sit on the throne of bodhi (*bodhimaṇda*) and will become omniscient (*sarvajñā)*."572

15. ASAṂKHYEYAKALPAPRAṆIDHĀNASUSAMĀRABDHA

Sūtra: They have formulated the vows since incalculable periods ago (*asaṃkhyeyakalpapraṇidhānasusumārabdhaiḥ*).

Śāstra: The meaning of the word 'asaṃkhyeya' has already been explained above in the chapter on the Bodhisattva. As for the word 'kalpa', the Buddha defined it by the following comparisons:

"Suppose there is a rocky mountain (*śailaparvata*) four thousand *li* [in size] to which a venerable monk (*āyuṣmat*) comes once every hundred years (*varṣaśatasyatyayena*), brushing against it with his silk robe (*kāśika vastra*): this great rock mountain would be worn out before a kalpa passes."573 - "Suppose there is a great city (*nagara*) of four thousand *li*, full of mustard seeds (*sarṣapa*), unsorted and not leveled out, and that a venerable monk comes once every hundred years and takes away one seed: the mustard seeds would have disappeared before a kalpa would have passed."574

During innumerable kalpas of this kind, the bodhisattva has formed the great vow to save all beings. This is what is called the vow of the Great Mind. In order to save all beings, the fetters (*saṃyojana*) must be cut through and supreme perfect enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*) must be realized. This is what is called vow.

16. SMITAMUKHAPŪRVĀBHILĀPIN

Sūtra: They speak with a smiling face (*smitamukhapūrvābhilāpibhiḥ*).

Śāstra: Because they have uprooted hatred (*dveṣa*), chased away envy (*īrṣyā*), nd always practice great loving-kindness (*mahāmaitrī*), great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*) and great joy (*mahāmuditā*), because they

572 This passage of the Akṣayaparivarta occurs in the Pañcaviṃśati; Mokṣala's transl., T 221, ch. LXVIII, k. 15, p. 106a26-106b8; - Kumarajīva's transl., T 223, ch. LXVII, k. 20, p. 364b10-24; - Hiuan-tsang's transl., T 220, k. 458, p. 315c3-22.

573 *Pabbatasutta*: Saṃyutta, II, p. 181; Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 949), k. 34, p. 242c; T 100 (no. 342), k. 10, p. 487c; Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 51, p. 825c: *Seyyathāpi bhikkhu mahāselo pabbato .... gaccheyya na tv eva kappo*.

574 *Sāsapasutta*: Saṃyutta, II, p. 182; Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 948), k. 34, p. 242c; T 100 (no. 3421), k. 16, p. 487c; Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 51, p. 825b: *Seyyathāpi bhikkhu āyasaṃ nagaraṃ yojanam .... pariyādānaṃ gaccheyya na tv eva kappo*.

have avoided the four kinds of evil speech (*mithyāvāda*),[575] they have acquired a pleasant face. Some stanzas say:

Seeing a mendicant monk

He treats him in four ways:

As soon as he sees him, he looks at him kindly,

He goes to meet him and speaks to him respectfully.

He gives him a seat

And fulfills all his wishes:

[101a] With such generous inclinations

The state of Buddhahood is quite close.

The person who avoids the four sins of speech;

Lying (*mṛṣāvāda*), slander (*paiśunya*),

Harmful speech (*pāruṣya)* and frivolous speech (*saṃbhinnapralāpa*)

Gains a magnificent reward

The kind, gentle person who seeks the Path,

Wishes to save beings,

And avoids the four sins of speech

Is like a harnessed horse.

17. MAHĀPARṢANMADHYE VAIŚĀRADYASAMANVĀGATA

Sūtra: In the great assembly, they are endowed with the fearlessnesses (*mahāparṣanmadhye vaiśāradyasamanvāgataiḥ*).

Śāstra: As a result of their great merits, their firm qualities and their wisdom, they have acquired a supreme dhāraṇī of eloquence (*niruktidhāraṇī*) and, in the midst of the great assembly, they enjoy the fearlessnesses (*vaiśharadya*). Some stanzas say:

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575 The four mithyāvādas are lies (*mṛṣāvāda*), scandal (*paiśunya*), harmful speech (*pāruṣya*) and frivolous speech (*saṃbhinnapralāpa*). Cf. Dīgha, I, p. 4, 138; III, p. 232; Majjhima, I, p. 361-362; Saṃyutta, II, p. 167; Kośa, IV, p. 164-166.

Inwardly, his mind, his wisdom and his merits are slender;

Outwardly, he resorts to fine words:

He is like a bamboo (*veṇu*) without pith

That shows only its exterior.

Inwardly, his mind, his wisdom and his merits are vast;

Outwardly he makes use of true words:

He is like a beautiful diamond (*vajra*)

The inner and outer power of which are complete.

Moreover, they are endowed with the fearlessnesses, they are handsome, of noble family and of great power. Their discipline (*śīla*), their concentration (*samādhi*) and their wisdom (*prajñā*) are perfect. Having nothing to fear, this is why they are fearless in the midst of the great assembly. Some stanzas say:

The person of little merit and without wisdom

Is unable to occupy a high seat.

He is like a wolf in the face of a lion

That crouches down and does not dare to come out.

The great sage is without fear,

He can occupy the lion's seat.

He is like the lion whose roar

Makes all the beasts tremble.

Having accumulated immense and infinite wisdom and merit, they have nothing to fear. Some stanzas say:

The person who has destroyed all his faults

And succeeds in avoiding the minor sins,

A great virtuous person of this kind

Has no vow that cannot be realized.

This person of great wisdom

Is free of suffering in this world,

Because for such a person

Saṃsāra and nirvāṇa are identical.

Finally, they have acquired only the fearlessnesses belonging to the bodhisattva. Thus, in the *P'i na p'o na wang king,*[576] it is said that the bodhisattvas acquire only the four fearlessnesses (*vaiśāradya*). This has been said above.

18. ANANTAKALPAKOṬIDHARMADEŚANĀNIḤSARAṆAKUŚALA

Sūtra: For innumerable *koṭi* of kalpas, they have been skilled in preaching the Dharma and in surpassing (*anantakalpakoṭidharmadeśanāniḥsaranakuśalaiḥ*).

Śāstra: They themselves have thoroughly cultivated the roots of good [101b] (*kuśalamūla*), such as zeal (*apramāda*), etc. This was not for just one, two, three or four lifetimes, but indeed for innumerable asaṃkhyeyakalpas that the bodhisattvas have accumulated qualities (*guṇa*) and wisdom (*prajñā*). A stanza says:

They have produced the great thought for beings;

The person who disdains and scorns them

Commits an unspeakably grave sin.

How much more guilty the person who wants to harm them!

Moreover, for incalculable (*asaṃkhyeya*) and immeasurable (*aprameya*) kalpas, the bodhisattvas have cultivated their body, practiced discipline (*śīla*), exercised their mind (*citta*) and their intelligence (*mati*), understood themselves arising (*utpāda*) and cessation (*nirodha),* the bonds *(bandhana)* and deliverance *(vimokṣa),* intractability[577] *(pratiloma) and* adaptability[578] (*anuloma*); they understand the true nature of dharmas (*dharmasatyalakṣaṇa*); they possess the three kinds of analysis (*nirmocana*), namely, of text (*śruta*), of meaning (*artha*) and of acquisition (*lābha*); they understand the various sermons (*nānādharmaparyaya*) without difficulty (*pratigha*); in order to preach the doctrine they use the virtue of skillful means (*upāyakauśalyapāramitā*) and the virtue of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*); all the words of these bodhisattvas are the words of the āryas to whom it is appropriate to accord faith. Some stanzas say:

The person who is intelligent but who lacks knowledge

Does not know the true nature.

He is like an eye that can see nothing

In complete darkness.

The learned person who has no wisdom

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[576] Lamotte says he does not know what sūtra this is.

[577] Lamotte translates *pratiloma* as "rébellion" in French, in English 'intractibility". Monier Williams gives: reverse, inverted, adverse, hostile, disagreeable, unpleasant, in inverted or reverse order, against the natural course or order.

[578] Lamotte translates *anuloma* as "adaptation", in English, adaptability. Monier Williams gives: natural direction, in order, regular, successive, conformable.

Also does not know the true meaning.

He is like a lamp (*dīpa*) in full daylight

Where the eye would be absent.

As for the learned person of keen wisdom,

His words merit trust.

The person who has neither wisdom nor knowledge

Is just an ox in a human body.

Question. - The sūtra should say that the bodhisattvas for innumerable *koṭi* of kalpas are skilled in preaching the doctrine; why does it also say [that they are skilled] in surpassing (*niḥsarana*)?

Answer. - The bodhisattvas preach easy subjects to the ignorant and the disciples; they preach difficult subjects to the learned (*bahuśruta*) and the masters with keen wisdom (*tīkṣnaprajñopadeśa*). Among teachers of mediocre knowledge, they diminish themselves; among the śaikṣa and the learned (*bahuśruta*), they welcome objections with courage and joy. Among all beings, they give evidence of great power (*anubhāva*). Thus, a stanza in the *T'ien houei king* (Devasamājasūtra)[579] says:

His face, his eyes and his teeth gleam

And light up the great assembly.

He outshines the brilliance of all the gods

Who all disappear.

This is why it is said that for innumerable koṭi of kalpas the bodhisattvas have been skilled in preaching the doctrine and in surpassing.

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[579]The Taisho edition has *T'ien houei king* "Sūtra of the assembly of gods", but one should read *Ta houei king* "Sūtra of the great assembly" according to the Souei and T'ang editions. *Ta houei king* is the title given to the Mahāsamājasūtra in the Tch'ang a han, T 1 (no. 19), k. 12, p. 79b, and in the Che song liu, T 1435, k. 24, p. 174b which, in order to avoid error, also adds the title in transcription: *Mo ho cha mo k'i kien*. There are several editions of this text, which E. Waldschmidt has studied in detail:

1) Sanskrit text, *Mahāsaājasūtra*, occurring in central Asia and published in Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke*, p. 149-206.

2) Pāli text, *Mahāsamayasuttanta*, in Dīgha (no. 20), II, p. 253-262. - Cf. Saṃyutta, I, p. 26-27.

3) Chinese translations in Tch'ang a han, T 1 (no. 19), k. 12, p. 79b-81b; Ta san mo jo king, T 19, vol. I, p. 258-259; Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 1192), k. 44, p. 323a; T 100 (no. 105), k. 5, p. 411a.

4) Tibetan translations: *Ḥdus pa chen poḥi mdo* or Mahāsamayasūtra (cf. Csoma-Feer, p. 288; OKC, no. 750, p. 226); *Mdo chen po ḥdus pa chen poḥo mdo €es bya ba* or Mahāsamājasūtranāmamahāsūtra, of which there are two versions (cf. OKC, no. 332, p. 112; no. 688, p. 174).

This sūtra is cited under the title of *Mahāsamājīya* in Karmavibhaṅga, p. 156.

Error excepted, the stanza which the Mppś attributes to it here does not occur in any of these versions.

CHAPTER XI: THE TEN COMPARISONS

Text of the sūtra commented upon in this chapter (cf. Pañcaviṃśati, p. 4-5; Śatasāhasrikā, p. 5).

(19) *Māyāmarīcidakacandrākāśapratiśrutkāgandharvanagarasvapnachāyāpatibimba-nirmāṇopamadharmādhimukatair* (20) *asaṅgavaiśāradyapratilabdhaiḥ* (21) *sattvacittacaritajñaiḥ sūkṣmajñānāvatārakuṣalaiḥ*.

These bodhisattvas accept that dharmas are like a magic show, a mirage, the moon reflected in water, space, an echo, a city of the gandharvas, a dream, a shadow, a reflection in a mirror, a metamorphosis. They have acquired the unhindered fearlessnesses. Knowing the process of mind and the behavior of beings, they are skilled in saving them by means of their subtle wisdom.

19. THE TEN UPAMĀNAS

[**k. 6, 101c**] *Sūtra*: These bodhisattvas accept that dharmas are like 1) a magic show, 2) a mirage, 3) the moon reflected in water, 4) space, 5) an echo, 6) a city of the gandharvas, 7) a dream, 8) a shadow, 9) a reflection in a mirror, 10) a creation (*māyāmarīcidakacandrākāśapratiśrutkā-gandharvasvapnachāyapratibimbanirmāṇopamadharmādhimuktaiḥ*).[580]

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580 According to the teaching of the Prajñās and Nāgārjuna, dharmas or phenomena are empty of self-nature (*svabhāvaśūnya*) because they result from causes (*pratītyasamutpanna*). These dharmas that are empty of self-nature, arising from dharmas that are themselves empty of self-nature, really do not arise (*anutpanna*): they are non-existent. But if things are non-existent, how can they be seen, heard, and experienced? It is to this question that the ten comparisons that are presented here reply: they are seen in the way that one sees a magical object, they are heard in the way that one hears an echo, they are experienced in the way that one experiences things in a dream, etc.

A. Although canonical Buddhism and the Lesser Vehicle, which is its extension, limit their criticism to negation of the pudgala and acknowledge a real existence in dharmas, professions of nihilism in the spirit of pure Nāgārjunaism may be found here and there in their scriptures. The Mppś will give a specimen of them: this is a stanza taken from the Saṃyutta, III, p. 142, often reproduced in the Pāli texts:

pheṇapiṇḍūpamaṃ rūpaṃ vedabā bubbuḷupamā,
marīcikūpamā saññā saṅkhārā kadalūpamā,
māyūpamañca viññāṇaṃ dīpitādiccabandunā.

"Form is like a mass of foam, feeling like a bubble of water, perception is like a mirage, volition is like the trunk of a banana tree, consciousness is like a magic show: this is what the Buddha, a relative of the sun, has taught."

The Dhammapada, v. 170, may also be cited:

yathā bubbulakaṃ passe, yathā passe marīcikaṃ.
evaṃ lokaṃ avekkhantaṃ maccurājā na passati.

"See the world as a bubble of water, see it as a mirage. The lord of death does not see the person who considers the world in this way."

Furthermore, most of the comparisons used by the Prajñās already occur in the canon but are presented in a different spirit; see Rhys-Davids-Stede, s.v. *māyā*, *marīci*, etc.

B. In order to explain dharmanairātmya, the Prajñās resort to ten type-comparisons of which the Mppś gives a specimen here. But their number is not fixed at ten and they do not follow the same order.

Pañcaviṃśati, Sanskrit text, p. 4: 1) *māyā*, 2) *marīci*, 3) *dakacandra*, 4) *svapna*, 5) *pratiśrutkā*, 6) *pratibhāsa*, 7) *pratibimba*, 8) *nirmāṇa* (idem in Mahāvyutpatti, no. 854).

Ibid., Hiuan tsang's tr., T 220, vol. VII, p. 1b22: 1) *māyā*, 2) *marīci*, 3) *svapna*, 4) *dakacandra*, 5) *pratiśrutkā*, 6) *khapuṣpa* (sky flower), 7) *pratibimba*, 8) *chāyā*, 9) *nirmāṇa*, 10) *gandharvanagara*.

Ibid., Mokṣala's tr., T 221, k. 1, p. 1a17: 1) *māyā*, 2) *svapna,* 3) *pratiśrutkā*, 4) *pratibhāsa*, 5) *chāyā*, 6) *nirmāṇa*, 7) *budbuda*, 8) *pratibimba*, 9) *maricī*, 10) *dakacandra*.

Ibid., Kumarajīva's tr,, T 223, k. 1, p.217a: cf. Mppś.

Śatasāhasrikā, Sanskrit text, p. 5: 1) *māyā*, 2) *marīci*, 3) *udakacandra*, 4) *svapna*, 5) *pratiśrutka*, 6) *pratibhāsa*, 7) *gandharvanagara*, 8) *pratibimba*, 9) *nirmāṇa*.

Ibid, p. 1209: The category 'bodhisattva' is also unreal, like the following things: *ākāśaśakuni*, *svapna, māyā, marīci, udakacandra*, *pratiśrutkā, pratibhāsa, bimba, tathāgatanirmita*.

The Vajracchedikā, p. 46, puts all of this into verse: *tadyathākāśe*

tārakā timiraṃ dīpo āyāsvaśyāya budbudaṃ/

svapnaṃ ca vidyud abhraṃ ca evaṃ draṣṭavyaṃ saṃskṛtam//

"The conditioned should be thought to be like a star in space, shadows, a lamp, hoarfrost, a water bubble, a dream, a flash of lightning a cloud. - See the Khotanese commentary in Hoernle, *Remains*, p. 287.

C. The Vaipulyasūtras repeat this entire nomenclature:

The Lalitavistara, p. 181, when listing the qualities of the bodhisattva, ends with the following list: *māyāmarīcisvapnodakacandrapratiśrutkāpratibhāsopamasarvadharmanayāvatīrṇaḥ*. - The Avataṃsaka, T 279, k. 44, p. 232b, repeats it in regard to the ten *kṣānti*s.

D. The great Madhyamaka masters, Nāgārjuna, Deva, Candrakīrti, Śāntideva, explain the ten comparisons in detail: Madh. kārikā and Madh. vṛtti: *māyā*, p. 45, 443, 449; *marīci*, p. 188. 346. 457, 549; *udakacandra* and *ambucandra*, p. 53, 109, 173; *ākāśapuṣpa* and *khapuṣpa*, p. 182; *pratiśrutkā*, p. 215, 518; *gandharvanagara*, p. 334, 340, 419; *svapna*, p. 289; *bimba and pratibimba*, p. 345, 495, 540 544, 545, 591; *nirmāṇa*, p. 334, 552; *alātacakra*, p. 173, 219, 238, 419; *taimirika* (a person suffering from ophthalmia), p. 30, 75, 261, 274, 445, 523.

Catuḥśataka, XIII, v. 325 (ed. Vaidya, p. 108; ed. Bhattacharya, p. 197):

alātacakranirmāṇasvapnamāyāmbucandrakaiḥ/

dhūmikāntaḥ pratiśrutkāmarīcyabhraiḥ samo bhavaḥ//

"Existence is like a burning brand brandished in a circle, a creation, a dream, a magic show, the moon reflected in water, a fog, an echo in the midst [of the mountains], a mirage, a cloud."

E. The sūtras from which the Vijñānavadin school is derived have adopted these comparisons:

Laṅkāvatāra, p. 25:

māyāsvapnopamaḥ kena kathaṃ gandharvasaṃnibhaḥ/

marīcidakacandrābhaḥ kena loko bravīhi me//

"Tell me how is the world like a magic show, a dream, like [a city] of the gandharvas, like a mirage and the moon reflected in water?"

The citations can be infinitely multiplied by referring to D. T. Suzuki's *Index to the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, Kyoto, 1934, s.v. *māyā*, *marīci*, etc.

Saṃdhinirmocana, I, v. 4-5, where the example of the magic show is fully developed.

1. Like a magic show (māyā)

Śāstra: These ten comparisons serve to explain empty dharmas (*śūnyadharma*).

Question. - If all dharmas are empty (*śūnya*) like a magic show (*māyā*), why are they seen (*dṛṣṭa*), heard (*śruta*), felt (*ghrāta*), tasted (*āsvadita*), touched (*spṛṣṭa*) and known (*vijñāta*)? If they truly did not exist, how could one see them ... and know them? - Furthermore, if they are seen out of error although they do not exist, why do we not see sounds (*śabda*) and hear colors (*rūpa*)? - If all dharmas are equally empty (*śūnya*) and non-existent (*asat)*, why are some of them visible (*sanidarśana*) and others invisible (*anidarśana*)? Being empty, dharmas are like a finger (*aṅguli*) of which the first nail (*nakha*) is non-existent and likewise the second. Why is it that we do not see the second nail and we see only the first?[581] Therefore we know that the first nail, which really exists, is visible, whereas the second, which does not really exist, is invisible.

Answer. - Although the nature of dharmas (*dharmalakṣaṇa*) is empty, we can distinguish visible dharmas (*sanidarśana*) and invisible dharmas (*anidarśana*). Take, for example, magical elephants (*hastin*) and horses (*aśva*) and other things of this kind: we know very well that they are not real and yet we see their color, we hear their sounds; they correspond to the six sense-objects and they are not mixed up one with the other. In the same way, although dharmas are empty, we can see them, we can hear them, and they are not confused one with the other.

Daśabhūmika, p. 47: Ninth equality: *sarvadharmamāyāsvapnapratibhāsapratiśrutkodakacandrapratibimbanirmāṇasamatā*.

F. The Vijñānavādin masters Vasubandhu, Asaṅga, Hiuan tsang, etc., have used these comparisons.

Viṃśikā, p. 1: examples of the taimirika, the gandharvanagara and svapna.

Triṃśikā, p. 35: *Vijñanaṃ ca māyāgandharvanagarasvapnatimirādāv asaty ālambane jayate* (Consciousness arises like a magic show, like a city of the gandharvas, like a dream, like ophthalmia, etc., although its object does not exist.) - Ibid., p. 40: *tatpṛiṣṭhalabdhena jñānena māyāmarīcisvapnapratiśrutkodakacandranirmitasamān sarvadharmān pratyeti* (By subsequent knowledge, one understands that all dharmas are like a magic show, a mirage, a dream, an echo, the moon reflected in water, a creation).

Sūtrāṃkāra, XI, 29-30, ed. Lévi, p. 62: *māyāsvapnamarīcibimbasadṛśāḥ .... vibuddhottamaiḥ//* "Like a magic show, a dream, a mirage and a reflection, like an image and an echo, like the moon reflected in water, and like a creation: this is how the formations are and have been elucidated by the Buddhas, the supreme enlightened ones."

Saṃgraha, p. 122-124, where the dependent nature (*paratantrasvabhāva*) is compared successively to *māyā, marīci, svapna, pratibimba, pratibhāsa, pratiśrutkā, udakacandra* and *pariṇāma*. - The explanations given by the Bhāṣya are especially clear.

Madhyāntavibhaṅga, p. 229: *tathā māyā svātmany avidyamāne na hastyādyātmanā .... gandharvanagarapratiśrutkādayo veditavyāḥ*.

Siddhi, p. 532, which repeats the explanations of the Saṃgraha.

[581] Lamotte says: "The meaning of this comparison escapes me."

Thus, in the *Tö niu king* (Therīsūtra) the therī asks the Buddha: "O Bhagavat, is [**102a**] ignorance (*avidyā*) internal (*ādhyātmika*)?"

"No."

"Is it external (*bahirdhā*)?"

"No."

"Is it both internal and external?"

"No."

"O Bhagavat, does this ignorance come from the previous lifetime (*pūrvajanma*)?"

"No."

"Does it come from the present lifetime (*ihajanma*) and does it pass to the next one (*punarjanma*)?"

"No."

"Does this ignorance have an arising (*utpāda*) and a cessation (*nirodha*)?"

"No."

"Is there a truly existent dharma that could be called ignorance?"

"No."

Then the therī said to the Buddha: "If ignorance is not internal, not external, neither internal nor external, if it does not pass from the previous lifetime to the present lifetime and from the present lifetime to the following lifetime, if it does not have a true nature, how can ignorance be the condition (*pratyaya*) for the formations (*saṃskāra*) and so on [for the twelve members of [pratītyasamutpāda] up to this accumulation of this mass of suffering (*duḥkhaskandhasyotpādaḥ*)? O Bhagavat, it is as if a tree has no root (*mūla*): how could it produce a trunk (*skandha)*, knots (*granthi*), branches (*śākhā*), leaves (*dala*), flowers (*puṣpa*) and fruit (*phala*)?"

The Buddha replied: "The nature of dharmas is emptiness. However, worldly people (*pṛthagjana*), ignorant (*aśrutavat*) and without knowledge (*ajñānavat*), produce all kinds of afflictions (*kleśa*) in regard to dharmas, [of which the main one is ignorance]. This affliction is the cause and condition (*pratyaya*) for actions of body, speech and mind (*kāyavāgmanaskarman*) which are the cause of a new existence (*punarjanma*). As a result of this existence we experience suffering (*duḥkha*) or pleasure (*sukha*). Thus, if the affliction (i.e., ignorance) did not truly exist, there would be no actions of body, speech and mind, and we would not experience suffering or pleasure. When a magician (*māyākāra*) creates all kinds of objects by magic, are these magical products internal *(ādhyātmika*) according to you?"

"No."

"Are they external?"

"No."

"Are they both internal and external?"

"No."

"Do they pass from the previous lifetime to the present lifetime and from the present lifetime to the next lifetime?"

"No."

"Do the products of magic have a birth (*utpāda*) and a cessation (*nirodha*)?"

"No."

"Is there really a dharma that is the product of magic?"

"No."

Then the Buddha said:

"Do you not see, do you not hear, the musical instruments (*vādya, tūrya*) produced by magic?"

"Yes, I see them and I hear them."

"Then", continued the Buddha, "if the magic show is empty (*śūnya*), deceptive (*vañcaka*) and without reality, how can one get musical instruments by magic?

"Bhagavat, although the magic show has no basis, one can hear it and see it."

"Well," said the Buddha, "it is the same for ignorance. It is not internal, it is not external, it is not both, neither is it neither internal nor external. It does not pass from the past lifetime to the present lifetime nor from the present lifetime to the next lifetime; it has no true nature, it has neither birth nor cessation. However, ignorance (*avidyā*) is the cause and condition (*hetupratyaya*) for the formations (*saṃskāra*) and so on up to the accumulation of this mass of suffering (*duḥkha-skandhasyotpādaḥ*). When the magic show is over, the products of magic vanish. In the same way, when ignorance is destroyed (*kṣīṇa*), the formations also are destroyed and so on [for the twelve members of pratītyasamutpāda] up to the complete disappearance of the mass of suffering."

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Moreover, this example of the magic show demonstrates that, among beings, all conditioned dharmas (*saṃskṛtadharma*) are empty (*śūnya*) and without solidity (*adhruva*). And so it is said that all the formations (*saṃskāra*) are like a magic show that deceives little children; they depend on causes and conditions (*hetupratyayāpekṣa*), they are powerless and do not last for a long time

[**102b**] (*acirasthitika*). This is why the bodhisattvas regard dharmas as a magic show.

2. Like a mirage (marīci)

When the light of the sun (*sūryāloka*) and the wind (*vāyu*) stir up the dust (*rajas*), there is a mirage; in the desert (*kāntāra*), it appears as if there were gazelles (*ghoṭakamṛga*) and, on seeing them, not knowing, we assume the presence of water (*vāri*). It is the same for the characteristics of male and female (*strīpuruṣa*): when the sun of the fetters (*saṃyojana*) and the afflictions (*kleśa*) has heated up the dust of the formations (*saṃskāra*) and the wind of bad thoughts (*mithyā-manasikāra*) swirls in the desert of transmigration (*saṃsāra*), the person without wisdom asserts the characteristics of male and female (*strīpuruṣa*). This is a mirage.

Furthermore, if the sight of the mirage from afar (*viprakṛṣṭa*) calls up the notion of water (*vārisaṃjñā*), from close up (*saṃnikṛṣṭa*) this notion disappears. In the same way, when the ignorant person is far away from the holy doctrine (*āryadharma*), he is ignorant of the non-existence of self (*anātman*), the emptiness of dharmas (*dharmaśūnyatā*), and attributes to the aggregates (*skandha*), the elements (*dhātu*) and the bases of consciousness (*āyatana*) the characteristics of a person, male or female [which are foreign to it]. But when he has come close to the holy dharma, he discovers the true nature of dharmas (*dharmasatyalakṣaṇa*) and scatters the illusions (*vañcana*) and false notions (*mithyāsaṃjñā*). This is why the bodhisattvas regard dharmas as a mirage.

3. Like the moon reflected in water (udakacandra)

Actually, the moon (*candra*) is situated in space (*ākāśa*) but its reflection (*bimba*) appears in the water (*udaka*). In the same way, 'the moon' of the true Dharma (*bhūtadharma*) is in 'the space' of suchness (*dharmatā*) and the peak of existence (*bhūtakoṭi*), but its 'reflection' - the wrong notions of 'me' and 'mine' (*ātmātmīyanimitta*) - appear in the 'water' of the minds of fools (*bālacitta*), gods or men. This is why [dharmas] are like the moon reflected in water.

Furthermore, when a little child (*bālaka*) sees the moon reflected in the water, he is happy and wants to grab it, but the adults who see it make fun of him. In the same way, the ignorant person, seeing his body, believes in the existence of a personal self (*atman*): lacking true knowledge, he sees all kinds of dharmas and, having seen them, he is happy and wants to grasp (*udgṛhṇati*) the characteristics of male or female (*strīpuruṣa*), etc.; but the āryas who have found the Path make fun of him. A stanza says:

Like the moon reflected in water, like the water of a mirage,

Like attainments in a dream, death and birth are like that.

The person who wants to really secure them

Is a fool whom the āryas ridicule.

Finally, it is in clear water that one sees the reflection of the moon; when the water is disturbed, the reflection vanishes. In the same way, it is in the pure water of an ignorant mind (*avidyācitta*) that the pride of self (*asmimāna*) and the reflections of the fetters (*saṃyojana*) appear; but when the stick of wisdom (*prajñādaṇḍa*) stirs up the water of the mind, one no longer sees the self or the other reflections of the fetters. This is why the bodhisattvas think that dharmas are like the moon reflected in water.

4. Like space (ākāśa)

Space is just a name (*nāmamātra*) and not a real dharma.[582] Space is invisible (*adrśya*) but, looking at it from afar, the eye perceives a light blue color. In the same way, dharmas are empty (*śūnya*) and non-existent (*asat*): the person who is still far away from pure true wisdom (*anāsravasatyaprajñā*) does not discover its true nature (*satyalakṣaṇa*) but sees in it ātman, men (*puṃs*) and women (*strī*), houses (*gṛha*) and cities (*nagara*), all kinds of different things (*dravya*), and his mind clings (*abhiniviśate*) to them. When a little child (*bālaka*) looks at the blue sky, he says that he sees a real color (*varṇa*); but those who fly up very high and come closer [to the sky] see nothing; it is when we look at it from a distance that we [**102c**] assert that we see a blue color. It is the same for dharmas. This is why the sūtra says that they are like space.

Moreover, space is always pure by nature (*svabhāvaviśuddha*), but when it is overcast and covered [by clouds], people say that it is impure (*aviśuddha)*. In the same way, the dharmas are always pure by nature, but when they are obscured by desire (*rāga*), hatred (*dveṣa*) and delusion (*moha*), people declare them to be impure. Some stanzas say:

During the summer months (*grīṣma*), there is thunder, lightning and rain,

Dark clouds cover the sky, the weather is not calm;

In the same way, in ignorant ordinary people (*pṛthagjana*),

All sorts of afflictions (*kleśa*) cover over the mind.

In a wintry (*hemanta*) sky, sometimes the sun shines,

But usually it is dark and clouds cover it over.

In the same way, the person who has acquired the first or second fruit[583]

Is still darkened by the defilements of desire.

In a spring (*vasanta*) sky, the sun is about to shine forth,

But is still covered by dark clouds.

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582 Cf. the refutation of space in Madh. vṛtti. p. 129-130.

583 The *srotaāpattiphala* and the s*akṛdāgāmiphala*.

In the same say, in the person who has renounced desire (*vītarāga*) and has acquired the third fruit,[584]

Residues of ignorance and pride still hide the mind.

In autumn (*śarad*), the sun is not covered by clouds,

The sky is pure like the water of the oceans.

Having accomplished what had to be done (*kṛtakṛtya*), being of an immaculate mind,[585]

The arhat also is completely pure.

Moreover, space is without beginning, middle or end (*apūrvamadhyacarama*). It is the same for dharmas. In the Mahāyāna, the Buddha said to *Siu p'ou t'i* (Subhūti): "Space is beginningless, without middle and without end; and it is the same with dharmas." This text should be cited in full. This is why it is said that dharmas are like space.

Question. - Space is a truly existent dharma. Why? If space were not a real dharma, it would not have the activity (*kāritra*) of rising up or lowering, going or coming, bending or spreading out, leaving or entering, etc., since it would not have the room in which to move.

Answer. – *i)* If space were a truly existent dharma, it should have an abode (*adhiṣṭhāna, āspada*). Why? Because without an abode, there are no dharmas. If space resides in holes (*chidra*),[586]space would reside in space; therefore space does not reside in cavities. If it resided in any reality whatsoever, this abode would be real (*bhūta*) and not empty (*śūnya*) and thus space would be unable to reside there and would have nothing to accommodate it.

ii) Moreover, you say that space is the place of abiding (*adhiṣṭhāna*), but in a stone wall (*śailabhitti*) which truly exists, there is no place of abiding. If there is no place of abiding, there is no space. Since space has no abode, there is no space.

iii) Finally, space does not exist because it has no specific characteristic (*lakṣaṇa*).[587] Each dharma has its own characteristic and it is because of this characteristic that we recognize its existence. Thus earth (*pṛthivī*) has solidity (*khakkhaṭatva*) as its characteristic; water (*ap-*), humidity (*dravatva*); fire (*tejas*), heat

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584 The *anāgāmiphala*.

585 The *arhatphala*.

586 For the Sarvāsivādin-Vaibhāṣikas, space is the hole, opening, or the void (c*hidram ākāṣadhātvākhyam*); it is light (*āloka*) and darkness (*tamas*). For the Sautrāntikas, it is just the absence of a resisting body (*sapratighadravyābhāvamātra*). See references in Kośa, I, p. 49-50.

587 This paragraph and the following one are according to the commentary of the Madh. kārikās, V, 1-2, p. 129-130: *nākāśaṃ vidyate kiṃcit pūrvam .... bhāve kramatāṃ kuha lakṣaṇam*. "Space does not exist prior to the nature of space (namely, the absence of an obstacle: *anāvaraṇa*), for it would be without nature if it existed prior to its nature. - A substance without nature does not exist anywhere. Since a substance without nature does not exist, to what would this nature apply?"

(*uṣṇatva*); wind (*vāyu*), movement (*īraṇatva*);[588]consciousness (*vijñāna)*, intellection (*vijñaptitva*); wisdom (*prajñā*), insight (*bodhana*); nirvāṇa, cessation (*uccheda*). Not having such a characteristic, space does not exist.

Question. - Space has a characteristic, but as you do not cognize it, you say [**103a**] that it does not exist. The characteristic of space is absence of *rūpa* (matter).

Answer. - That is not correct. Absence of *rūpa* means elimination of matter, but that is not a separate dharma any more than the extinguishing of a lamp (*dīpa*) is not a distinct dharma. This is why space has no self-nature.

Moreover, space does not exist. Why? You speak of *rūpa* by saying that the absence of *rūpa* is the self-nature of space; if that were so, insofar as *rūpa* does not arise, the specific nature of space does not exist.

Finally, you say that *rūpa* is an impermanent dharma (*anitya*), but that space is a permanent (*nitya*) dharma. Before *rūpa* existed, there should have therefore been a dharma called space, since it is eternal. If *rūpa* is not absent, the self-nature of space does not exist, and if this nature does not exist, space does not exist either. This is why space is a mere name without any reality. The dharmas are also like space; they are mere names without any reality. Consequently, the bodhisattvas believe that dharmas are like space.

5. Like an echo (pratiśrutkā)

In a narrow valley, a deep gorge or an empty house, when a sound (*śabda*) or a noise is made, from this sound [that is produced] another sound arises that is called an echo. The ignorant person thinks that there is somebody who is repeating his words, but the wise person knows that the echo is not due to a third person and that it is solely by a reverberation of the sound (*śabdasparśa*) that there is a new sound called an echo. The echo is empty (*śūnya*) of reality but it is able to deceive the ear organ (*śrotrendriya)*. In the same way, when a person is about to speak, there is a wind (*vāyu*) in his mouth (*mukha*) called *Yeou t'o na* (udāna) that passes to the nostrils (*nābhi*); when it strikes the nostrils, an echo is produced and at the moment that it comes out, it strikes in seven places and subsides. That is language (*abhilāpa*). Some stanzas say:

> The wind called udāna
>
> Strikes the nostrils and rises up;
>
> This wind then strikes in seven places:
>
> The nape of the neck, the gums, the teeth and the lips,
>
> The tongue, the throat and the chest.
>
> Thus language is produced.
>
> The fool does not understand that;

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[588] For the nature of the four elements, cf. Majjhima, III, p. 240-241; *Pitṛputrasamāgamasūtra*, cited in Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 245; Mahāvyutpatti, no, 1842-1843; Kośa, I, p. 22.

Hesitant, obstinate, he produces *dveśa* and *moha*.

The person endowed with wisdom

Is not worried, does not cling,

And does not commit any mistake;

He adheres solely to the [true] nature of dharmas.

Bending and staying straight, bending and straightening up,

[The sound] that comes and goes manifests the language.

There is no agent there.

This [language] is a magic show.

How would anyone know

That this skeleton, this bundle of nerves,

Would be able to produce language

Like molten metal ejects water?

[**103b**] This is why the bodhisattvas regard dharmas as an echo.

6. Like a city of the gandharvas

When the sun rises, we see a city (*nagara*) of buildings with stories[589] (*kūṭāgāra*), palaces (*rājakula*), with people coming in and going out. The higher the sun rises, the more indistinct this city becomes; it is just an optical illusion without any reality. This is what is called a city of the gandharvas. People who have never before seen it and who discover it some morning in the east believe in its reality and hurry towards it; but the closer they come, the more unclear it becomes and when the sun is high, it disappears. Tormented by hunger and thirst (*kṣutpipāsā*), the people who perceive a haze like a herd of gazelles (*ghoṭakamṛga*) believe in the presence of water and hasten towards it, but the closer they come, the more the illusion becomes blurred. Exhausted, worn out, they come to a high mountain or a narrow valley; they utter cries and groans and the echo replies to them; they believe in the presence of inhabitants and try to find them, but they tire themselves out in vain and find nothing. Finally, when they have reflected and understood, their illusion disappears. In the same way, the ignorant man thinks he sees an ātman and dharmas in the aggregates (*skandha*), the elements (*dhātu*) and the bases of consciousness (*āyatana*) which are empty (*śūnya*) of any reality. Prey to desire (*rāga*), anger (*dveśa*) and obstinacy (*cittābhiniveśa*), they wander in the four directions to satisfy their desire. Lost and deceived, they are plunged into poverty and misery. But when they have recognized the non-existence of the ātman and real dharmas by means of wisdom (*prajñā*), their mistake (*viparyāsa*) disappears.

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[589] Lamotte translates *kūṭāgāra* as 'étage'. Monier-Williams gives 'an upper room, apartment on the top of a house'.

Furthermore, the city of the gandharvas is not a city; it is the mind of the person who sees it as such. In the same way, fools (*bāla*) conceive of that which is not a body as a body (*kāya*) and as a mind (*citta*) that which is not a mind.

Question. - A single example would suffice in understanding; why multiply the comparisons (*upamāna*) in this way?

Answer. – i) We have already answered this question [by saying] that the Mahāyāna is like the waters of the ocean and it contains absolutely all dharmas. Since the Mahāyāna multiplies the arguments (*hetupratyaya*), the large number of comparisons is not a fault.

ii) Moreover, the bodhisattvas have profound and sharp knowledge (*jñāna*); it is by means of all kinds of teachings (*dharmaparyāya*), reasonings (*hetuprayāya*) and comparisons (*upamāna*) that they eliminate dharmas. In order that people should understand, it is necessary to multiply the examples.

iii) Finally, in the texts of the śrāvakas, we never find the example of the city of the gandharvas,[590] but there are all kinds of other comparisons to illustrate impermanence (*anityatā).* [For example, a sūtra says]: "Form (*rūpa*) is like a ball of foam (*phenapiṇḍa*); feeling (*vedanā*) like a water bubble (*budbudha*); perception (*saṃjñā)* like a mirage (*marīci*), volition (*saṃskāra*) like the trunk of a banana tree (*kadalīskandha*); consciousness (*vijñāna*) like a magic show (*māyā*) and a magic net (*māyājāla*)."[591] In the sūtras, these are the comparisons used to illustrate emptiness. Since the city of the gandharvas is a different comparison, it is mentioned here.

Question. - In the śrāvaka texts, the body (*kāya*) is compared to a city;[592]why is the example of the city of the gandharvas given here?

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590 Actually, the word *gandhabbanagara* does not appear in the Pāli-English Dictionary of Rhys Davids-Stede.

591 Stanza from the Pheṇasutta:

a. In Pāli, in Saṃyutta, III, p. 142; Cullaniddesa, p. 680: *pheṇapiṇḍūpamaṃ rūpaṃ vedanā bubbuḷupamā .... māyūpamañca viññāṇaṃ dīpitādiccabandhunā*.

It is commented on in the Visuddhimagga, p. 479 as follows: *pheṇapiṇḍo viya rūpaṃ .... māyā viya viññāṇaṃ , vañcakato*.

b. In Sanskrit, in Madh. vṛtti, p. 41: *phenapiṇḍopamaṃ rūpaṃ vedanā budbudopamā .... vijñānam uktam ādityabandhanā*.

c. In Tibetan, in Madh. avātāra, p. 22: *gzugs ni sbu ba rdos pa ḥdra .... ñi maḥi gñen gyis nkaḥ stsal to*.

d. In Chinese, in Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 265), k. 10, p. 69a18-20; Wou yin p'i yu king, T 105, p. 501b18-20; Chouei mo so p'iao king, T 106, p. 502a16-18.

592 For example, Saṃyutta, IV, p.195-195 (= Tsa a han, T 99, no. 1175, k.43, p. 315b-316a): *Seyyathāpi bhikkhu rañño paccantimaṃ nagaram daḷhuddāpam .... sammādiṭṭhiyā pe sammāsamādhissā ti*.

[Imagine, O monk, a border city of some king, with solid foundations, with walls and solid towers, having six gates. There is a wise gate-keeper, careful and intelligent, who turns away certain visitors and allows others to enter. Having come from the east, a pair of express messengers speak to the gate-keeper: “Hey, man! Where is the lord of this city?" And the gate-keeper answers: "Gentlemen, he is in the square [within the city]." Then the pair of express messengers give the lord of the city a true message and then go back by the same road they came. Two other pairs of express messengers, coming from the west and the north, do the same.

Answer. - In the example of the city used by the śrāvakas, the subject of comparison exists as such (*dravyasat*), whereas the city has merely nominal existence (*prajñaptisat*). But in the city of the gandharvas, the subject of comparison itself is non-existent; it is like the burning brand flourished in a circle (*alātacakra*)[593] that deceives the human eye. In the śrāvaka texts, the example of the city is used only to refute the ātman. Here we use the example of the city of the gandharvas so that the bodhisattvas of keen faculties (*tīkṣnendriya*) penetrate the emptiness of dharmas deeply, which is why these are compared to a city of the gandharvas.

I have given you, O monk, a parable and here is the meaning of it:

The city, O monk, signifies the body composed of the four great elements, resulting from a father and a mother, nourished by rice and whey, undergoing eternal wear and tear, erosion, dissolving and disintegrating.

The six gates, O monk, signify the six inner bases of consciousness (the eye organs, the ear organ, etc.).

The gate-keeper, O monk, signifies attentiveness.

The pair of express messengers, O monk, signify calmness and concentration,

The lord of the city, O monk, signifies consciousness.

The square in the inner city, O monk, signifies the four great elements, earth, water, fire and wind.

The true message, O monk, signifies nirvāṇa.

The road on which to depart, O monk, signifies the noble eight-fold Path, namely, right view and the rest, and right concentration.

The Buddha did not say any more about the lord of the city, but we know from Buddhaghosa (Sārattha, III, P. 60 sq.) that it is about a dissolute young prince whom the two messengers lead back to the right path.

- In the Tsa a han, p. 315, the parable is slightly different and the Pāli version has contaminated the interpretation, which follows: "Imagine there is a city in a border land, having well-constructed walls, solid gates and smooth roads. At the four gates of the city there are four guards; they are intelligent, wise, and know those who enter and those who depart. In this city there is a courtyard where the lord of the city is seated. When the messenger from the east arrives, he asks the guard where the lord of the city is, and the guard answers: "The lord is inside the city sitting in the courtyard." Then this messenger goes to the lord of the city, gets his orders and returns by the same road. The messengers from the south, west and north do the same and each returns to their place of departure.

The Buddha says to the monk: I have told you a parable, now I will explain its meaning: The city is the person's body, coarse matter.... the well-constructed walls are the right views (*samyagdṛṣṭi*). The smooth roads are the six inner bases of consciousness (*ādhyātmika ṣaḍāyatana*). The four gates are the four abodes of consciousness (*vijñānasthiti)*. The four guards are the four foundations of mindfulness (*smṛtyupasthāna*). The lord of the city is consciousness (*vijñāna*) and [the other] aggregates of attachment (*upādānaskandha*). The messengers are calmness and contemplation (read *tche kouan* = *śamathavipaśyanā* in place of *tcheng kouan*). The true message is the four absolute truths (*paramārthasatya*, which probably should be corrected to *āryasatya*). The path of departure is the eight-fold noble Path.

We may notice that the true message, symbolic of the four truths does not appear in the Chinese version, but rather appears in the interpretation which follows, directly borrowed from the Pāli text, where the messengers communicate to the lord of the city the *yathābhūta vacana*. The text of the Tsa a han has thus been contaminated by the Pāli version.

[593] The example of the burning brand flourished in a circle which gives the illusion of a ring of fire *(alātacakra*) is not found in the Pāli scriptures but is used by the Madhyamaka: cf. Madh. vṛitti, p. 173, 219, 238, 49; Catuḥśataka, v. 325. - It is also found in the Laṅkāvatāra, p. 9, 42, 9, 106, 287, and the Kośa, I, p. 93,; III, p. 212; V, p. 23. The Kośavyākhyā defines it as follows: *alāte śīghrasaṃcārāt tatra tatrotpadyamāne 'lātacakrabuddhir bhavati*. - The brahmanical texts also use this comparison.

7. Like a dream (svapna)

[**103c**] There is no reality in a dream but nevertheless we believe in the reality of the things seen in a dream. After waking up, we recognize the falsity of the dream and we smile at ourselves. In the same way, the person deep in the sleep of the fetters (*saṃyojananidra*) clings (*abhiniviśate*) to the things that do not exist; but when he has found the Path, at the moment of enlightenment, he understands that there is no reality and laughs at himself. This is why it is said: like in a dream.

Moreover, by the power of sleep (*nidrābala*), the dreamer sees something there where there is nothing. In the same way, by the power of the sleep of ignorance (*avidyānidrā*), a person believes in the existence of all kinds of things that do not exist, e.g., 'me' and 'mine' *(ātmātmīya*), male and female, etc.

Moreover, in a dream, we enjoy ourselves although there is nothing enjoyable there; we are irritated although there is nothing irritating there; we are frightened although there is nothing to be afraid of there. In the same way, beings of the threefold world (*traidhātukasattva*), in the sleep of ignorance, are irritated although there is nothing irritating, enjoy themselves although there is nothing enjoyable, and frightened although there is nothing to be afraid of.

Finally, there are five types of dreams: *i)* In the case of physical unbalance (*kāyavaiṣamya*), when the hot vapors predominate, one dreams a lot, one sees fire (*tejas*), yellow (*pīta*) and red (*lohita)* ; *ii)* when the cold vapors predominate, one sees especially water (*ap*-) and white (*avadāta*); *iii*) when the windy vapors predominate, one sees particularly flights [of birds] and black (*kṛṣṇa*); *iv*) when one has thought a lot [during the day] and reflected well on what one has seen and heard (*dṛṣṭaśruta*), one sees all of that again in dream; *v*) finally, the gods send dreams to teach about future events. These five types of dreams are all without reality; they are false visions. - It is the same for people [who are awake]: beings who are in the five destinies (*gati*) see the ātman in four ways because of their material visions: *i)* the form aggregate (*rūpaskandha*) is the ātman; *ii*) form (*rūpa*) belongs to the self , to the 'me' (*ātmīya*); *iii*) in the ātman, there is *rūpa*. *iv*) in *rūpa*, there is ātman.

What they say here about *rūpa* they also apply to feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saṃjñā*), the formations (*saṃskāra*) and consciousness (*vijñāna*): this makes 4 x 5 = 20 ways [of considering ātman]. But when they have found the Path and true wisdom has awakened them, they know that [this so-called ātman] has no reality.

Question. - You should not say that the dream has no reality. Why? Because every mind depends on causes and conditions (*hetupratyaya*) in order to be produced and, in the dream, consciousness (*vijñāna*) has all sorts of conditions (*pratyaya*). Without these conditions, how could consciousness arise?

Answer. – It's nothing of the sort: in dream, we see something although we should not see it. We see, for example, a human head (*manuṣyaśiras*) with horns (*viṣāṇa*) or dead bodies flying through space (*ākāśa*). Actually, people do not have horns and dead bodies do not fly. Thus the dream has no reality.

Question. - But human heads really exist and in addition, horns also exist; it is by a mental confusion (*cittamoha*) that we see a human head with horns. There really is space (*ākāśa*) and there really are beings

that fly; it is by mental confusion that we see dead bodies that fly. It is not on account of that that the dream has no reality.

Answer. - Even though there are truly human heads and even though there are truly horns, a human head with horns is nothing but a false vision.

Question. - The universe (*lokadhātu*) is vast and, in the course of previous lifetimes (*pūrvajanma*), the causes and conditions [that determine these consciousnesses] have been varied. There may be strange lands (*deśāntara*) where the heads of people grow horns, where the people have but one hand or one foot, or where they are but one foot tall, or where they have nine heads. What is strange about humans having horns?

Answer. - It is possible that in other lands people may have horns; but in a dream, one sees only what one knows in this very land where 'people with horns' do not occur.

Moreover, some see in dreams the limits of space *(ākāśa*) or the limits of the directions (*diś)* [**104a**] and of time (*kāla*). How are such things true? In what place could space, directions and time be absent? This is why in a dream we see as existent things that do not exist.

You were asking how consciousness could be produced in the absence of conditions (*pratyaya*). Even though the conditions [consisting of] the five sense objects were lacking, the conditions [necessary for the production] of dharmas (*dharmapratyaya*) arise by the efficacy (*balapravṛtti*) of thinking (*manasikāra*) and of the mind. If somebody tells you about a man with two heads, this statement would produce [in you] a concept (*saṃjñā*) and, in a dream, you will see as existent that which does not exist. It is the same for the dharmas: they are non-existent and nevertheless they are seen (*dṛṣṭa*), heard (*śruta*) and cognized (*vijñāta*). A stanza says:

All dharmas

Are like

A dream, a magic show

A city of the gandharvas.

This is why the bodhisattvas believe that dharmas are like a dream.

8. Like a shadow (chāyā)

A shadow is visible but cannot be grasped. It is the same for dharmas: the organs (*indriya*) and the sense objects are seen (*dṛṣṭa*), heard (*śruta*), cognized (*vijñāta*) and felt (*mata*), but their reality is ungraspable. A stanza says:

True wisdom,

Ungraspable on all four sides,

Cannot be touched

Like a blazing inferno.

Dharmas are impregnable,

They must not be grasped.

Moreover, it is necessary that light be intercepted so that the shadow appears: without this interception, the shadow would be absent. In the same way, it is necessary that the fetters (*saṃyojana*) and the afflictions (*kleśa*) hide the light of correct seeing (*saṃyagdṛṣṭi*) so that the shadow of the ātman and of dharmas appear.

Moreover, the shadow walks when the person walks, the shadow moves when the person moves, the shadow stops when the person stops. In the same way, the shadow of good or bad actions (*kuśalākuśalakarman*) moves when the past existence (*pūrvajanma*) moves, but it remains stationary when the present existence (*ihajanma*) is stationary because the retribution of actions (*karmavipaka*) has not been cut. When the sins *(āpatti*) and merits (*puṇya*) are ripe (*paripakva*), the shadow disappears. Some stanzas say:

Action follows [its perpetrator] through the air,

It pursues him among the rocks,

It accompanies him in the depths of the earth,

It enters the waters of the ocean with him,

It pursues him always and everywhere:

The shadow of actions is indissoluble.

This is why dharmas are like a shadow.

Finally, the shadow is empty (*śūnya*), non-existent (*asat*); one may search hard for its reality but one can never find it. Similarly, all dharmas are empty and without reality.

Question. - It is not true that the shadow is empty and without reality. Why? It is said in the A p'i t'an (Abhidharma): "What is called 'visible'? Blue (*nīla*), yellow (*pīta*), red (*lohita*), white (*avadāta*), black (*kṛṣṇa*), deep red, light blue, light (*āloka*) and shadow (*chāyā*). Moreover, bodily action (*kāyakarman*) and the three kinds of derived matter (*upādāyarūpa*) are called 'visible' or *rūpāyatana*." Why do you say that the shadow does not exist? Furthermore, the shadow truly exists because it has causes and conditions (*hetupratyaya*): its cause is the tree (*vṛkṣa*); its condition is light (*āloka*); when these two principal [factors] come together, the shadow is produced. Why do you say that it does not exist? If there is no shadow, the other dharmas that also possess causes and conditions would not exist either. - Finally, [**104b**] this shadow has a visible color. Long (*dīrgha*) or short (*krasva*), big *(mahat*) or small (*alpa*), thick (*sthūla*) or thin (*sūkṣma*), crooked (*kuṭīla*) or straight (*ṛiju*); when the shape (*saṃsthāna*) moves, the shadow also moves. All of that is visible. This is why the shadow must exist.

Answer. - The shadow is empty (*śūnya*) and non-existent (*asat)*. You quote a passage from the Abhidharma, but the interpretation that you give it is that of a person. People often mistreat the meaning of

scriptural texts (*dharmaprayāya*) and take their inventions as reality. Thus it is said in the *P'i p'o cha* (Vibhāṣā): "The atoms (*paramāṇu*) are subtle, indestructible and incombustible; therefore they are eternal."[594] And again, "The dharmas of the three times pass from the future (*anāgata*) to the present (*pratyutpanna*), and from the present to the past (*atīta*) without deteriorating."[595] : these texts favor eternalism (*śāśvata*). On the other hand, it is also said:

" Conditioned dharmas (*saṃskṛtadharma*), arising and perishing ever anew, do not last (*asthitika*)."[596] This text favors nihilism (*uccheda*). Why? Because [that which is conditioned] no longer exists after having existed. Thus in the Abhidharma, there are all sorts of statements that contradict the words of the Buddha. We cannot resort to it to establish that the shadow is a type of material dharma (*rūpadharma*).

When a *rūpadharma* arises, it necessarily has a smell (*gandha*), a taste (*rasa*), tangibility (*spraṣtavya*), etc. This is not the case for the shadow. Therefore it does not exist. The jug (*ghaṭa*), for example, is cognized by two organs (*indriya*), the eye organ (*cakṣurindriya*) and the organ of touch (*kāyendriya*). If the shadow existed, it should be cognized by these two organs. But that is not the case and, consequently, the shadow has no true substance. It is but a '*trompe-oeuil*' (*cakṣurvañcana*). If one takes a burning brand and flourishes it rapidly in a circle, one draws a circle in the air with it, but this circle has no reality. Similarly, the shadow has no real substance. If it were a true substance, it could be destroyed or made to disappear, hut as long as its screen (*saṃsthāna*) is intact, the shadow is indestructible. This is why it is empty. Finally, since it depends on a screen (*saṃsthānam apekṣate*) and has no independence (*aiśvarya*), the shadow is empty. But even though it is empty, its notion exists and the eye sees it. This is why dharmas are compared to a shadow.

9. Like a reflection (bimba) in a mirror

The reflection in the mirror is not produced by the mirror (*ādarśa*), nor by the face (*vaktra*), nor by the person holding the mirror (*ādarśadhara*), nor by itself (*svataḥ*); but it is not without causes and conditions (*hetupratyaya*).[597]

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594 P'i p'o cha, T 1545, k. 75, p. 389c26.

595 Ibid., k. 76, p. 303a14-15, referring so as to criticize the opinion of the Dārṣṭāntikas and Vibhajyavādins: "The *saṃskāra*s enter from the future into the present and from the present they enter into the past."

596 Ibid., k. 76, p. 394a29-394b2 (tr. Poussin, *La controverse du temps*, MCG, V, 1936-37, p. 14): "True dharmas (*saddharma*), arisen (*jāta*), existent (*bhūta*), created (*kṛta* ?), conditioned (*saṃskṛta*), having an effect (*sakaraṇīya*), produced in dependence (*pratītyasamutpanna)*, are by their nature perishable (*kṣayadharman*), doomed to disappear (*vyayadharman*), objects of detachment (*virāgadharman*), doomed to destruction (*nirodhadharman*), doomed to deterioration (*naśyanadharmaka*). That these dharmas do not deteriorate is out of the question.”

597 This is the canonical doctrine; cf. *Selāsutta* in Saṃyutta, I, p. 134; Tsa a han, T 99 (no, 1203), k. 45, p. 327b-c; T 100 (no. 219), k. 12, p. 455a: *nayidam attakataṃ bimbaṃ na ... hetubhaṅgā nirujjhati*.
Kośa, III, p. 34-36, denies the real existence of the reflection because two things do not exist in the same place, because there is no series, because it arises from two causes.

i) Why is it not produced by the mirror? Because there is no reflection if the face does not come in front of the mirror. Thus it is not produced by the mirror. *ii*) Why is it not produced by the face? Because there is no reflection without the mirror. *iii*) Why is it not produced by the person holding the mirror? Because there is no reflection without mirror or face. *iv*) Why is it not produced by itself? Because in the absence of the mirror and the face, there is no reflection. To be produced, the reflection depends (*apekṣate*) on the mirror and the face. Thus the reflection is not produced by itself. How is it not lacking causes and conditions? If it were without causes and conditions, it would exist eternally. If it existed eternally, it would be produced even in the absence of the mirror and the face. Thus it is not without causes and conditions.

It is the same for the dharmas: they are not produced by themselves (*svataḥ*), nor by another (*parataḥ*), nor by both together (*ubhayataḥ*); but they are not without causes and conditions.[598]

i) Why are they not produced by themselves? They are not produced by themselves because the ātman does not exist, because all dharmas come from causes and are not sovereign and because dharmas depend (*apekṣante*) on causes and conditions. *ii)* They are not produced by another. [**104c**] If they do not themselves exist, their neighbor would not exist either. Creation by another would suppress the efficacious rôle played by sins and merits (*pāpapuṇyabala*). Creation by another is of two types, good (*kuśala*) or bad (*akuśala*); the good must produce happiness (*sukha*), the bad must produce unhappiness (*duḥkha*). If there is a mixture of bad and good, what is the cause and condition from which the happiness arises and what is the cause and condition from which the unhappiness arises? If both are absent, the self and other are likewise absent. *iii)* If happiness and unhappiness arise without causes and conditions, the person would be eternally happy and free of all unhappiness. If there is neither cause nor conditions, the person could not realize the cause of happiness or escape the cause of unhappiness. All dharmas are necessarily from causes and conditions. It is stupid to ignore that. Thus a person gets fire (*agni*) from wood (*dāru*), water (*udaka*) from earth (*pṛthivī*), and wind (*anila*) from a fan (*vījana*). Each of these things has its causes and conditions. The causes and conditions of this mass of unhappiness and happiness are the following: the actions (*karman*) of the past lifetime (*pūrvajanma*) are the causes and the good or bad behavior (*sucaritaduścarita*) of the present lifetime (*ihajanma*) are the conditions from which suffering and happiness come. These are the different causes and conditions of suffering and happiness. In truth, there is

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[598] This is the essence of the Nāgārjunian doctrine given in the first stanza of the Madh. kārikā (Madh, vṛtti, p. 12; Tchong louen, T 1564, k. 1., p. 2b):

> *na svato nāpi parato na dvābhyāṃ nāpy ahetutaḥ/*
> *utpannā jātu vidyante bhmavāḥ kvacana ke cana//*

"Never, anywhere in any case, do substances exist that are born from themselves, or from another, or from both, or without cause."

In conformity with this point of the initial argument, causality by way of itself (*svakṛtatva*) where the identity of cause and effect has been refuted in Madh. vṛtti, p. 13 and Madh. avatāra, p. 82 (tr. Lav., Muséon, 1910, p. 280); causality by way of another (*parakṛtva*), in Madh. vṛtti, p. 36 and 78; combined causality (*ubhayakṛtatva*) in Madh. vṛtti, p. 38 and 233; absence of any causality (*ahetusamutpannatva*) in Madh. vṛtti, p. 38, 182; Madh. avatāra, p. 207 (tr. Lav., Musśeon, 1912, p. 260).

no agent (*kāraka*) or any enjoyer (*vedaka*). The five aggregates (*pañcaskandha*) are without activity (*kriyā*) or enjoyment (*vedanā*). The ignorant person who finds happiness enjoys it and clings to it; if he finds unhappiness, he feels irritation; when his happiness disappears, he tries to recover it.

A child, seeing [its] reflection (*bimba*) in a mirror (*ādarha*), is happy and becomes infatuated with it; but when this well-loved reflection has disappeared, the child breaks the mirror to try to recover it; wise people make fun of it. In the same way, those who, having lost their happiness, try to regain it, are mocked by the āryas who have found the Path. This is why dharmas are like a reflection in a mirror.

Moreover, the reflection in a mirror is truly empty (*śūnya*), without arising (*utpāda*), without cessation (*nirodha*), but it deceives the eyes of fools (*bāla*). In the same way, dharmas are empty, without arising, without cessation, but they deceive the eyes of worldly people (*pṛthagjana*).

Question. - The reflection in the mirror is the result of causes and conditions. If there is a face, a mirror, a person holding the mirror and a light, provided these causes are brought together, the reflection is produced. Thus the reflection is both cause (*hetu*) and result (*phala*). Why do you say then that it is empty of reality, without arising or cessation?

Answer. - Being the result of causes and conditions, the reflection is not independent; therefore it is empty (*śūnya*). A truly existent dharma cannot be the result of causes and conditions. Why? If the cause (*kāraṇa*) pre-exists in the cause, there is no effect (*kārya*); if the cause does not pre-exist in the cause, there is no result either. Thus, if cream (*dadhi*) pre-exists in milk (*kṣīra*), the milk is not the cause of the cream, for the cream pre-exists. If the cream does not pre-exist in the milk, everything would happen as in water (*udaka*) where there is no cream: the milk is not the cause of the cream. If the cream existed without cause, why would water not produce cream?[599] If the milk is the cause of the cream, the milk, which itself is not independent, also comes from a cause; it derives its origin from the cow (*go*); [**105a**] the cow takes its origin from water (*udaka*) and grass (*tṛṇa*), and thus there are infinite (*ananta*) causes. This is why it cannot be said that the result (*kārya*) exists (*bhavati*) in the cause (*kāraṇa*), or that it does not exist (*na bhavati*) in the cause, or that it both exists and does not exist (*bhavati ca na bhavati ca*), or that it neither exists nor does not exist (*naiva bhavati na na bhavati*) in the cause. Dharmas resulting from causes and conditions (*pratītyasamutpanna*) do not have self- nature (*svabhāva*). They are like a reflection in a mirror. Some stanzas say:

If dharmas come from causes and conditions,

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599 According to Nāgārjuna, modification (*anyathātva*) of substances is impossible. He establishes this thesis (Madh, vṛtti, p. 242) in the following way:

tasya ced anyathābhāvaḥ kṣīram eva .... bhāvānāṃ prasetsyatīti na yuktam etat.

"If the modification [of substances] were possible, milk would be identical with cream. Our adversary will say that it is by the disappearance of the state 'milk' that the state 'cream' is produced. But if our adversary does not want the milk to be identical with the cream because they are opposite to one another, it will follow that the cream can arise from anything that is not milk. But how is that? Could the cream arise from water? It is therefore unreasonable to claim that the cream comes from that which is different from it. Since the modification of substances is impossible, it is wrong to claim that substances have an essence because changes are observed."

They are truly empty of self-nature;

If these dharmas were not empty.

They would not be the result of causes and conditions.

It is like reflections in a mirror;

They do not come from the mirror, nor from the face,

Nor from the person who holds the mirror,

Nor from themselves; but they are not without cause.

[Dharmas] are neither existent nor non-existent,

Not both existent and non--existent:

To refuse to accept these theses

Is what is called the Middle Way.

That is why dharmas are like the reflection in the mirror.

10. Like a metamorphosis (nirmāṇa) [manifestation. appearance]

The fourteen minds of metamorphosis (*nirmāṇacitta*) are: (1-2) In the first dhyāna, two minds, viz. that of kāmadhātu and that of the first dhyāna; (3-5) In the second dhyāna, three minds, viz., that of kāmadhātu, that of the first dhyāna and that of the second dhyāna; (6-9) In the third dhyāna, four minds, viz., that of kāmadhātu and those of the first, second and third dhyānas; (10-14) In the fourth dhyāna, five minds, viz., that of kāmadhātu and those of the first, second, third and fourth dhyānas.[600]

These fourteen minds of metamorphosis accomplish eight kinds of *nirmāṇa*: (1) reducing to the size of an atom (*paramāṇu*), (2) enlarging to the point of filling up space (*ākāśa*). (3) becoming as light as the feather of a crane (*sārasaloman*), (4) exercising sovereignty (*vaśitvakaraṇa*) by growing bigger, shrinking, lengthening, narrowing, etc., (5) possessing the Indrabala, the power that surpasses that of humans, (6) being far distant and coming close, (7) making the earth shake (*kampana*), (8) obtaining whatever one desires: being single and becoming many (*eko bhūtva bahudhā bhavati*), being many and becoming single (*bahudhā bhūtva eko bhavati*), passing through stone walls (*tiraḥ kuḍyaṃ gacchati*), walking on water (*udake gacchati*), walking in space (*ākāśe kramati*), touching the sun and the moon with one's hand (*sūryacandramasau pāṇinā āmārṣṭi*), transforming the four great elements, i.e., changing earth (*pṛthivī*) into water (*ap*-) and water into earth, fire (*tejas*) into wind and wind (*vāyu*) into fire, stone (*śaila*) into gold and gold (*suvarṇa*) into stone.[601]

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600 The fourteen *nirmāṇacittas* are distributed in the four dhyānas according to the following principle: "The *nirmāṇacitta*, the result of a certain dhyāna, is the ground of that particular dhyāna or of a lower ground." See Kośa, VII, p. 115-116.

601 The Mppś seems to have artificially combined a list of 16 *mahāṛddhi*s with a list of 7 *abhijñākarman*.

There are four other kinds of *nirmāṇa*: (1) In the realm of desire (*kāmadhātu*), substances (*dravya*) can be transformed by means of herbs (*oṣadhi*), precious objects (*ratnadravya*) and magical means; (2) beings endowed with the superknowledges (*abhijñā*) can transform substances by their magical power (*ṛddhibala*); (3) the devas, nāgas, asuras, etc., can transform substances by means of the power of retribution (*vipākabala*) of their [previous] lifetimes; (4) beings rewarded in a lifetime in the form realm (*rūpadhātu*) can transform substances by the power of concentration (*samādhibala*).[602]

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a. The list of the *16 mahāṛddhi* occurs in Saṃgraha, p. 221-222; Bodh. bhūmi, p. 58-63. It mentions the powers of making the earth shake (*kampana*, no. 1), of transforming (*anyathībhāvakaraṇa*, no. 5), of concentrating and developing (*saṃkṣepaprathana*, no. 7), which correspond to nos. 7, 8 *sub fine*, 1 and 2, of our list.

b. The list of the *abhijñākarman* is mentioned in more than 20 places in the Pāli scriptures (Dīgha, I, p. 78; Saṃyutta, II, p. 121; Aṅguttara, I, p. 170) and its Sanskrit version appears in Pañcaviṃśati, p. 83; Kośavyākhyā, p. 654, Mahāvyutpatti, no. 215-223, 227.

Pāli Version: *So anekavihitaṃ iddhivivhaṃ paccanubhoti*: 1) .... 2) *eko pi hutvāhutvā bahudhā hoti.* 3) *bahudhā pi hutvā eko hoti*. 4) *āvibhāvaṃ tirobhāvaṃ [api paccanubhoti]*. 5) *tirokuḍḍaṃ tiropākṛaṃ tiropabbataṃ asajjamāno gacchati seyyathā pi ākāse*. 6) *paṭhavīyā pi ummujjanimmujjaṃ karoti seyyathā pi udake*. 7) *udake pi abijjamāno gacchati seyyathā pi paṭhaviyaṃ*. 8) *ākāse pi pallaṅkena kamati seyyathā pi pakkhī sakuṇo*. 9) .... 10) .... 11) *ime pi candimasuriye evaṃ mahānubhāve pāṇinā parimajjati yāva Brahmalokā pi kāyena va saṃvatteti*.

Sanskrit Version: *So 'nekavidham ṛddhividhiṃ pratyanubhavati*: 1) *pṛthivīm api kampayati*. 2) *eko 'pi bhūtvā bahudhā bhavati*. 3) *bahudhāpi bhūtvā eko bhavati.* 4) *āvirbhāvaṃ tirobhāvam api pratyanubhavati*. 5) *tiraḥkuḍyaṃ tiraḥprākamaraṃ tiraḥparvatam apy asakto gacchati tad yathāpi nāma ākāśe pakṣī śakuniḥ*. 6) *pṛthivyāṃ spy unmajjanimajjaṃ karoti tadyathāpi nāmodake*. 7) *udake 'bhidyamāno gacchati tad yathāpi nāma pṛthivyam*. 8) *ākāśe paryaṇkena kramati tadyathā śakuniḥ pakṣī.*

9) *dhūmayate api prajvalty api tad tathāpi nāma mahān agniskandhaḥ*. 10) *udakam api kāyāt pramuñcati tad yathāpi nāma mahāmeghaḥ*. 11) *imāv api sūryacanararamasau evaṃ mahāṛddhikau mahānubhāvau pāṇinā parāmṛśati yāvad Brahmalokād api kāyaṃ vasena vartayati*.

[602] Kośa, VII, p. 122, lists five kinds of *ṛddhi*: i) produced by meditation (*bhāvanāja*), ii) innate (*upapattilābhika*), iii) realized by magical phrases (*vidyā* or *mantra kṛta*), iv) by plants (*oṣadokṛta*), v) coming from actions (*karmata*).

Like other texts of the Lesser and Greater Vehicles (Avataṃsaka, Mahāyānasaṃgraha, Mahāvibhāṣā, etc.), the Mppś is aware of the transmutation of metals. On this subject, see A. Waley, *References to alchemy in Buddhist scriptures*, BSOS, VI, 4, 1932, p. 1102-1103. We should remember that the biographers of Nāgārjuna, Chinese as well as Tibetan, present him above all as an alchemist possessing the elixir of life and able to change stone into gold (cf. Long chou p'ou sa tchouan, T 2047, p. 184a; Hiuan tsang, Si yu ki, T 2087, k. 10*,* p. 930a; Bu ston, II, p. 13; Tāranātha, p. 73; S. Lévi, *Kaniṣhka et Śhātavḥahana*, JA, Jan.-Mar. 1936, p. 103-107). From these references to alchemy in the Mppś, we must not conclude, as does O. Stein, *References to alchemy in Buddhist scriptures*, BSOS, VII, 1, 1933, p. 263, that the Chih Tu louen can hardly be earlier than the 8th century. First, it has not been proven that the author of the Mppś is identical with the Nāgārjuna to whom the *Rasaratnākara*, a work of the 7th or 8th century, is attributed. As does alchemy, it constitutes one of the elements of tantric Buddhism the origins of which go back further than is generally admitted. G. Tucci, *The first mention of Tantric Schools*, J. Asiatic Soc. Bengal, XXVI, 1930, p. 128-132, has shown that one tantric sect, that of the Kāpālikas, is at least as old as Harivarman and Asaṅga. Finally, and this is the decisive point, the Mppś was translated by Kumārajīva who lived from 344 to 413 A.D.

These imaginary creatures are not subject to birth (*jāti*), old age (*jarā*), sickness (*vyādhi*) and death (*maraṇa*); they experience neither unhappiness (*duḥkha*) nor happiness (*sukha*) and thus are different from humans. This is why they are empty and non-existent. In the same way, all dharmas are without arising (*utpāda*), duration (*sthiti*) and cessation (*bhaṅga*); this is why they are compared to *nirmāṇa*s.

Furthermore, the products of *nirmāṇa* have no fixed substance (*aniyatadravya*); [**105b**] only insofar as they arise from the mind [of metamorphosis] do they have an activity (*kriyā*), but they do not truly exist. It is the same for human lifetimes; for origin, they have no cause; they come from the minds (*citta*, synonymous here with *karman*) of the past existence giving rise to the existence of the present life which is absolutely without reality. This is why dharmas are compared to a *nirmāṇa*.

When the *nirmāṇa* mind (*nirmāṇacitta*) has vanished, the manifestation (*nirmāṇa*) vanishes as well. It is the same with dharmas: when the causes and conditions (*hetupratyaya*) have disappeared, the fruit (*phala*) disappears as well, for it is dependent as is the product of *nirmāṇa*.

Although they are empty of reality, the *nirmāṇa*s can cause beings to experience joy (*muditā*), hatred (*dveṣa*), sadness (*daurmanasya*), suffering (*duḥkha*) or confusion (*moha*). In the same way, although dharmas are empty and unreal, they can cause beings to experience joy (*muditā*), hatred (*dveṣa*), sadness (*daurmanasya*), fear (*bhaya*), etc. This is why they are compared to a *nirmāṇa*.

Moreover, the products of metamorphosis (*nirmāṇajadharma*) lack beginning, middle and end (*apūrvamadhyacarama*); it is the same with dharmas. When the *nirmāṇa*s arise, they do not go anywhere; when they vanish, they do not go anywhere. It is the same with dharmas.

Finally, the *nirmāṇa*s are pure (*lakṣaṇaviśuddha*) like space (*ākāśa*); they are not attached to (*sakta*) nor defiled by (*kliṣṭa*) sins or merits (*pāpapuṇya*). It is the same for the dharmas, for suchness (*dharmatā*), the true nature (*tathatā*) or the summit of existence (*bhūtakoṭi*) is itself (*svataḥ*) always pure (*nityaśuddha*). Thus the four great rivers of Jambudvīpa,[603] each of which has five hundred tributaries, have their waters polluted in various ways; but when they flow into the great ocean, they are perfectly clear.

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[603] The canonical and post-canonical scriptures list five great rivers (*pañca mahānadiyo*) in Jambudvīpa: *Gaṅgā, Yamunā* (Jamna), *Sarabhū* (Sarju), *Aciravatī* (Rapti), *Mahī* (Gayā district). Cf. Vinaya, II, p. 237, 239; Saṃyutta, II, p. 135; V, p. 401; Aṅguttara, IV, p. 101; V, p. 22; Milinda, p. 70. 87. 380; Tchong a han, T 26, k. 2, p. 428c; Tsa a han, T 99, k. 30, p. 215a; Jñānaprasthāna, T 1543, k. 1, p. 772b; T 1544, k. 1, p. 918c.

Although the Mppś is aware of these *pañca mahānadiyo* which it enumerates at k. 28, p. 266a, here it means the four great rivers which flow out of Lake Anavatapta: *Gaṅgā, Sindhu* (Indus), *Vakṣu* (Oxus) and *Sītā* (Tarim). It will describe these fully below (k. 7, p. 114a). The perspective of the Mppś is vaster than that of the canonical scriptures whose horizon was limited to Gangetic India. At least this is the reason given by the Vibhāṣā, T 1543, k. 5, p. 21c-22a: "When the Bhadanta (Kātyāyanīputra) composed this Jñānaprasthāna, he was in the East [i.e., in eastern India]; this is why he cites as example the five rivers commonly seen in the East. But actually there are four great rivers in this Jambudvīpa, each of which gives rise to four secondary rivers: the Gaṅgā, the Sindhu, the Vakṣu and the Sītā." These four great rivers are known and cited in southern Indian Buddhism in preference to the *pañca mahānadiyo*: cf. Dīrghāgama Cosmography (T 1, k. 18, p. 116c; T 23, k. 1, p. 289a; T 24, k. k. 1, p. 313a; T 25, k. 1, p. 368a); the Vibhāṣā (l.c.), the Kośa, III, p. 147;

Question. - It cannot be said that the *nirmāṇa*s are empty. Why? Because the mind of metamorphosis [on which it is dependent] comes from the development (*bhāvanā*) of a samādhi. It is with this mind [of metamorphosis] that all kinds of *nirmāṇa*s are realized. Whether it is a man or a thing, this *nirmāṇa* has a cause (*hetu*) and produces an effect (*phala*). How can it be empty?

Answer. - We must repeat the answer that we have already given with regard to the shadow (*chaya*). Although the cause and condition (*hetupratyaya*) of the *nirmāṇa* exist, the result, viz., the *nirmāṇa*, is empty. It is as empty as the speech (*vāc*) that comes out of the mouth. Even though the mind (*citta*) and the mouth (*mukha*) produce this word, it does not exist by the fact of the mind and the mouth alone. The object designated (*ukta*) by this word may just as well exist as not exist. If we talk about a second head (*dvitīya śīrsaka*) or a third hand (*tṛtīya hasta*), we cannot say that this head or this hand exists even though they arise from the mind [that conceives them] and the mouth [that speaks of them]. Thus the Buddha said: "By examining that which does not arise (*anutpāda*), one is freed from that which arises; by being based on the unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*), one is freed from the conditioned (*saṃskṛta*)." Although the non-arisen dharma (*anutpannadharma*) does not exist, it can play the rôle of cause and condition (*hetupratyaya*), and it is the same for the unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*). Although the *nirmāṇa* itself is empty, it can itself give rise to a mind. As with the other nine points of comparison (*upamāna*), magic show (*māyā*), mirage (*marīcī*), etc., it can engender all sorts of minds even though it does not exist.

Furthermore, the *nirmāṇa* cannot be included in the six causes (*hetu*) and the four conditions (*pratyaya*).[604] As it is not associated (*saṃprayukta*) with them, it is empty (*śūnya*).

Finally, empty [things] are not empty because they are invisible (*anidarśana*) but because they lack true activity (*kāritra*). This is why dharmas are compared to a *nirmāṇa*.

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the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna (in S. Lévi, *Pour l'histoire du Rāmāyana*, JA, Jan.-Feb., 1918, p. 150); Hiuan tsang, Si yu ki, T 2087, k. 1, p. 809b (tr. Watters, *Travels*, I, p. 32-34).

As in the present passage of the Mppś, the Cosmography of the Dīrghāgama (l.c.) and the Sin ti kouan king,T 159, k. 4, p. 307b, attributes 500 tributaries to each of the four great rivers. In contrast, the Vibhāṣā (k. 5, p. 22a) enumerates four tributaries to each of them (cf. Lévi, l. c., p. 151).

Eastern and northern traditions are contrasted in a passage from Milinda: while the Pāli version enumerates (p. 70) the *pañca mahānadiyo* (Gaṅga, Yamunā. Aciravatī, Mahī), the corresponding passage in the Chinese translation cites the four great rivers flowing out of Anavatapta (Gaṅgā, Sindhu, Sitā, Vakṣu) plus a fifth river, still unidentified, the *Che p'i yi*, and attributes 500 tributaries to each of these rivers (Cf. Demiéville, *Les versions chinoises du Milindapañha*, BEFEO, XXIV, 1924, p. 152-153; 230-231).

This is not the only example where the two traditions do not agree about the same text. Thus the *Saptasūryodayasūtra* tells us that at the time of the third [variant; fourth] sun, the 'great rivers' dry up and disappear. In some versions of this sūtra (Pāli Aṅguttara, IV, p. 101; Chinese Madhyamāgama, T 26, k. 2, p. 428c), these rivers are the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā, the Sarabhū, the Aciravatī and the Mahī. On the other hand, in other versions of the same sūtra (Sa po to sou li yu nai ye king, T 30, p. 812a; Chinese Ekottarāgama, T 125, k. 34, p. 736b; Mppś, T 1509, k. 31, p. 290b), the rivers in question are the Gaṅgā, the Sindhu, the Sītā and the Vakṣu.

It is to this latter tradition, the northern tradition, that the Mppś belongs.

[604] Cf. Kośa, II, p. 245 (six *hetu*); II, p. 299 (four *pratyaya*).

Question. - Any dharma whatsoever is as empty (*śūnya*) as the ten points of comparison [used here in the sūtra]; why does the sūtra limit itself to these ten comparisons and not give as example mountains (*parvata*), rivers (*nadī*), stone walls (*śailakuḍya*), etc?

[**105c**] Answer. - Although all dharmas are empty, there are differences (*viśeṣa*) among them: emptiness is harder to see in some than in others. Here the sūtra compares {dharmas] the emptiness of which is hard to see [with other dharmas, e.g., magic show, mirage, etc.], the emptiness of which is easy to see..

Moreover, there are two types of dharmas: those that are the object of an erroneous judgment (*cittābhiniveśasthāna*) and those that are not the object of an erroneous judgment (*cittānabhiniveśasthāna*). Here we are using the second type in order to understand the first type.

Question. - Why are the ten points of comparison not the object of erroneous judgment?

Answer. - Because these ten points [magic show, mirage, etc.] do not last for a long time (*acirasthitika*) and because they arise and perish easily. This is why they are not the object of an erroneous judgment.

Moreover, there are people who know that these ten points bring about auditory and visual delusions, but who do not know that dharmas are empty. This is why the sūtra compares dharmas [to these ten points] here. If people believed in the reality of the ten points of comparison [used by the sūtra], they would not understand the various objections [raised here against the reality of dharmas] because they would hold [the magic show, the mirage, etc.] to be real. If these ten points of comparison do not fulfill their rôle [in the discussion], we would need to resort to yet other demonstrations (*dharmaparyaya*).

20. ASAṄGAVAIŚĀRADYAPRATILABDHA

Sūtra: They have acquired the unhindered fearlessnesses (*asaṅgavaiśāradyapratilbadhaiḥ*).

Śāstra: Their mind encounters no obstacle (*āvaraṇa*), neither exhaustion (*kṣaya*) nor cessation (*nirodha*), in regard to the various aggregates (*skandha*), elements (*dhātu*), bases of consciousness (*āyatana*) or causes and conditions (*hetupratyaya*). Thus they have unhindered fearlessnesses (*asaṅgavaiśāradya*).

Question. - The sūtra said above that in the midst of infinite assemblies the bodhisattvas are endowed with the fearlessnesses (*anantaparṣanmadhya vaiśāradyasamanvāgataḥ*); why does it repeat here that they have unhindered fearlessnesses?

Answer. – Above, it was a question of the cause (*hetu*) of the *vaiśāradya*s, here it concerns their effect (*phala*). In the assemblies (*saṃgha*), including those of the bodhisattvas, their preaching (*dharmadeśanā*) is inexhaustible (*akṣaya*), their teaching (*upadeśa*) indomitable (*anapakarṣa*) and their mind (*citta*) imperturbable, for they have acquired the unhindered fearlessnesses. Moreover, the sūtra said above that they are fearless in the midst of infinite assemblies, but one does not know by virtue of what power they are fearless. This is why here it adds that they are fearless because they have acquired an unhindered power (*asaṅgabala*).

Question. - If the bodhisattvas, like the Buddha, have these unhindered fearlessnesses, how does the Buddha differ from them?

Answer. - We have said that the bodhisattvas who have the power of the fearlessnesses [**106a**] experience no fear in respect to any dharma. But that is not the [superior] fearlessnesses enjoyed by the Buddha.

Moreover, there are two kinds of unhindered dharmas (*asaṅgadharma*), universal (*sarvaga*, *sarvabhūmika*) and non-universal (*asarvaga*). The person, for example, who experiences no difficulty in a whole series of texts (*śāstra*), from one text to a hundred thousand texts, or who experiences no fear in front of a whole series of assemblies (*saṃgha*), from one to a hundred thousand assemblies, is non-universal. In the same way, the bodhisattvas do not encounter any obstacle in their own wisdom (*prajñā*) but rather in that of the Buddha. Thus when the Buddha dropped his begging bowl (*pātra*), the five hundred arhats and the bodhisattvas, Maitreya, etc., were unable to catch hold of it.[605] In the same way, the bodhisattvas encounter no obstacles in their own power (*bala*), but they do in that of the Buddha's wisdom. It is in this sense that we say that the bodhisattvas have unfettered fearlessness (*asaṅgavaiśāradya*).

21. AVATĀRAKUŚALA

Sūtra: Knowing the course (*gati*) of the mind and the conduct (*carita*) of beings, they were skilled in saving them (*avatārakuśala*) by means of their subtle wisdom (*sūkṣmajñāna).*

Śāstra: Question. - How do the bodhisattvas know the minds and conduct of beings?

Answer. - They know the minds and the actions of beings; they are like the light of the sun which shines everywhere; they know where the thoughts and acts of beings will lead and they instruct them on these subjects, saying: "Beings have two types of courses (*gati*): either their mind is always in search of pleasure (*sukha*) or their wisdom succeeds in distinguishing good from bad. Do not follow your inclinations (*saṅgacitta*); apply yourselves to wisdom (*prajñā*), redirect your thoughts. For innumerable kalpas you have accumulated actions of mixed value (*miśrakarman*) without stopping; you pursue only worldly pleasures (*lokasukha*) without understanding that they are suffering (*duḥkha*); you do not see that the world that covets pleasure falls into misfortune and will be reborn in the five destinies (*gati*). Who is able to undo what has been done by the mind? You are like a mad elephant (*gandhahastin*) that tramples, destroys, pillages and demolishes without allowing itself to be controlled. Who will be able to tame you? If you find a skillful tamer, you will escape the torments of the world, you will understand the impurity of the rebirths. The fetter of misfortune is like hell (*niraya*). If one is reborn there, it is old age (*jarā*), sickness (*vyādhi)*, death (*maraṇa*), suffering (*duḥkha*), sadness (*daurmanasya*), and all kinds of confusion; if one is reborn in the heavens (*svarga*), one will fall back down in the threefold world (*traidhātuka*). There is no peace. Why

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[605] Cf. Lalitavistara, p. 270 (tr. Foucaux, p. 232): When the Bodhisattva had eaten the honey milk-broth (*madhupāyasa*) that Sujāta had offered, not caring about the golden vase (*suvarṇapātrī*), he dropped it in the water. Sāgara, king of the nāgas took it and went to his home. However, Indra, having taken the shape of a garuḍa with a lightning-bolt in his beak, tried to take the golden vase away from the nāga king with no success. Then in his usual form, he courteously asked for it and brought it back to the Trāyastriṃśa heaven to build a caitya for it and to pay homage to it. - This 'theft of the bowl' is represented on a medallion on the balustrade of Amarāvati (see RAA, XI, 1937, pl XVI, or *Histoire universelle des Arts*, published by L. Réau, vol. IV, *Arts musulmans et ExtrĪme-Orient*, Paris, 1939, p. 142, fig. 103).

do you cling to pleasures?" Such are the various reproaches (*avadya*) made by the bodhisattvas to them, and this proves that they know the mind and conduct of beings.

Question. - How do they save them by means of their subtle wisdom? First, what is subtle wisdom (*sūkṣmajñāna*) and what is coarse wisdom (*sthūlajñāna*)?

Answer. - Coarse wisdom is a purely mundane skill (*laukikanaipuṇya*); generosity (*dāna*), discipline (*śīla*), and concentration (*samādhi*) are called subtle wisdom.

Furthermore, the wisdom of generosity is a coarse wisdom; the wisdom of discipline and concentration (*śīlasamādhijñāna*) is subtle wisdom.

Furthermore, the wisdom of dhyāna is coarse wisdom; dhyāna without bliss (*praśrabdhi*) is a subtle wisdom. [**106b**]

Furthermore, it is a coarse wisdom that grasps all the characteristics of dharmas (*dharmalakṣaṇa*), but it is a subtle wisdom that does not accept or reject any characteristic of dharmas.

Finally, destroying ignorance (*avidyā*) and the other afflictions (*kleśa*) and discovering the nature of dharmas is a coarse wisdom; but penetrating into the true nature, incorruptible and imperishable like gold (*suvarṇa*), indestructible and unchangeable like diamond (*vajra*), untarnishable and ungraspable like space (*ākāśa*), is a subtle wisdom.

These are the innumerable subtle wisdoms that the bodhisattvas have acquired and which they teach beings. Thus the sūtra says that, knowing the course of the mind and the activity of beings, the bodhisattvas are skilled in saving them by means of the subtle wisdom.

CHAPTER XII: UNHINDERED MIND

Text of the sūtra commented on in this chapter (cf. Pañcaviṃśati, p. 5, Śatasāhasrikā, p. 5): (22) *apratihatacittair,* (23) *adhimātrakṣāntisamanvāgatair*, (24) *yāthātmyāvatāraṇakuśalaiḥ*.

These bodhisattvas had a mind without obstacles; they were endowed with utmost patience; they excelled in saving appropriately.

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22. APRATIHATACITTA

Sūtra: Their mind had no obstacles (*apratihatacitta*).

Śāstra: How is their mind unhindered?

i) In respect to all people, enemies (*vairin*), relatives (*bandhu*) or neutral ones, their impartiality (*samacittatā*) is complete (*apratigha*).

ii) [This impartiality] is extended to beings of all the universes (*sarvalokadhātusattva*): they feel no hostility (*āghāta*) if someone comes to torment them; they feel no joy (*muditā*) if they are honored in many ways. A stanza says:

> They have no attachment
>
> Towards the Buddha or the bodhisattvas;
>
> They have no hostility
>
> Towards heretics or bad people.

This purity [of mind] is called *apratihatacitta*.

iii) Finally, their mind is without obstacles in regard to dharmas.

Question. - But these bodhisattvas have not attained buddhahood and do not yet possess omniscience (*sarvajñāna*); why does their mind not encounter obstacles in regard to the dharmas?

Answer. - Having attained immense pure wisdom (*apramāṇaviśuddhaprajñā*), their mind is free of obstacles with regard to dharmas.

Question. - But since they have not reached buddhahood, they cannot possess immense wisdom (*apramāṇajñāna*); since they retain a residue of fetters (*bandhana*), they cannot have pure wisdom.

Answer. - The bodhisattvas [in question here] are not the bodhisattvas with fleshly body (*māṃsakāya*), who are bound to actions and limited to the threefold world (*traidhātuka*). All of them have acquired the sovereignty of the dharmakāya (*dharmakāyaiśvarya*) and transcended old age (*jarā*), sickness (*vyādhi*) and

death (*maraṇa*); out of compassion for beings, they dwell in the universes (*lokadhātu*), move about in and adorn the buddha-fields (*buddhakṣetra*) and convert beings. Having acquired sovereignty (*aiśvarya*), they wish to become Buddha and to succeed therein.[606]

Question. - If the bodhisattvas of the dharmakāya are no different from the Buddha, why are they called bodhisattva; why do they serve the Buddha and listen to his teaching? If they are different from the Buddha, how do they possess the immense and pure knowledge (*apramāṇaviśuddhajñāna*)?[607]

Answer. - Although they have attained the dharmakāya and transcended old age, sickness and death, they differ slightly from the Buddha; they are like the moon of the fourteenth day (*caturdaśicandra*) which we wonder whether it is full (*pūrna*) or not. Thus the bodhisattvas have not yet become truly Buddha although they act as Buddha and preach the Dharma. The Buddha himself [**106c**] is like the moon of the fifteenth day (*pañcadaśicandra*) which is undeniably full.[608]

Furthermore, there are two types of immense purity (*apramānaviśuddhi*). The first is limited, but those who cannot measure it call it immense; this is, for example, [the number] of drops of water in the ocean (*samudrabindu*), or [the number] of grains of sand in the sands of the Ganges (*gaṅgānadīvālukā*); unable to evaluate it, people describe it as immense. But for the Buddhas and bodhisattvas, there is no limited immensity: the immense and pure wisdom of the bodhisattvas is unlimited. For gods, humans, śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas, [the wisdom] that cannot be measured is called immense wisdom (*apramānajñāna*), but the bodhisattvas, at the moment they find the path of non-arising (*anutpādamarga*), cut through the fetters (*saṃyojana*) and acquire pure wisdom (*viśuddhajñāna*).

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606 The Mppś distinguishes two types of bodhisattvas: the bodhisattva of fleshly body (*māṃsakāya b.*) who is reborn as a result of his actions; the bodhisattva of dharmakāya (*dharmakāya b.*) who transcends ordinary existence and exists in accordance with the dharmadhātu. The bodhisattva abandons his fleshly body and attains a body of *dharmadhātu* when he enters into the *samyaktvaniyāma* and acquires the patient acceptance that accepts and understands non-arising (*anutpattikadharmakṣhānti*). Cf. Mppś, k. 30, p. 278a; k. 34, p. 309b; k. 38, p. 340a. These passages have been translated and explained by L. de La Vallée Poussin in Siddhi, p. 780-784.

607 For the strict analogy of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas, the Hobogirin, *Bosatsu*, p. 149, has collected a number of references of which several have been taken from the Mppś. In general, it can be said that the great bodhisattva is 'the result of the dharmadhātu' (*dharmakāyaprabhāvita*): cf. Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 159, citing the Tathāgataguhyasūtra, whereas the Buddha is 'the sovereign of the dharmadhātu' (*dharmakāyavaśavartin*): cf. Laṅkāvatara, p. 70.

608 Cf. k. 29, p. 273b (tr. Poussin in Siddhi, p. 737): "If the bodhisattvas are the dharmakāya, teach the Dharma, save beings, in what way do they differ from the Buddhas? The bodhisattvas have great magical powers, reside in the ten bhūmis, possess the dharmas of the Buddha; however, they remain in the world in order to save beings: therefore they do not enter into nirvāṇa and they teach the dharma to people. But they do not really have a body of the Buddha. They liberate beings, but within certain limits; whereas the beings liberated by the Buddha are immeasurable, they have a buddha body but they do not fill up the ten directions. The Buddha-body fills innumerable universes and the beings to be converted all see the body of the Buddha. The bodhisattvas are like the moon on the fourteenth day: they shine, but not as much as the moon of the fifteenth day." At k. 94, the Mppś will make this comparison again: "The bodhisattvas are like the moon of the fourteenth day that does not yet raise the tide; the Buddhas are like the moon of the fifteenth day."

The Ratnakūta, cited in Madh. avatāra, p. 5 (tr. Poussin, Muséon, 1907, p. 255), compares the bodhisattvas to the new moon (*zla ba tshes pa)* and the Buddha to the full moon (*zla ba ña ba*).

Question. - If it is at this moment that they cut through the fetters, what do they still have to cut through when they become Buddha?

Answer. - Purity (*viṣuddhi*) is of two types: *i*) At the moment when they become Buddha, they expel the bonds (*bandhanāni samudghātayanti)* and obtain real purity completely; *ii*) At the moment when they cast off the fleshly body (*māṃsakāya*) and acquire the *dharmakāya*, they [simply] break the bonds (*bandhanāni chinnanti*): this is the [lesser] purity. It is like a lamp (*dīpa*) that chases away the shadows (*andhakāra*) and fulfills its rôle, but there is a more powerful lamp that shines still more brightly. For the cutting of the fetters (*saṃyojanachchedana*), it is the same for the Buddhas and bodhisattvas: [the fetters] that are broken in the bodhisattvas may be described as 'broken', but in comparison with those that are broken in the Buddhas, they have not completely disappeared. This is what is called the immense and pure wisdom (*apramāṇaviśuddhajñāna*) by virtue of which the bodhisattvas have an unhindered mind towards (*apratihatacitta*) all dharmas.

23. ADHIMĀTRAKṢĀNTISAMANVĀGATA

Sūtra: They were endowed with utmost patience (*adhimātrakṣāntisamanvāgataiḥ*).

Śāstra: Question. - We have already discussed the patience of equanimity (*samatākṣānti*) and the patience with respect to dharmas (*dharmakṣānti*); why does the sūtra say again that the bodhisattvas are endowed with utmost patience?

Answer. - The increase (*vṛddhi*) of the two patiences you have just mentioned is called utmost patience (*adhimātrakṣānti*).

Moreover, the patience of equanimity (*samatākṣānti*) may be held by beings (*sattva*); the patience consonant with the Dharma (*dharmānulomiki kṣāntiḥ*) is the patience relating to profound dharmas (*gambhīradharma*): the increase (*vṛddhi*) of these two patiences realizes (*sākṣātkaroti*) the patience relating to non-arising (*anutpattikadharmakṣānti*).[609] During his last fleshly existence (*caramamāṃsabhava*), the bodhisattva contemplates the Buddhas of the ten directions (*daśadigbuddha*) and their emanations (*nirmāṇa*): he is seated in space opposite them. This is what is called 'endowed with utmost patience'. It is like in the śrāvaka system where the increase (*vṛddhi*) of heat (*uṣmagata*) is called summit (*mūrdhan*) and the increase of summit is called patience (*kśānti*): they are not distinct dharmas but merely [three] different degrees [of one and the same thing].[610] Thus it is the same for the utmost patience (*adhimātrakṣānti)* and the patience of equanimity (*samatākṣānti*) [which constitute different degrees of the same patience].

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609 Cf. the three *kṣānti*s in the Sukhāvativyūha, p. 55 (v. 32): *ghoṣānugā*-, *anulomikī*- and *anutpattikadharmakṣānti*, as well as the *satyānulomāḥ kṣāntayaḥ* of the Divya, p. 80.

610 An allusion to the four auxiliaries of penetration or insight (*nirvedhabhāgiya*): heat (*uṣmagata*), summit (*mūrdhānaḥ*), patience (*kṣānti*) and supreme dharma (*laukikāgradharma*).

Although the term *nirvedhabhāgiya* (in contrast to *hīnabhāgiya*) occurs in the canonical scriptures (cf. Dīgha, III, p. 251, 277; Samyutta, V, p. 345; Aṅguttara, III, p. 427; Vibhaṅga, p. 330), the theory of the four auxiliaries of penetration appears only in the scholasticism of the Lesser Vehicle (cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 80; Kośa, VI, p. 169). It concerns the four

Furthermore, there are two kinds of patience: the patience towards beings (*sattvakṣānti*) and the patience towards dharmas (*dharmakṣānti*). The patience towards beings relates to beings: if beings as numerous as the sands of the Ganges (*gaṅgānadīvālukopamasattva*) persecute you in every way, you do not feel any anger (*dveṣa*); if they honor you (*arhayanti*) and pay homage to you (*pūjayanti*) in every way, you experience no joy (*muditā*). Moreover, you know that beings have no beginning (*agra*); if they have no beginning, they have no causes and conditions (*hetupratyaya*); if they have no causes and conditions, they have no end either. Why? Because the beginning and the end are interdependent (*anyonyāpekha*). If they have neither beginning nor end, they have no middle (*madhya*) either.[611] When things are seen in this way, one does not fall into the [**107a**] two extreme views (*antadvaya*) of eternalism (*śaśvata*) and nihilism (*uccheda*); it is by means of the way of safety (*yogakṣema*) that one considers beings without producing wrong views (*mithyādṛṣṭi)*. This is what is called patience towards beings (*sattvakṣānti*).

The patience relating to dharmas (*dharmakṣānti*) is the unhindered mind (*apratihatacitta*) relating to profound dharmas (*gambhīradharma*).

Question. - What are the profound dharmas?

Answer. - See the explanation already given for *gambhīradharmakṣānti*. By *gambhīradharma* we mean the following: In the twelve-membered pratītyasamutpāda, the result is produced successively; the result (*phala*) is not present in the cause (*hetu*), but neither is it absent; it is from this intermediate state that it arises. This is called *gambhīradharma*.

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roots of good (*kuśalamūla*) practiced in the path of preparation (*prayogamārga*) immediately preceding the path of seeing (*darśanamārga*). Cf. Kośa, V, p. IV; Obermiller, *Doctrine of P.P*., p. 20.

The four *nirvedhabhāgiya*s have been adopted by the masters of the Greater Vehicle and make up part of the bodhisattva Path; they must be practiced during the level of activity in faith (*adhimukticaryabhūmi*), the stage preparatory (*prayogamārga*) to entry into the bhūmis (cf. Obermiller, o.c., p. 34-37). In the scholasticism of the Greater Vehicle, the four *nirvedhabhāgiya*s correspond to four concentrations (*samādhi*): the acquisition of light (*ālokabhāghiya*), the increase of light (*ālokavṛddhi*), penetration of one part of the truth (*tattvaikadeśanupraveśa*), the concentration immediately preceding the path of seeing (*āntaryasamādhi*). Moreover, in the Vijñānavādin school, these *nirvedhabhāgiya*s and these *samādhi*s are connected with a fourfold knowledge: lesser *paryeśaṇā*, greater *paryeśaṇā*, lesser *yathābhūtaparijñāna*, greater *yathābhūta-parijñāna*.

Here are some references: In the Prajñā literature: Abhisamaya, p. 5 (v. 26), p. 279V. 1-4); Āloka, p. 36, 63, 663 (cf. Obermiller, *Analysis*, p. 8-9. 63). - In the Madhyamaka literature: Madh. vṛtti, p. 362 n.; Bodhicaryāvatara, IX, v. 41; Pañjika, p. 426. - In the Yogācāra literature: Sūtrālamkāra (ed. Lévi), VI., v. 9: XIV, v. 23-26; Abhidharmasamuccayavyākhyā, T 1606, k. 8, p. 734c; Uttaratantra, p. 86; Madhyāntavibhaṅga, p. 27; Saṃgraha, p. 161, 169-170; Siddhi, p. 575-584, 602-603.

611 Another paraphrasing from Madh. Kārikā, XI, 2, p. 220-221:

naivāgraṃ nāvaraṃ yasya tasya madhyaṃ kuto bhavet/
tasmān nātropapasyante pūrvāparasahakramāḥ//

"How could that which has neither beginning nor end have a middle? Consequently, there is no series consisting of an initial and a final term."

Furthermore, when the three gates of liberation (*vimokṣamukha)*, namely, emptiness (*śūnyatā*), signlessness (*ānimitta*) and wishlessness (*apraṇihita*), are penetrated, the eternal bliss of nirvāṇa is found. This also is a *gambhīradharma*.

Finally, it is also a *gambhīradharma* to consider dharmas as neither empty (*śūnya*) nor non-empty (*aśūnya*), neither with marks (*sanimitta*) nor without marks (*animitta*), neither active (*sakriya*) nor inactive (*akriya*) and, by considering them thus, not to attach one's mind to it. Some stanzas say:

Dharmas resulting from causes and conditions

Are called empty of nature (*śūnyalakṣaṇa*),

Are described as conventional (*prajñaptisat*),

Are called the Middle path (*madhyamā pratipad*).

If dharmas really existed

They would not return into nothingness.

Not existing after having existed (*bhūtva abhāva*)

Is what is called annihilation (*uccheda*).

When there is neither eternalism nor nihilism,

Neither existence nor non-existence,

The basis of the mind and of consciousness disappears

And words are exhausted.

Faced with these *gambhīradharma*s, the mind of the bodhisattvas experiences neither difficulty (*āvaraṇa*) nor repugnance (*vipratisāra*) nor any setback. This is why they are endowed with utmost patience (*adhimātrakṣāntisamanvāgata*).

24. YATHĀTMYĀVATĀRAṆUKUŚALA

Sūtra: They excelled in saving appropriately (*yathātmyāvatārakuśalaiḥ*).

Śāstra: The systems of the heretics (*tīrthikadharma*), while saving beings, do not save them appropriately, because all kinds of wrong views (*mithyādṛṣṭi*) and fetters (*saṃyojana*) remain.

- The two vehicles, [that of the śrāvakas and that of the pratyekabuddhas], while possessing the means of salvation, do not save as they should (*yathāyogam*), for their adepts, not being omniscient (*sarvajñā*), use only rather rudimentary skillful means (*upāyacitta*). It is only bodhisattvas who can save appropriately.

[There is a good and a bad way of saving beings, just as there is a good way and a bad way to cross a river or to cure a sickness.] Thus, to take someone across to the other shore, the master ferryman (*taraṇācārya*) is able to use a fisherman's straw raft (*kaivartatṛṇakola*) or a big boat (*nau-*); there are notable differences between these two ways of crossing. In the same way, [the śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas lead beings to

the other shore of salvation by using the straw raft of the Lesser Vehicle, whereas the bodhisattvas take them across in the ship of the Greater Vehicle]. Or again, there are different remedies for curing sicknesses (*vyādhi*), such as medicinal herbs (*oṣadhi)* or cauterization with a needle; but there is a still more wonderful herb called *Sou t'o chan t'o* (Śuddhaśāntā?) which it suffices that the sick person looks at it and all his ills are cured. Although these remedies seem similar, their quality differs. It is the same for the śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas in their methods of converting beings: asceticism (*tapas*), *dhūtaṅga*, practice of the three nights (*prathama-madhyama-paścima-yāma*), exertion (*vīryacitta*) and ecstasy (*dhyāna*). According to the śrāvaka doctrine, one finds the Path by considering suffering (*duḥkha*); according to the bodhisattva doctrine, the mind finds purity (*viṣuddhi*) by considering the dharmas as free of bonds (*bandhana*) and free of deliverance (*mokṣa*). Compare the *Wen chou che lo pen yuan* (Mañjuśryavadāna):

Mañjuśrī said to the Buddha: "Bhagavat, once in times gone by, (*bhūtapūrvam atīte 'dhvani*) - [**107b**] innumerable incalculable periods ago - there was a Buddha called *Che tseu yin wang* (Siṃhanādarāja). The lifetime of the Buddha and of beings was a hundred thousand *koṭinayuta* years; the Buddha saved beings by the three Vehicles (*yānatraya*); the country was called *Ts'ien kouang ming* (Sahasrāloka). In this land, the trees (*vṛkṣa*) were made of the seven jewels (*saptaratna*) and emitted immense and pure sounds of the Dharma (*apramāṇaviśuddhadharmasvara*): the sounds of emptiness (*śūnyatā*), signlessness (*animitta*), wishlessness (*apraṇihita*), non-arising (*anutpāda*), non-cessation (*anirodha*) and nothingness (*ākiṃcanya*). The beings who heard these sounds found their minds opening up and discovered the Path. When the Buddha Siṃhanādarāja preached the Dharma to the first assembly, 99 *koṭi*s of human beings attained the state of arhat. It was the same for the bodhisattva assembly: all these bodhisattvas had acquiescence of the teaching of non-arising (*anutpattikadharmakṣānti*), they penetrated all sorts of religious texts (*dharmaparyāya*), they saw innumerable Buddhas whom they served (*arcana*) and honored (*pūjā*), they were able to save innumerable and incalculable beings, they possessed innumerable dhāraṇīmukhas, they used innumerable samādhis of all kinds; from the first production of mind (*prathamacittotpāda*), they had crossed through the gate of the Path. It would be impossible to cite and list all these bodhisattvas and describe the beauties (*alaṃkāra*) of this buddha-field (*buddhakṣetra*). Finally, when the Buddha had converted them all, he entered into nirvāṇa-without-remainder (*nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa*); his Dharma lasted 60,000 more years and then the trees stopped emitting the sounds of the Dharma (*dharmasvara*).

There were, at that time, two bodhisattva bhikṣus named *Hi ken* (Prasannendriya) and *Cheng yi* (Agramati). The Dharma teacher Prasannendriya, of frank and simple manner, had not renounced the things of the world (*lokadharma*) and did not distinguish good from evil. His disciples were intelligent (*medhāvin*), loved the Dharma and understood admirably the profound meaning (*gambhīrārtha*). Their teacher did not recommend moderation in desires (*alpecchāsaṃtuṣṭi)* to them or the observance of the precepts (*śīlacaryā*) or the practice of the dhūtas. He spoke to them only of the true nature (*satyalakṣaṇa*) of the dharmas which is pure (*viṣuddha*). He said to them: 'The dharmas are characterized by desire (*rāga*), hatred (*dveṣa*) and delusion (*moha*), but all these characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*) may be reduced to the true nature (*satyalakṣaṇa*) of the dharmas which is without hindrance (*apratihata*).' It was by these soteriological means (*upāya*) that he instructed his disciples and introduced them into the knowledge of the unique nature (*ekalakṣaṇajñāna*). Thus his disciples felt no hostility (*pratigha*) or affection (*anunaya*) for people and, as their minds were

unperturbed, they had obtained the patience towards beings (*sattvakṣānti*); provided with the patience towards beings, they acquired the patience relating to the dharmas (*dharmakṣānti*). In the presence of the true doctrine, they remained motionless (*acala*) like a mountain.

By contrast, the Dharma teacher Agramati, clinging to the purity of the precepts (*śīlaviśuddhi*), practiced the twelve dhūtas, had acquired the four dhyānas and the formless absorptions (*ārūpyasamāpatti)*. His disciples were of weak faculties (*mṛdvindriya*) and clung to distinguishing the pure (*śuddha)* [practices] from the impure (*aśuddha*) ones; their minds were always disturbed [by qualms].

On various occasions, Agramati went to the village (*grāma*) among the disciples of Prasannendriya, and seated there, he praised the precepts (*śīla*), moderation in desires (*alpecchāsaṃtuṣṭi*), the practice of solitude (*araṇya*) and the dhyānas. He criticized their teacher Agramati, saying: "This man, who preaches the Dharma and teaches people, introduces them into wrong views (*mithyādṛṣṭi*). He says that desire (*rāga*), anger (*dveṣa*) and delusion (*moha*) are not an obstacle (*pratigha*), that people of mixed practices (*miśracaryā*) are not really pure." The disciples of Prasannendriya, who had keen faculties (*tīkṣṇendriya*) and the patience relating to [**107c**] dharmas, asked Agramati:

- O Venerable One, what are the characteristics of desire?

- Desire has affliction as its nature.

- Is this affliction of desire internal (*ādhyātmam*) or external (*bahirdhā*)?

- This affliction of desire is neither internal nor external. If it were internal, it would not depend on causes and conditions (*hetupratyaya*) to take birth; if it were external, it would not have anything to do with the self and would be unable to torment it.

People then retorted:

- If desire is neither internal (*adhymatmam*) nor external (*bahirdhā*) nor in the [four] directions; in the east (*pūrvasyāṃ diśi)*, in the south (*dakṣiṇasyāṃ diśi*), in the west (*paścimāyāṃ diśi*) or in the north (*uttarasyāṃ diśi*), nor in the four intermediate directions (*vidikṣu*), nor at the zenith (*upariṣṭād diśi*) nor at the nadir (*adhastād diśi)*, one might look everywhere for its true nature and one would never find it. This dharma does not arise (*notpadyate*) and does not cease (*na nirudhyate*) and, since it lacks the characteristics of birth and cessation (*utpādanirodhalakṣaṇa*), it is empty (*śūnya*) and non-existent (*akiṃcana*). How could it torment [the ātman]?

Deeply displeased on hearing these words, Agramati could not reply. He rose from his seat, saying: "[Your teacher] Prasannendriya deceives many beings and clings to wrong ways (*mithyāmārga*)." This bodhisattva Agramati did not know the *ghoṣapraveśadhāraṇī*; he was happy when he heard the speech of the Buddha and grieved when he heard a heretical (*tīrthika*) word; he was sad when he heard speak of the three evil (*akuśala*) things and rejoiced when he heard speak of the three good things (*kuśala*); he hated speaking about saṃsāra and loved to speak about nirvāṇa. Leaving the dwellings of the vaiśya, he went back to the forest and returned to his monastery (*vihāra*). He said to his bhikṣus: "You should know that the bodhisattva Prasannendriya is an impostor who leads people to evil. Why? He claims that the nature of desire, hatred and delusion (*rāgadveṣamohalakṣaṇa*) as well as all the other dharmas is not an obstacle."

Then the bodhisattva Prasannendriya had this thought: "This Agramati who is so fierce is covered with faults and will fall into great sins (*mahāpatti*). I am going to teach him the profound Dharma (*gambhīradharma*). Even if he cannot grasp it today, this teaching will earn him buddhahood later." Then gathering the saṃgha together, Prasannendriya spoke these stanzas:

Rāga is the Path,

Dveṣa and *moha* are also the Path.

In these three things are included

Innumerable states of buddhahood.

Whoever makes a distinction

Between *rāga-dveṣa-moha* and the Path

Departs as far from the Buddha

As the sky is far from the earth.

The Path and *rāga-dveṣa-moha*

Are one and the same thing.

The person who listens to his fears

Wanders far from buddhahood.

Rāga is not born, it does not perish,

It is incapable of calling forth anxiety;

But if the person believes in the ātman

Rāga will lead him to bad destinies.

To distinguish existence (*bhava*) from non-existence (*abhava*)

Is not freeing oneself from them.

[**108a**] Recognizing their fundamental identity

Is to win the victory and realize buddhahood.

Prasannendriya spoke seventy more stanzas of this kind and at that moment, 30,000 devaputras found acquiescence in the doctrine of non-production (*anutpattikadharmakṣānti)*; 18,000 śrāvakas, detached from all dharmas, found deliverance (*vimokṣa*). The bodhisattva Agramati fell into hell (*niraya*) where he suffered torments for 10,000,000 years; then he was reborn among humans where he was exposed to ridicule for 740,000 lifetimes. For innumerable kalpas he never heard the name of the Buddha pronounced, but, as his sin was becoming lighter, he heard the Buddhist doctrine preached. Becoming a monk (*pravrajita*) in search of the Path, he gave up the precepts (*śīla*) and so, for 603,000 lifetimes, he

completely neglected the precepts. Finally, for innumerable lifetimes, he was a śrāmaṇa, but although he no longer neglected the precepts, his faculties remained closed (*āvṛta*). - As for the bodhisattva Prasannendriya, he is the Buddha in the eastern region (*pūrvasyāṃ diśi*) beyond 100,000 *koṭi*s of buddha-fields (*buddhakṣetra*): his land is called *Pao yen* (Ratnavyūha) and he himself is named *Kouang yu je ming wang* (Sūryālokasamatikramantarāja).

Mañjuśrī [continued this story], saying to the Buddha: "At that time, I was the bhikṣu Agramati; I knew that I had to endure these immense sufferings." Mañjuśrī said again: "Those who seek the Path of the three vehicles (*yānatrayamārga*) and do not want to undergo such suffering should not reject the [true] nature of dharmas or give themselves up to hatred (*dveṣa*)."

The Buddha then asked him: "When you heard these stanzas [of Prasannendriya], what benefit did you get from them?" Mañjuśrī replied: "When I heard these stanzas, I came to the end of my suffering. From lifetime to lifetime I had sharp faculties (*tīkṣṇendriya*) and wisdom (*prajñā*), I was able to find the profound Dharma (*gambhīradharma*) and I excelled in preaching the profound meaning (*gambhīrārtha*); I was foremost among all the bodhisattvas."

Thus 'to be skillful in preaching the [true] nature of the dharmas' is 'to excel in saving appropriately (*yāthātmyāvatāraṇakuśala*).'

CHAPTER XIII: THE BUDDHA-FIELDS

[**k. 7, 108a**] Text of the sūtra commented on in this chapter [cf. Pañcaviṃṣati, p. 5; Śatasāhasrikā, p. 5-7]:

(25) *Apramāṇabuddhakṣetrapraṇidhānaparigṛhītair*

(26) *apramāṇabuddhakṣetrabuddhānusmṛtisamādhisatatasamitābhimukhībhūtair*,

(27) *aparamitabuddhādhyeṣaṇakuśalair* (28) *nānādṛṣṭiparyavasthānakleśapraśamanakuśalaiḥ*,

(29) *samādhiśatasahasrābhinirhāravikrīḍanakuśalair evaṃvidhaiś cāpramāṇair guṇaiḥ samanvāgataiḥ. Tadyathā Bhadrapālena ca bodhisattvena mahāsattvena Ratnākareṇa ca Sārthavāhena ca Naradattena ca Śubhaguptena ca Varuṇadattena ca Indradattena ca Uttaramatinā ca Viśeṣamatinā ca Vardhamānatinā ca Amoghadarśinā ca Susaṃaprasthitena ca Suvikrāntavikramiṇā ca Nityodyuktena ca Anikṣiptadhureṇa ca Sūryagarbheṇa ca Anupamacintinā ca Avalokiteśvareṇa ca Mañjuśriyā ca Ratnamudrāhastena ca Nityotkṣiptahastena ca Maitreyeṇa ca bodhisattvena mahāsattvena, evaṃpramukhair anekabodhisattvakoṭiniyutaśatasahasaiḥ sārdhaṃ sarvair ekajātipratibaddhair bhūyastvena kumārabhūtaih.*

These bodhisattvas took possession of an infinite number of buddha-fields by means of their aspirations; they always turned to the concentrations commemorating the Buddhas of innumerable buddha-fields; they excelled in inviting innumerable Buddhas; they excelled in destroying various wrong views, entanglements and defilements and were endowed with innumerable qualities of this kind. [The Buddha was thus accompanied] by the bodhisattva- mahasattvas Badhrapāla, etc. (see the listing in the text) at the head of countless hundreds of thousands of *koṭinayuta*s of bodhisattvas who were all in a state of uncertainty awaiting succession and were still to accede to Buddhahood.

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25. BUDDHAKṢETRAPRAṆIDHĀNAPARIGHṚHÈTA

Sūtra: They have taken possession of an infinite number of buddha-fields by means of their aspirations (*apramāṇabuddhakṣetrapraṇidhānaparigṛhītaiḥ*).

Śāstra: Seeing the wondrous infinities (*apramāṇavyūha*) of the buddha-fields (*buddhakśetra*),[612] these bodhisattvas formed all kinds of aspirations (*praṇidhāna*).

[**108b**] There is a buddha-field free of all suffering (*duḥkha*) where the question of the threefold evil (*pāpatrya*) has never been heard. The bodhisattva who has seen it formulates the following aspiration: "When I will be Buddha, may my field be thus free of all suffering and may the threefold evil never be heard of there."

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612 For the buddha-fields, see Hobogirin, *Butsudo*, p. 198-203.

There is a buddha-field adorned with the seven jewels (*saptaratnālaṃkṛta*) which is always bathed in clear light (*viśuddhaprabhā*) although it has neither sun (*sūrya*) nor moon (*candrama*s). [The bodhisattva who has seen it] formulates the following aspiration: "When I will be Buddha, may my field be always bathed thus in pure light."

There is a buddha-field where all the beings practice the ten wholesome actions (*daśakuśala*) and have great wisdom (*mahāprajñā*), where garments, coverlets and food appear at will. [The bodhisattva who has seen it] formulates the following aspiration: "When I will be Buddha, may beings in my field also find garments, coverlets and food at will."

There is a buddha-field where the pure bodhisattvas have the physical appearance of the Buddha with his thirty major marks (*lakṣaṇa*) and his brilliant light, where there is no question of śrāvakas or pratyekabuddhas and where women (*strī)* are completely absent; all the inhabitants follow the profound marvelous Path of the Buddhas, travel in the ten directions and convert all beings. [The bodhisattva who has seen it] formulates the following aspiration: "When I will be Buddha, may the beings in my field be like this."

This is how the bodhisattvas aspire to and attain all the marvels (*nānāvidhavyūha*) of innumerable buddha-fields, and this is why the sūtra says that they have acquired an infinite number of buddha-fields by means of their aspirations (*apramāṇabuddhakṣetrapraṇidhānaparighṛhīta*)

Question. - But by virtue of the purity of their conduct and their actions (*caritakarmaviśuddhi*), the bodhisattvas automatically obtain good rewards (*śubhavipāka*). Why must they first aspire to them in order to obtain them later? A farmer who has grain, must he still wish for it?

Answer. - Merit (*puṇya*) is ineffective without aspiration (*praṇidāna*). Making the aspiration (*praṇidhānaprasthāna*) is the guide that leads to the result. In the same way, metal-casting requires a master, the crude metal [itself] being formless (*aniyata*). Thus the Buddha said: "Some people cultivate (*bhāvayanti*) the limited merit of generosity (*dāna*) or morality (*śīla*), but are ignorant of the law of merit; learning that there are wealthy happy people, they always think about them and endlessly wish for [similar] happiness; at the end of their life, they will be reborn among wealthy happy people. Others cultivate the limited merit of generosity or morality, but are ignorant of the law of merit; hearing about the existence of the Caturmahārājika, Trāyastriṃśa, Yāma, Tuṣita, Nirmānarati and Paranirmitavaśavartin gods, they endlessly wish for [similar] happiness: at the end of their life, they will be reborn among those gods. This happiness is the result of their wish."[613] In the same way, it is by aspiring for the pure universes (*viśuddhalokadhātu*) that the bodhisattvas acquire them later. Therefore it is thanks to their aspirations (*praṇidhāna*) that they possess superior fruits (*agraphala*).

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613 Summary of a sūtra related to *dānūpapattiyo*, 'rebirths due to the practice of generosity', which may be found in Aṅguttara, IV, p. 239-241 (tr. Woodward, *Gradual Sayings*, IV, p. 163-164:

Aṭṭh'imā bhikkhave dānūpapattiyo. Katamā aṭṭha? Idha bhikkhave ekacco dānaṃ deti samaṇassa vā brahmaṇassa vā .... Imā kho bhikkhave aṭṭhadānūpapattiyo ti.

Furthermore, the adornment of the buddha-fields (*buddhakṣetrālaṃkāra*) is important. By itself, cultivation of the qualities (*guṇa*) of the bodhisattva would be unable to realize it; this is why the power of aspiration is necessary. Thus, an ox (*go-*) has the strength to draw a cart (*ratha*) but a driver (*nāyaka*) is needed to reach the destination. It is the same for aspirations [**108c**] related to the pure universes: merit is like the ox, aspiration is the driver.

Question. - [If you are to be believed], one would gain no merit if one did not make an aspiration.

Answer. - Yes! One would gain merit, but not as when the aspiration is added. If one thinks endlessly of the goal, the merit increases (*vardhate*).

Question. - If merit entails retribution, people who commit the ten sins[614] but do not wish for hell (*niraya*) as retribution would not have to suffer hell as punishment [for their faults].

Answer. - Although sin (*āpatti)* and merit (*puṇya*) are necessarily retributed (*niyatavipāka*), only those who formulate aspirations (*praṇidhāna*) cultivate (*bhāvayanti*) merit; endowed with the power of the aspirations, they obtain a *great* fruit of merit (*vipākaphala*). As was said above, sin (*āpatti*) has suffering (*duḥkha*) as retribution; but all the beings [who commit it] wish to find happiness; nobody wishes for suffering or hell (*niraya*). This is why sin has but a limited punishment whereas merit finds unlimited reward (*apramāṇavipāka*). According to some, even the greatest sinner who has fallen into the Avīci hell will suffer his punishment for one kalpa,[615] whereas the very meritorious person, residing in the sphere of neither perception-nor-nonperception (*naivasaṃjñānāsaṃjñāyatana*), will enjoy his reward for 80,000 great kalpas.[616] In the same way, the bodhisattvas who have aspired to the pure universes

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614 The ten evil paths of action (*daśākuśalakarmapatha*), murder (*prāṇātipāta)*, etc.

615 According to the śrāvakas, adherents of the Lesser Vehicle, the damned remain in Avīci hell for one kalpa:

i) The Itivuttaka, II, 18, p. 11, says that the schismatic is cooked in hell for one kalpa: *āpāyika nerayiko kappaṭṭho saṃghabhedaka .... bhitvāna kappaṃ nirayahi paccan*. "The schismatic falls into the abyss, he falls into hell for one kalpa. Creating schisms, living in irreligion, he falls away from safety. Having destroyed the unity of the community, he is cooked in hell for one kalpa."

ii) The Buddha declared that Devadatta, guilty of schism, would be damned for one kalpa: *Āpāyiko Devadatta nerayiko kappaṭṭho atekiccho* "Devadatta has fallen into the abyss, fallen into hell for a kalpa; he is unpardonable." This judgment is repeated in Vinaya, II, p. 202; Majjhima, I, p. 393; Aṅguttara, III, p. 402;; IV, p. 160; Itivuttaka, p.85; Tchong a han, T 26(no. 112), k. 27, p. 600c; A neou fong king, T 58, p. 854a.

Vinaya, II, p. 394: Aṅguttara, V, p. 75: *Samaggaṃ kho saṃghaṃ bhinditvā kappaṭṭhikaṃ kibbisaṃ pasavati kappaṃ nirayamhi paccati* "Having broken the unity of the community, he has committed a sin which will last for one kalpa: he will cook in hell for a kalpa."

Later scholasticism discusses the length of the kalpa passed in hell: is it a small kalpa (*antarakalpa*) or a great kalpa (*mahākalpa*): cf. Kathāvatthu, II, p. 476; P'i p'o cha, T 1545, k. 116, p. 601c; Kośa, IV, p. 207. On the duration of the lifespan of the damned, see Kirfel, *Kosmographie der Inder*, p. 205-206.

616 The lifespan is 20,000 kalpas in ākāśanantyāyatana, 40,000 kalpas in vijñānānatyāyatana, 60,000 kalpas in ākiṃcanyāyatana, 80.000 kalpas in naivasaṃjñānāsaṃjñāyatana or bhavagra. - The first three numbers are given by Aṅguttara, I, p. 267-268; the fourth is given in Kośa, III, p. 174.

(*viśuddhalokadhātu*) will travel the Path for countless kalpas and will attain nirvāṇa, eternal bliss (*nityasukha*).

Question. - However, look at the sin that consists of criticizing the Prajñāpāramitā, the sin discussed in the *Ni li p'in* (Nirayaparivarta): when the *antarakalpa* [spent in Avīci] is ended, the guilty one falls into other hells (*niraya*).[617] How can you say that the very great sinner suffers his punishment in hell for just one kalpa?

Answer. - The Buddhist doctrine, which is intended for beings, uses two [different] ways (*mārga*): the way of the bodhisattva (read *P'ou sa tao* = *bodhisattvamārga*) and the way of the śrāvaka (*śrāvakamārga*). In the way of the śrāvaka, the Buddha says that the person guilty of the five *ānantarya* crimes will suffer hell (*niraya*) for only one kalpa; in the bodhisattva way, the Buddha declares that the enemy of the Buddhadharma, after having spent an *antarakalpa* [in Avīci], will go to yet other hells to undergo innumerable sufferings there (read *k'ou* = duḥkha, in place of *tsouei* = āpatti). According to the theory of the śrāvakas, a single great merit will be rewarded during 80,000 kalpas; according to the theory of the bodhisattvas, it will be rewarded during innumerable asaṃkhyeykalpas.

This is why merit requires aspiration [in order to be truly efficacious]. It is in this sense that the sūtra says that the bodhisattvas are adorned with an infinite number of buddha-fields (*apramāṇabuddhakṣetrapraṇidhānaparigṛhīta*) by means of their aspirations.

26. BUDDHĀNUSMṚTISAMĀDHI

Sūtra: They always turn to the concentration commemorating the Buddhas of numberless buddha-fields (*apramāṇabuddhakṣetrabuddhānusmṛtisamādhisatatasamitābhimukhībhūtaiḥ*)

Śāstra: The countless buddha-fields (*apramāṇabuddhakṣetra*) are the buddha-fields of the ten directions. - The concentration commemorating the Buddhas (*buddhānusmṛtisamādhi*) is that which, by means of the

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[617] The Nirayaparivarta is one of the chapters of the Pañcaviṃśati and the Aṣṭasāhasrikā. The passage alluded to here is in Pañcaviṃśati T 220, k. 435, p. 187c; T 221, k. 9, p. 63a; T 223, k. 11, p. 304c. In the Aṣṭasāhasrika, T 224, k. 3, p. 441b; T 225, k. 3, p. 488a; T 225, k. 3, p. 523a; T 227, k. 3, p. 550c. Here are a few extracts of the Sanskrit text of the Aṣṭasāhasrika, ed. R. Mitra, p. 179-180:

Asyāḥ khalu punaḥ Subhute prajñāpāramitāyāḥ pratyākhyānena pratikṣepena .... mahanti mahānirayaduḥkhāni pratyanubhaviṣyanti. " By criticizing, by rejecting, by insulting this Prajñāpāramitā, O Subhuti, one criticizes, one rejects, one insults the omniscience of the Buddha Bhagavats. Those [who act in this way] will be banished from the presence of the Buddha Bhagavats, deprived of the Dharma, sent away by the community. For them this will be the definitive and complete exclusion from the Three Jewels. As a result of a sin of such magnitude, they will be reborn in the great hells for many hundreds of millions of *koṭiniyuta*s of years. They will pass from one great hell to another great hell. When they have thus gone from one great hell to another, the destruction of the world by fire will occur. And when this destruction of the world by fire has taken place, they will fall into the great hells of other universes. It is in these great hells that they will be reborn. In these great hells they will suffer the great torments of hell."

mind's eye (*cittacakṣus*), perceives all the Buddhas of the ten directions (*daśadiś*) and the three times (*tryadvan*) as if they were present.[618]

Question. -Then what is the *buddhanusmṛtisamādhi*?

Answer. - It is of two types: *i)* According to the śrāvaka system, it is to see with the eye of the mind one single Buddha filling the ten directions; *ii*) according to the bodhisattva system, it is to recollect all the Buddhas of the ten directions and the three times[**109a**] who are present in numberless *buddhakṣetras*. Also the sūtra says that the bodhisattvas always direct themselves towards the concentrations commemorating the Buddhas of countless buddha-fields.

Question. - The concentrations (*samādhi*) of the bodhisattvas are of infinite variety; why does the sūtra praise only the bodhisattvas who devote themselves always to the *buddhānusmṛtisamādhi*?

Answer. – *i*) Because by commemorating the Buddhas these bodhisattvas reach buddhahood. This is why they devote themselves always to the *buddhānusmṛtisamādhi*.

ii) Furthermore, the *buddhānusmṛtisamādhi* is able to drive away the afflictions (*kleśa*) of all sorts and the sins (*āpatti*) of former lifetimes (*pūrvajanma)*. Other samādhis can drive away desire (*rāga*) but not hatred (*dveṣa*); others can drive away hatred but not desire, still others can drive away delusion (*moha*) but not desire or hatred; finally, others can drive away the threefold poison (*triviṣa*) but not the sins of earlier lives. Only the *buddhānusmṛtisamādhi* is capable of eliminating all the afflictions and all the sins.

iii) Finally, the *buddhānusmṛtisamādhi* has the great merit of being able to save beings and this is precisely what these bodhisattvas want. The *buddhānusmṛtisamādhi* is able to destroy sins quickly, better than all the other samādhis. Here is proof of it:[619] Once there were five hundred merchants who had gone to sea to

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618 Commemoration in general, and especially commemoration of the Buddhas, was practiced already in the Lesser Vehicle. It was applied applied sometimes to six objects (Dīgha,III, p. 250, 280; Aṅguttara, III, p. 284, 312 seq., 452; V, p. 329 seq.; Patisambhidḥa, I, p. 28), sometimes to ten (Aṅguttara, I, p. 30, 42; Laliravistara, p. 31).

Commemoration of the Buddhas was greatly expanded in the Greater Vehicle; the seven-fold recollection of the dharmakāya in Saṃgraha, p. 314-316, and the ten-fold recollection of the qualities of the Tathāgata in Bodh. bhūmi, p. 91, should be noted.

619 The story that follows is taken from the legend of Dharmaruci, told in detail in Divyāvadana, chap. XVIII, p. 228-262 (tr. H. Zimmer, *Karman, ein buddhistischer Legendenkranz*, Munchen, 1925, p. 1-79). It is essential to know the major outlines of this legend in order to understand the allusions that abound in the story of the Mppś.

In the course of his earlier lifetimes, Dharmaruci had met the future Buddha Śākyamuni: *i*) Under the Buddha Ksemaṃkara, Dharmaruci was a captain in command of a thousand men (*sahasrayodhin*), while Śākyamuni was a merchant who decorated a stūpa in honor of the Buddha Ksemaṃkara (Divyāvadāna, p. 242-246). - *ii*) Under the Buddha Dīpaṃkara, Dharmaruci was *Mati*, friend of *Sumati*, the future Śākyamuni, who offered lotuses to the Buddha Dīpaṃkara and made his hair into a mat for him. *Mati* was angry at seeing Dīpaṃkara walking on the hair of a brahmin; nevertheless, he entered the Order of the Buddha along with his friend, but, as punishment for his anger, he fell into the hells (Divyāvadāna, p. 246-254). We have already come across this famous incident, of which a certain number of references have been collected; in the sources indicated, Dharmaruci does not appear always under the name *Mati* but also under the name *Meghadatta* (mainly in the Mahāvastu), while Śākyamuni is called *Sumati*, *Megha* or *Sumedha*. - *iii*) Under the

Buddha Krakucchanda, Dharmaruci was a merchant's son (*vaṇigdāraka*) and became guilty of various crimes: he lived in carnal sin with his mother, poisoned his father, stabbed an arhat, killed his mother and burned monasteries before being welcomed into the Order by a *bhikṣu tripiṭa* 'monk learned in the Tripitaka', who was none other than the future Buddha Śākyamuni (Divyāvadāna, p. 254-262; the same story differing in details in Mahāvastu, I, p. 243-244). - 4) Under the Buddha Śākyamuni, Dharmaruci lived two lives:

a) Whereas his former friend became Buddha, Dharmaruci, as punishment for his crimes, had taken birth as a monstrous fish that swallowed everything that it came across. One day when the fish had opened its mouth about to swallow a ship, the passengers called upon the Buddha for help. On hearing this cry that recalled to him his past existences and crimes, the fish Dharmaruci had remorse and closed its mouth. This is the episode told here.

b) Deprived of food, the fish died of hunger and Dharmaruci was reborn into a family of brahmins in Śrāvastī. While bearing him in her womb, his mother was tormented by ravenous hunger (Divyāvadāna, p. 234). During his youth, he could never get enough to eat (ibid., p. 235); he was on the point of committing suicide when, at the advice of an upāsaka, he became a monk (ibid., p. 236). There again his appetite proved to be ravenous; in order to pacify him a little, a householder (*gṛhapati*) had him swallow the contents of a wagon loaded with provisions for 500 people (ibid., p.237-239). Finally, the Buddha Śākyamuni took Dharmaruci to the sea-shore near the carcass of a giant fish and told him, to his great amazement, that these fragments of bone (*asthiśakala*) had once belonged to him. Then the Buddha disappeared miraculously and returned to Śrāvastī, to the Jetavana, leaving Dharmaruci in contemplation before his own skeleton (ibid., p. 239-240). In the course of his meditation, Dharmaruci traveled over all the stages of the Path and reached arhathood. Going back over the course of his lives and aware of the favors his old friend had rendered him, he miraculously returned to the Jetavana. When Śākyamuni saw him, he made only a discrete allusion to the former lifetimes they had had together and welcomed him with these simple words: *Cirasya Dharmaruce ..., Sucirasya Dharmaruce ...., Sucirascirasya Dharmaruce* (It has been a long time, Dharmaruci! It has been a very long time, Dharmaruci! It has indeed been a very long time, Dharmaruci!) And Dharmaruci agreed: *Cirasya Bhagavan, Sucirasya Bhagavan*, *Suciracirasya Bhagavan* (Chinese Ekottara, T 125, k. 11, p. 507b; Mahāvastu, I, p. 246; Divyāvadāna, p. 241; Apadāna, II,p. 430, v. 20).

Archeologists became interested in the giant fish because of a Bhārhut medallion depicting a ship with three people about to be engulfed by a marine monster (cf. Cunningham, *Bhārhut*, pl. XXXIV, 2; A. Foucher, *Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale*, III, p. 8; B. Barua and K.C. Sinha, *Bhārhut Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1926, p. 61; Lüders, *Bhārhut und die buddhistische Literatur*, p. 73-79: Die Geschichte von Timitimigila). The sources dealing with it are more numerous than is generally thought:

Sanskrit sources: Divyāvadāna, p. 231-232. - Mahāvastu, I, p. 244-246. - Avadānakalpalatā, II, p. 777-778, v. 16-25.

Pāli sources, hitherto neglected or forgotten: Pāli Apadāna, II, p. 430, v. 13-20, of which the following is the text:

13. Akarim anantariyañ ca ghātayiṃ duṭṭhamānasa
tato cuto mahāvīciṃ upapanno sudāruṇaṃ. ....
20. Disvā disvā muni āha ciraṃ Dhammarucīti maṃ.

It is Dharmaruci who is speaking: "I committed a heinous sin of immediate retribution and committed murder with an evil mind; I died and was reborn in the cruel great hell. Plunged into the hells, for a long time I wandered unhappily and never met the hero Sumedha, the bull among men. For a kalpa, I was the fish Timiṅgala in the ocean: seeing a ship nearby in the ocean, I approached it. Seeing me, the frightened merchants called upon the excellent Buddha. Gotama, they cried. Hearing the great cry which they uttered, I remembered my former propensities. Then I died and was reborn at Sāvatthi in a great brahmin family. I was Dhammaruci, filled with horror for any sin; having seen the Lamp of the World, I went, at

search for precious stuffs. They encountered *Mo k'ie lo* (Makara), king of the fish (*matsyarāja*):[620] the water of the sea rushed into its gapiing mouth and the ship was about to be engulfed. The captain (*karṇadhāra*)[621] asked the man in the look-out: "What do you see?" He answered: "I see three suns (*āditya*), ranges of white mountains (*avadātaparvatarāji*) and a waterfall (*jalaprapāta*) at the entrance to a

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the age of seven years, to Jetavana and embraced the monastic life. Three times during the day and three times during the night I went to the Buddha and each time he saw me, the Muni said: "It has been a long time, O Dhammaruci."

Chinese sources: Hien yu king, T 202 (no. 23), k. 4, p. 379b (abridged). - Tsa p'i yu king, T 207 (no, 30), p. 529a-b (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, II, p. 51-53): this version is very similar to that of the Mppś. - King liu siang, T 2121, k. 43, p. 226b.

The story of the Mahāvastu has been influenced by an episode in the legend of Pūrṇa who also rescued his brother and five hundred merchants from Śūrpāraka from a storm. He rejoined them miraculously and, seated cross-legged on the edge of the boat, he calmed the storm raised by the yakṣa Maheśvara. The episode is told in Divyāvadāna, p. 41-42 (tr. Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 228-230) and in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, T 1448, k. 3, p. 13a. In other sources, the merchant from Śūrpāraka miraculously saved is called, not Dhārukarṇin, but Stavakarṇika (Avadānaśataka, II, p. 166; Buddhacarita, XXI, v. 22, in E. H. Johnston, *The Buddha's Mission and last Journey*, Extract of Acta Or., XV, 1937,p. 53, where *Rna stod* translates the Sanskrit Stavakarṇika).

620 This fish is called *Mo kie* (Makara) in the Hien yu king and the Tsa p'i yu king; *timitimiṅgila* on the Bhārhut medallion, the Mahāvastu and the Divyāvadāna (where the variant *timiṅgila* also occurs); *timiṅgilagili* (probably to be corrected as *timiṅgilagila*) in the Avadānakalpalatā; *timiṅgala* in the Apadāna.

The proper reading is that of the Avadānakalpalatā: *timiṅgilagila*, in Tibetan *ña-mid mid-par byad-paḥi-ña* 'the fish-that-swallows a fish-swallower'. Three kinds of fish must be distinguished: i) The *timi*, described as follows in the Raghuvaṃśa, XIII, 10:

> *Sasattvam ādāya badīmukhāmbhaḥ saṃmīlayanto vivṛtānanatvāt/*
> *amī śirbhis timayaḥ sarandhrair ūrdhvaṃ vitanvanti jalapravāhān//*

"See these sharks (*timi)* that suck in the water with the animals in it at the mouths of rivers; suddenly they shut their gullets and emit columns of water into the air through the holes in their heads." (tr. L. Renou)

ii) The *timiṅgila*, in Tibetan *ña-mid* 'swallower of *tinmi*' Indeed, the Amarakośa, I, 10, 19, has:

timiṅgilas timiṃ girati: gṛ nigaraṇe.

iii) The *timiṇgilagila*, in Tibetan *ña-mid mid par byed pa*, 'a swallower of *timiṅgila*'.

Thus there are three kinds of fish of different sizes, the smallest of which is swallowed by the middle one, and the middle one by the largest. This fits in perfectly with the Hindu concepts of life in the seas. Cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 230. "In the great ocean, the living beings are divided into three size-ranges (*skandha*): in the first are the fish 100, 200 and 300 yojanas in length; in the second, those 800, 900, 1000 up to 1400 yojanas in length; in the third, those 1500, 1600 and up to 2100 yojanas in length. In the great ocean, these kinds of fish are always eating one another; those in the first size-range (*bhūmi*) are devoured by those in the second; those in the second are devoured by those in the third. There is a fish there called Timiṅgila [to be corrected to Timiṅgilagila] that, surpassing the third range, comes up to the surface. When it opens its mouth, a funnel of water is sucked into it violently; drawn in by this mass of water, fish of all kinds, turtles, sea horses, dolphins, whales, etc. pass from its mouth into its belly. When it moves, it is so huge that its head, even from afar, seems to be a mountain as high as the sky and its two eyes from afar are like two suns in the sky."

621 The captain (*karnadhāra*) or chief of the merchants (*sārthavāha*) is called Sthapakarṇika (variants: *Thapakarṇi, Thapakarṇika, Sthāpakarṇika*) in the Mahāvastu. Cf. the Stavakarṇika of the Avadānaśatakā and the Buddhacarita.

cave."[622] The captain shouted: "It is the Makara, the king of the fish; he is holding his mouth agape; the first sun is the real sun, the other two suns are his eyes (*akṣi*); the white mountains are his teeth (*danta*): the waterfall is the sea water that is rushing into his mouth.[623] Let each of you call upon the gods for help." Then each of the men called upon the god whom he worshipped,[624] but with no success.[625] Among them there was an upāsaka who observed the five precepts (*pañcaśikṣāpadaparigṛhīta upāsaka)*[626] who said to the others: "We should all cry out together *Na mo fo* (*Namo buddhāya*); the Buddha is unsurpassable (*anuttara*); he will know how to help us." All the passengers unanimously (*ekacittena*) agreed and with one voice (*samaraveṇa*) they cried: *Namo buddhāya* (Homage to the Buddha). Now in an earlier lifetime (*pūrvajanma*), this fish had been a bad disciple of the Buddha (*duḥśīlaśrāvaka*);[627] he still had the memory of his former lifetimes (*pūrvanivāsānusmṛtijñāna*). Hearing the name of the Buddha pronounced, he felt remorse, closed his mouth and the sailors were saved.[628]

If the simple commemoration of the Buddha (*buddhanusmṛti*) can thus efface grave sins and save from danger, what are not [the benefits] of the concentration commemorating the Buddhas (*buddhanusmṛtisamādhi*)?

iv) Moreover, the Buddha is king of Dharma (*dharmarāja*), while the bodhisattvas are but the captains. Worship and respect belong to the Buddha Bhagavat alone; that is why we must always commemorate the Buddhas.

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622 In the Divyāvadāna, p. 231, the captain gives the following explanation *Yat tad bhavantaḥ śruyate timitimiṅgila iti timitimiṇgilabhayam .... sūryavad avalokyete etāv akṣitārakau*.

623 In the Tsa p'i yu king, the look-out says: "I see two suns that appear above; below is a white mountain; in the middle is a black mountain."

624 In the Divyāvadāna, p. 232, the merchants invoked Śiva, Varuṇa, Kuvera, Mahendra, Upendra; in the Mahāvastu, p. 245, Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, Skandha, Varuṇa, Yama, Dhṛtarāṣtra, Virūdhaka, Virūpākṣa, Indra, Brahma, Samudradevatā; in the Hien yu king, some invoke the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṃgha, others call upon the deities of the mountains and rivers, their parents, their wives and children, their brothers [as in the legend of Pūrṇa] and their servants.

625 The Tsa p'i yu king says " "The stronger their prayers, the faster the boat went."

626 The Divyāvadāna and the Hien yu king simply say 'an upāsaka'. The Mppś mentions specifically that he held the five precepts; not to kill, not to steal, to abstain from forbidden sexual relations, not to lie and not to partake of alcohol. Scholars discuss the question of knowing if these obligations are essential to the quality of upāsaka. Cf. L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Notes sur le chemin du Nirvāṇa*, BCLS, session 5 Jan, 1925, no. 1, p. 20, n. 2. - In the Tsa p'i yu king, it is the ship's captain the sārthavāha, who advises them to call upon the Buddha. - In the Mahāvastu, p. 245, it is the ayuṣmat Pūrṇaka: hearing the merchants invoking their deities, he arose from the mountain Tuṇḍaturika into the air and stood above the ship. The merchants wished to take refuge in him by calling him Bhagavat. Pūrṇaka told them that he is not the Bhagavat, but a simple śrāvaka; he advised them to cry out as with a single voice *Namo buddhasya.*

627 In the Divyāvadāna, p. 232, the merchants' cry first reached the ears of the Buddha who was at Śrāsvastī in the Jetavana, and the Buddha then transmitted it to the giant fish.

628 We have seen above that the fish died of hunger and was reborn at Śrāvastī; this was Dharmaruci's last life; he was converted and attained arhathood.

v) Moreover, by always commemorating the Buddhas, we acquire all kinds of qualities (*guṇa*) and benefits (*artha*). In the same way that a great minister (*mahāmātya*) who has received special favors always commemorates his master, so the bodhisattvas, who owe qualities of all kinds and immense wisdom to he Buddha, feel gratitude and ceaselessly commemorate the Buddha.

[**109b**] You may ask why the bodhisattvas always commemorate the Buddhas instead of practicing the other *samādhi*s as well. But to say that they always commemorate the Buddhas does not mean that they neglect the other *samādhi*s; what it does mean is that they practice the *buddhanusmrtisamādhi* more often.

vi) Finally, the sūtra has already mentioned the samādhis of emptiness (*śūnyatā*), signlessness (*ānimitta*) and wishlessness (*apraṇihita*), but did not say anything about the *buddhānusmṛtisamādhi*. That is why it is spoken of here.

27. APARIMITABUDDHĀDHYEṢAṆAKUŚALA

Sūtra: They excelled in inviting innumerable buddhas (*aparimitabuddhādhyeṣaṇakuśalaiḥ*).

Śastra: The invitations[629] [which they address to the Buddhas] are of two types:[630]

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[629] It is understood that, before and after he has entered into the bhūmis, the bodhisattva must cultivate the awakened mind by the practice of the six or ten pāramitās. In order to reach the culmination of his career, he must then impose upon himself painful efforts that will be prolonged over three, seven, or even thirty-three asaṃkhyeyakalpas (cf. Saṃgraha, p.209-211; Siddhi, p.731-733).

In actual fact, however, it seems that the cultivation of the awakened mind is less complicated than it seems at first sight. In order to progress in his career, it will suffice that the bodhisattva faithfully accomplish certain rituals, to which the Mahāyāna theoreticians will attach increasing importance.

A text that makes up part of the Ratnakūta, the Ugradattaparipṛcchā (cited in the Śikṣasamuccaya, p. 290) recommends that the bodhisattva, pure and clad in clean clothes, three times during the day and three times during the night, carry out the Triskandha, namely, the confession of sins, acceptance of the good and invitation to the Buddhas. Here is the text: *Āryogrdattaparipṛcchāyāṃ hi trirātre tridivasasya ca ..... pāpadeśanāpuṇyānumodanā-buddhādhyeṣaṇākhyāḥ*.

The Mppś also mentions this threefold practice and, according to the explanations it gives here, it appears that the Triskandha consists of the following practices:

i) *Pāpadeśana*, confession of sins.

ii) *Buddhānusmṛti-anumodanā-samādāpana*, commemoration, rejoicing and exhortation of the Buddhas.

iii) *Adhyeṣanā* and *yācanā*, invitation to the Buddhas to preach the Dharma and prayer to the Buddhas to delay their entry into nirvāṇa.

But it is Śāntideva who recommends these spiritual exercises mainly in his Bodhicaryāvatāra, chap. II-III, and his Śikṣamuccaya, p. 290-291 (tr. Bendall-Rouse, p. 263-265). There the threefold practice, so-called because it is done three times during the day and three times during the night, consists of at least six parts:

i) *Vandana* and *pūjana*: veneration and worship of the Buddhas, etc.

ii) *Śaraṇagamana*, taking refuge in the Buddhas, etc., and *pāpadeśana*, confession of sins.

iii) *Puṇyānumodanā*, rejoicing in virtue.

iv) *Adhyeṣaṇā*, invitation to the Buddhas to preach the Dharma.

i) When a Buddha becomes *buddha*, the bodhisattvas ceremoniously invite him three times during the night and three times during the day: throwing their upper garment over one shoulder (*ekāṃsam uttarāsaṅgaṃ kṛtvā*), with joined palms (*añjaliṃ praṇamya*), they say to him: "In the buddha-fields (*buddhakṣetra*) of the ten directions (*daśadiś*), countless Buddhas, once they have become buddha, do not turn the wheel of Dharma (*dharmacakra*). I, so-and-so, invite all the Buddhas to turn the wheel of Dharma for beings to save them all."[631]

ii) When the Buddhas are about to abandon their life of immense duration (*aparimitaÂus*) and prepare to enter nirvāṇa, the bodhisattvas, three times during the day and three times during the night, throw their upper garment over one shoulder and with joined palms, say: "I, so-and-so, invite the countless Buddhas of the buddha-fields of the ten directions to remain for a long time in this world, for countless kalpas, for the salvation and welfare of all beings."[632]

This is how the bodhisattvas invite innumerable Buddhas.

Question. - The Buddhas have a pattern according to which they must preach the Dharma and save all beings. Whether they are invited or not, this pattern remains the same. Then why must they be invited? Besides, although it is possible to invite the Buddhas who are close by, how is it possible to invite the Buddhas of the innumerable buddha-fields of the ten directions? They cannot even be seen!

Answer. - *i*) Although the Buddhas are obliged to preach the Dharma and need no human invitation, the person who invites them gains merit (*puṇya*) by doing so. In the same way, even though the king finds plenty of delicacies to eat at home, many people still invite him in order to gain his favor and obtain his advice.

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v) *Yācanā*, prayer to the Buddhas to delay their entry into nirvāṇa.

vi) *Pariṇamanā*, dedication of merit for the good of beings.

But, as Śāntideva comments, many of these exercises are mixed up one with another: the *vandana* is included in the *pāpadeśanā*, and the *yācanā* is joined to the *adhyeṣaṇā* (cf. Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 290). [In Tibetan, this practice is called *Phung-po gsum-paḥi mdo*]

630 Namely, *adhyeṣaṇā*, invitation, and *yācanā*, prayer.

631 Formula of the *adhyeṣaṇā* in Bhadracarīpraṇidhāna, v. 10: *Ye ca daśaddiśi lokapradīpa .... cakru anuttara vartanatāyai*.

"And these lamps of the world, in the ten directions, who have attained enlightenment and overcome detachment, I invite all these protectors to turn the unsurpassable wheel [of Dharma].

In the Bodhicaryāvatāra, III, v. 4: *Sarvāsu dikṣu saṃbuddhān prārthayāmi .... mohād duḥkhaprapātinām.* "With joined palms I request the perfect Buddhas of all the directions to light the lamp of Dharma for those whom delusion has caused them to fall into misfortune."

632 Formula of *yācanā* in the Bhadracarīpraṇidhāna, v. 11: *Ye 'pi ca nirvṛti darśitukāmās .... sarvajagasya hitāya sukhāya*.

"And so with joined palms, I beg these Buddhas who wish to manifest their nirvāṇa, that they wait for a number of kalpas as large as the number of grains of sand in a [buddha]-field for the good and welfare of the entire world."

In the Bodhicharyāvatara, III, v. 5: *Nirvātukāmāṃś ca jinān yācayāmi .... andham idaṃ jagat*. "And I also entreat those Victorious Ones who wish to enter nirvāṇa that they wait for endless kalpas lest this world become blind."

ii) Moreover, if one feels friendship (*maitricitta*) for beings and one wishes them happiness, one gains great merit even though these beings do not get any. It is the same when one invites the Buddhas to preach the Dharma.

iii) Furthermore, there are Buddhas who have not been invited to preach and who have entered directly into nirvāṇa without having preached the Dharma. Thus, in the *Fa houa king* (Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra), the Bhagavat *Yo pao* (Prabhūtaratna), whom nobody had invited [to preach], entered nirvāṇa directly but, later, his fictive *nirmāṇakāya* and his stūpa made of the seven jewels (*saptaratna*) appeared simultaneously in order to confirm the prediction of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra.[633] - Similarly also the Buddha *Siu chan to fo* (Suśāntabuddha): as his disciples had not yet ripened the seeds of good (*aparipakvakuśalamūla*) [and were consequently unable to grasp his teaching], he entered directly into nirvāṇa, but, to save beings, he left [behind] a fictive Buddha (*nirmāṇabuddha*) which lasted for a kalpa. - The present Buddha Śākyamuni, having become *buddha*, waited 57 days before preaching the Dharma.[634] He said to himself:

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633 Cf. Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, chap. XI: *Stūpasaṃdarśana*, p. 248-249 (tr. Burnouf, p. 150-151; Kern, p. 236-237). When Śākyamuni was in the process of preaching the holy Dharma, a precious stūpa appeared in the sky above the assembly. A voice came from it which praised Śākyamuni who opened the stūpa and there found the preserved body of Prabhūtaratna: *Atha khalu bhagavāñ Śākyamunis tathāgatas tasyāṃ velāyāṃ svān .... dharmaparyāyasya śravaṇāyehāgataḥ*.

"Then at that moment the blessed Tathāgata Śākyamuni, seeing all the assembled Tathāgatas miraculously created from his own body..., arose from his seat and flying up, remained suspended in the air. The four assemblies all together arose from their seats and stood, palms joined in respect, with eyes fixed on the face of the Bhagavat. Then with his right hand, the Bhagavat divided this great stūpa made of precious stones which was suspended in the air; and having divided it, he opened the two halves completely. Just as the two halves of the gate of a great city open up when the piece of wood holding them closed is removed, so the Bhagavat, having separated this great stūpa into two parts with the index finger of his right hand, opened it. Hardly had this great stūpa of precious stones been opened, when the blessed Tathāgata Prabhūtaratna appeared seated cross-legged on his throne, his limbs dried out but his body not decreased in size, as if deep in meditation; and at this same moment, he pronounced the following words: "Good, good, O blessed Śākyamuni, it is well said, this explanation of the Lotus of the holy Dharma which you are about to make; it is good, O blessed Śākyamuni, that you explain this Lotus of the holy Dharma to the assemblies; I too, O Bhagavat, have come to hear this Lotus of the holy Dharma." (tr. Burnouf)

634 These 57 days that separated the enlightenment from the first sermon are problematic chronologically in the biography of the Buddha. The sources do not agree on the number of weeks that elapsed between these two events.

The Pāli Vinaya (vol. I) counts four weeks which the Buddha spent respectively: 1) under the *bodhirukkha* (p. 1); 2) under the *ajapālanigrodha* (p. 3); 3) under the *mucalinda* (p. 3); 4) under the *rājāyatana* (p. 3).

The Nidānakathā (p. 77-80) counts seven weeks that the Buddha spent respectively: 1) at the *mahābodhimaṇḍa*; 2) by the *animisacetiya*; 3) by the *ratanacaṅkamacetiya*; 4) by the r*atanagharacetiya;* 5) under the *ajapālanigrodha*; 6) with *Mucalinda*; 7) under the *rājāyatana*. - The Dīpavaṃsa, I, v. 29-30, has almost the same details: during the seventh week, the Buddha stayed in the Khīrapāla park.

The Mahāvastu (vol. III) also counts seven weeks. The Buddha passed the first two under the *bodhidruma* (p. 273 and 281); he spent the third in *dīrgha caṅkrama* (p. 281). During the last four, he stayed respectively in the dwelling of the nāga Kāla (p. 300), in the dwelling of the nāga Mucilinda (p. 300), under the *ajapālanyagrodha* (p. 301), in the *Kṣīrikāvana* at the Bahudevatā-caitya (p. 303). The Mahāvastu concludes by saying: "Thus the Bhagavat spent the seven-week retreat during 49 days."

"My Dharma is profound (*gambhīra*), difficult to penetrate (*durvighāya*) and difficult to understand (*duranubodha*). Beings attached to worldly things (*ālayārāma*) are unable to understand it."[635]

[**109c**] Nevertheless, Śākyamuni did not enter into silence in the bliss of nirvāṇa. At that time, the bodhisattvas and the Śakradevendra and Brahmādevarāja gods came to bow down before him with joined palms (*añjaliṃ praṇamya*) and invited him to turn the wheel of Dharma (*dharmacakra*) for beings. The Buddha accepted their invitation in silence and then went to *Po lo nai* (Vārāṇasī) in the *Lou lin* (Mṛgadāva) where he turned the wheel of Dharma. Under these circumstances, how can you say that it is useless to invite the Buddhas?

iv) Finally, it is customary for the Buddhas to consider beings, not in order to know whether they are noble or lowly, light or heavy, but to know if they invite them. It is as a result of this invitation that they preach the Dharma. Even if beings did not invite the Buddha face-to-face, the Buddha, who always knows their minds, hears their invitation. Supposing even that the Buddhas do not see and do not hear [those who invite them], there would still be the same merit of inviting them; how much more so when they are able to see you and hear you.

Question. - If it is so advantageous to invite the Buddhas, why invite them only on the two occasions indicated above?

Answer. - It is not necessary to invite them in other circumstances, but in those two, it is indispensable to do so.

If the Buddhas preached the Dharma without being invited, the heretics (*tīrthika*) might say: "Since his Buddha quality definitely has been established, does he not speak so much and act so much out of clinging to his own system (*dharmābhiniveśa*)?" That is why, in order to teach, the Buddhas should be invited.

The Lalitavistara (p. 377, 379-381) locates the seven weeks as follows: The Buddha spent the first week seated on the bodhi-seat; he spent the second in *dīrgha caṇkrama*; during the third, he stayed on the *bodhimaṇḍa*; in the fourth, he accomplished the *dahara caṅkrama*. During the last three, he stayed successively with Mucilinda, under the *ajapālanyagrodha*, and finally under the *tārāyaṇa* tree. - Cf. Beal, *Romantic Legend*, p. 236 seq.

At the end of the seventh week, exactly 49 days after his enlightenment, at the invitation of Brahmā Buddha agreed to preach the Dharma. But according to the Mppś, the first sermon at Benares did not take place until the 57th day. Therefore eight days elapsed between Brahmā's invitation and the sermon at Benares. From the Mahāvastu (III, p. 324-328) and the Lalitavistara, p. 406-407 (tr. Foucaux, p. 338-339), we know that this week was spent by the Buddha traveling from Gayā to Vārāṇasī. According to the Nidānakathā, p. 81, having remained a few more days at the *bodhimaṇḍa*, the Buddha resolved to be at Benares on the day of the full moon of the Āṣādha month (June-July). On the fourteenth, he arose early in the morning and traveled 18 yojanas so that he arrived the same day towards evening at Ṛṣipatana near Benares. That same evening, he preached the Dharmacakrapravartanasūtra.

635 Cf. Vinaya, I, p. 4: *ayaṃ dhammo gambhīro duddaso duranubdho .... ālayārāmayāṃ ca prajāyāṃ durdṛiśam imaṃ sthānam*; Wou fen liu, T 1321, k. 15, p. 103c; Sseu fen liu, T 1428, k. 31, p. 786c.

On the enigmatic formula *ālayārāma, ālarata, ālayasaṃmudita*, see also Majjhima, I, p. 167; Saṃyutta, I, p. 136; Aṅguttara, II, p. 131. - We know that the Vijñānavādin school resorted to these texts to prove the existence of the store-consciousness (*ālayavijñāna*) by means of scripture. See Sa[a]graha, p. 26; Siddhi, p. 180; S. Lévi, *Autour d'Aśvaghoṣa*, JA, Oct.-Dec., 1929, p. 281-283.

People might also say: "If he knows the [true] nature of dharmas, he should not covet a long life. By remaining so long in the world, he is in no hurry to enter into nirvāṇa!" This is why prayers [for him to stay here] are needed. If the Buddhas preached without being invited, people would say that the Buddha is attached to his own system and wants to make it known to people. This is why the Buddhas must await people's invitation to turn the wheel of Dharma.

The heretics (*tīrthika*) themselves are attached to their own systems; with or without invitation they preach to people. The Buddha has no attachment or fondness for his doctrine; it is out of compassion (*karuṇā*) for beings that he preaches when he is invited; if he were not invited, he would not turn the wheel of Dharma. Some verses say:

> The Buddhas say: "What is true?
>
> What is false?
>
> The true and the false
>
> Are both non-existent.
>
> Thus the truth consists
>
> Of not being discursive about the dharmas."
>
> It is out of compassion for beings
>
> That they turn the wheel of Dharma.

Moreover, if the Buddha preached the doctrine without being invited, he would have preached his own discoveries (*pratibhā*), his own beliefs (*grāha*) and would certainly have answered the fourteen difficult questions. But when the gods invited him to preach, where it was a matter only of cutting through old age (*jarā*), sickness (*vyādhi*) and death (*maraṇa*), he did not engage in controversial questions (*nigrahasthāna*); this is why he did not answer the fourteen difficult questions and avoided any criticism. For this reason he must be invited to turn the wheel of Dharma.

Furthermore, although born among humans, the Buddha nevertheless acts as a Mahāpuruṣa: despite his great compassion (*karuṇā*), he does not preach without being invited. If he preached without an invitation, he would be criticized by the heretics (*tīrthika*); therefore first he must be invited. [**110a]** Again, the heretics belong to the sect of the god Brahmā and, if Brahmā himself invites the Buddha, the heretics give in.

Finally, the bodhisattvas regularly accomplish a threefold practice (*triskandha*) three times during the day and three times during the night: 1) In the morning, throwing the upper garment over one shoulder (*ekāṃsam uttarāsaṅgaṃ kṛtvā*) and with joined palms (*kṛtāñjali*), they pay homage to the Buddhas of the ten directions, saying: "I, so-and-so, in the presence of the Buddhas of the ten directions, confess the faults and sins of body, speech and mind that I have committed for countless kalpas, in my present lifetime and in

past lifetimes. I vow to wipe them out and not to commit them again."[636] During the night, they repeat this formula three times. 2) They commemorate the Buddhas of the ten directions and the three times, their activities (*carita*), their qualities (*guṇa*) and those of their disciples. They praise them (*anumodante*) and exhort them (*samādāpayanti*). 3) They supplicate the Buddhas of the ten directions to turn the wheel of Dharma and invite them to remain in the world for countless kalpas to save all beings. By accomplishing this threefold practice, the bodhisattvas gain immense merit and approach buddhahood. This is why they must invite the Buddhas.

28. NĀNĀDṚṢṬIPARYAVASTHĀNAKLEŚAPRAŚAMANAKUŚALA

Sūtra: They excelled in destroying various wrong views, entanglements and afflictions (*nānādṛṣṭiparyavasthānakleśapraśamanakuśalaiḥ*).

Śāstra: *A*. There are many kinds of wrong views (*dṛṣṭi*):

1) Two types of *dṛṣṭ*i: the view of eternalism (*śāśvatadṛṣṭi*) and the view of nihilism (*ucchedadṛṣṭi*).[637] *Śaśvatadṛṣṭi* is an adherence of the mind (*cittakṣānti*) which holds the five aggregates (*skandha*) to be eternal (*nitya*); *ucchedadṛṣṭi* is an adherence of the mind which holds the five aggregates to be perishable. Beings often fall into these two wrong views. The bodhisattvas who have suppressed them within themselves are also able to suppress them in others in order to establish them in the Middle Way (*madhyamā pratipad*).

2) Two types of *dṛṣṭi*: the view of existence (*bhavadṛṣṭi*) and the view of non-existence (*vibhavadṛṣṭi*).[638]

3) Three types of *dṛṣṭi*: adherence to all dharmas (*sarvadharmakṣānti*), non-adherence to all dharmas (*sarvadharmeṣv akṣāntiḥ)*, both adherence and non-adherence to all dharmas (*sarvadarmeṣu kṣāntyakṣāntiḥ*).

4) Four types of *dṛṣṭi*:[639] *i*) The world is eternal, the world is not eternal, the world is both eternal and non-eternal, the world is neither eternal nor non-eternal (*śaśvato lokaḥ*, *aśaśvato lokaḥ, śaśvataś cāśāśvataś ca lokaḥ, naivaśaśvataś nāśaśvataḷs ca lokaḥ*). *ii*) The world and the self are finite, infinite, both finite and infinite, neither finite nor infinite (*antavān lokaś cātmā ca, anantavān lokah cātmā ca, antavāṃś cānantavāṃś ca lokaś cātmā ca, naivāntavān nānatavāṃś ca lokaś cātmā ca*). *iii*) The Tathāgata [or the saint free of desire] exists after death, does not exist after death, both exists and does not exist after death, neither exists nor does not exist after death (*bhavati tathāgataḥ paraṃ maraṇān, na bhavati*

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[636] Formula of *pāpadeśana* in Bhadracarīpraṇidhāna, v. 8: *yac ha kṛtaṃ mayi pāpa bhaveyyā .... taṃ pratideśayamī ahu sarvaṃ*. "And the sins committed by me, under the impulse of attachment, hatred or delusion, of speech or of mind, I confess them all." See also a more developed formula in Bodhicaryāvatāra, I, p. 154; II, p. 240; III. p. 130; Kośa, V, p. 17. IX, p. 265.

[637] This is *antagrāhadṛṣṭi*: Aṅguttara, I, p. 154; II, p. 240; III, p. 130; Kośa, V, p. 17; IX, p. 265.

[638] Cf. Saṃyutta, III, p. 93; Majjhima, I, p. 65; Aṅguttara, I, p. 83; Kośa, IX, p. 265.

[639] One falls into these *dṛṣṭi*s when one comes to a decision about the 'fourteen difficult questions'.

tathāgataḥ paraṃ maraṇād, bhavati ca na bhavati ca tathāgataḥ paraṃ maraṇān, naiva bhavati na na bhavati ca tathāgataḥ paraṃ maraṇāt).

5) Five types of *dṛṣṭi*:[640] *i*) s*atkāyadṛṣṭi* (view related to the accumulation of perishable things, i.e., the five *skandha*s), *ii*) *antagrāhadṛṣṭi* (view of believing in the extreme theories of eternalism or nihilism); *iii) mithyādṛṣṭi* (wrong view which consists of denying that which really does exist), *iv) dṛṣṭiparāmarśa* (holding wrong views in high esteem), *v) śīlavrataparāmarśa* (holding morality and disciplinary practices in exaggerated esteem).

These various views increase in number up to 62 *dṛṣṭigata*.[641]

These views are brought about by various causes and conditions (*hetupratyaya*), are discovered by various sciences (*jñānaparyāya*), are understood by various teachers (*ācārya*); they constitute all kinds of fetters (*saṃyojana*) under various characteristics and cause diverse sufferings to beings. This is why they are called 'various views' (*nānādṛṣṭi*). The meaning of the word *dṛṣṭi* will be explained fully later.

B. There are ten manifestly active defilements (*paryavasthāna*):[642] *i*) anger (*krodha*), *ii*) hypocrisy (*mrakṣa*), *iii)* lethargy (*styāna*), *iv)* languor (*middha*), *v)* regret (*kaukṛtya*), *vi)* agitation (*auddhatya)*, *vii*) shamelessness (*āhrīkya*), *viii*) non-embarrassment (*anapatrāpya*), *ix*) avarice (*mātsarya*), *x*) envy, (*īrṣhyā*).
- Moreover, because they fetter the mind, all the afflictions are called manifestly active defilements (*paryavasthāna*).

C. The afflictions (*kleśa*) are called *kleśa* (in Chinese, *fan nao*) because they vex (*fan*) and torment (*nao*) the mind.

[**110b**] There are two types of kleśa: inner attachment (*ādhyātmikasaṅga*) and outer attachment (*bāhyasaṅga*). The kleśas of inner attachment are the five *dṛṣṭi*s, doubt (*vicikitsā*), pride (*māna*), etc.; the kleśas of outer attachment are lust (*rāga*), hatred (*dveṣa*), etc. Ignorance (*avidyā*) is both inner and outer.

There are two other types of bonds (*bandhana)*: those that depend on craving (*tṛṣṇāpatita*) and those that depend on wrong views (*dṛṣṭipatita*).

There are also three types of *bandhana*: those that depend on lust (*rāgaptita)*, those that depend on hatred (*dveṣapatita*) and those that depend on delusion (*mohapatita*).[643] They are called *kleśa*.

Some people list ten *paryavasthāna*s; others, 500.[644] . The kleśas are called 'all the fetters (*saṃyojana*). There are nine s*aṃyojana*s, seven *anuśaya*s and a total of 98 *bandhana*s.[645]

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[640] Kośa, V, p. 15-18.

[641] These 62 *dṛṣṭigata*s are described in the Brahmajālasūtra; they have their root in *satkāyadṛṣṭi*.

[642] Kośa, V, p. 90.

[643] Kośa, p. 87).

[644] The Vaibhāṣikas claim 10 *paryasvasthāna*s (Kośa,V, p. 90, others, 500 (P'i ni mou king, T 1463, k. 8, p. 850, on Hobogirin, *Bonnô*, p. 124).

[645] There are 6 *anuśaya*s: rāga, pratigha, māna, avidyā, dṛṣṭi, vimati (Kośa, V, p. 2). - They make 7 by dividing rāga into two (Kośa, V, p. 3; Dīgha, III, p. 254, 282; Aṅguttara, IV, p. 9; Saṃyutta, V, p. 60; Vibhaṅga, p. 383; Jñānaprasthāna, T

According to the *K'ia tchan yen tseu a p'i t'an* (Kātyāyanīputrābhidharma), these ten *paryavasthānas* and 98 *bandhanas* make 108 *kleśa*s.[646] In the *Tou tseu eul a p'i t'an* (Vātsīputrīyābhidharma), the *saṃyojana*s are the same in number, but the *paryavasthāna*s are 500.

The bodhisattvas destroy all these passions in themselves by all kinds of means (*upāya*), and they excel in destroying those of others as well.

Thus, at the time of the Buddha, three brothers heard speak of three courtesans (*veśya*): *Ngan lo p'o li* (ĀmrapaÈi) of Vaiśalī, *Siu man na* (Sumanā) of Śrāvastī and *Yeou po lo p'an na* (Utpalavarṇā) of Rājagṛha. Hearing everyone praise the incomparable beauty of these three women, the three brothers thought of them day and night and could not get them out of their minds. In dreams, they possessed them. Once awakened, they said to themselves: "These women did not come to us and we did not go to these women; nevertheless, pleasure was produced. Because of them we woke up. Are all dharmas like that?"[647] Then they went to the bodhisattva *P'o t'o p'o lo* (Bhadrapāla) to ask him about this. Bhadrapāla said to them: "All dharmas are indeed like that; they are all the result of mind." Then he skillfully (*upāyena*) explained the emptiness (*śūnyatā*) of dharmas to the three men, and all three became bodhisattvas without regression (*avaivartika*). The bodhisattvas use all kinds of tricks in this way to preach the Dharma to beings and suppress their wrong views (*dṛṣṭi)*, manifst active defilements (*paryavasthāna*) and kleśas. This is what the sūtra explains by saying: *nānādṛṣṭiparyavasthānakleśapraśamanakuśala*.

29. SAMĀDHIŚATASAHASRĀBHINIRHĀRAVIKRĪḌANAKUŚALA

Sūtra: They excelled in producing and playing with a hundred thousand samādhis (*samādhiśatasahasrābhinirhāravikrīḍanakuśalaiḥ*).

1543, k. 4, p. 784c). - They make 10 by dividing *dṛṣṭi* into five (Kośa, V, p. 9). They make 98 by counting the 36 *anuśayas* in kāmadhātu, 31 in rūpadhātu and 31 in ārūpyadhātu (Prakaraṇapāda, k. 3, p. 637c; Jñānaprasthāna, T 1543, k. 4, p. 784c; Kośha, V, p. 9).

646 For these 108 *kleśa*s, see Przyluski, *Aśoka*, p. 323.

647 Example of a story often used in Madhyamaka treatises.

Pitṛputrasamāgamasūtra, cited in Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 252: *Tatra mahārāja māyopamānīndriyāṇi svapnopamā viṣayāḥ .... vighātasya klamathasya bhāgī syāt*.

Bhavasaṃkrāntisūtra cited in Madh. avatāra, p. 127 (tr. Lav., Muséon, 1910, p. 319): "Similarly, O great king, a sleeping man dreams that he possesses a beautiful woman, and awakened from his sleep, he thinks of her with regret. What do you think, O great king? Is he a wise man who, having dreamed that he possessed the beautiful woman, thinks about her with regret after he has woken up from his sleep?" - "No, O Bhagavat. And why? Because, O Bhagavat, in the dream, the beautiful woman does not exist, is not experienced, still less so, the possession of the woman. Nevertheless, this man will be tired out and exhausted." Cf. the Chinese versions in Bhavasaṃkrānti, ed. N.A. Sāstrī, p. 10-11.

The Vijñānava·ins also explain how, in the absence of any object, there can be accomplishment of function (*kṛtyakriyā*), as in a dream: cf. Viṃśikā, p. 4: *Svapnopaghātavat kṛtyakriyā siddheti veditavyam .... śukravisargalakṣaṇaḥ svapnopaghātaḥ*. " The accomplishment of function is maintained [in the absence of any real object] such as discharge in the course of a dream: thus, in a dream and without any sexual coupling, there is discharge characterized by emission of semen."

Śāstra: By the power of *dhyāna* and mental discipline (*cittaniyama*), by the power of pure wisdom (*viśuddhaprajñā*) and skillful means (*upāya*), these bodhisattvas produce (*abhinirharanti*) all kinds of samādhis.

What is samādhi? It is the fixing on one point of a good mind (*kuśalacittaikāgratā*), the immobility of the mind (*cittācalatā*).

There are three kinds of samādhis: *i)* samādhi with *vitarka* (investigation) and *vicāra* (analysis); *ii*) samādhi without *vitarka* but with *vicāra*; *iii)* samādhi with neither *vitarka* nor *vicāra*.[648]

There are four other kinds of samādhi: *i*) samādhi connected with the world of desire (*kāmadhātvavacara*); *ii)* samādhi connected with the world of form (*rūpadhātvacara*), *iii*) samādhi connected with the formless world (*ārūpyadhātvacara*); *iv*) samādhi not connected with anything.

Here it is a question of the bodhisattva samādhis that have already been mentioned. They are not as complete (*paripūrna*) as those of the Buddhas. The bodhisattvas produce them (*abhinirharanti*) by the practice and cultivation of effort (*prayatna*).

Question. - Why do the bodhisattvas produce (*abhinirharanti*) and play with (*vikrīḍanti*) these [**110c**] hundred thousand samādhis?

Answer. - Beings are innumerable (*apramāṇa*) and the functioning of their minds (*cittapravṛtti*) differs: some have sharp (*tīkṣṇa*) faculties , others have weak (*mṛdu*) faculties; the fetters (*saṃyojana*) are heavy among some, light among others. Therefore the bodhisattvas use the hundred thousand kinds of samādhis to cut through the disturbances of the passions [among beings]. Thus, those who wish to enrich the poor (*daridra*) must first gather all sorts of wealth (*vasu*) and provisions (*saṃbhāra*) to be able then to go and help the poor; those who wish to cure sick people (*vyādhita*) must first prepare all kinds of drugs (*bhaṣajya*) to be able then to cure the sick. In the same way, the bodhisattvas who wish to save beings use hundreds of thousands of samādhis.

Question. - Why are they not content with just producing (*abhinirhāra*) these samādhis, but they also play (*vikrīḍana*) with them?

The bodhisattvas who produce these samādhis amuse themselves by entering into (*praveśa*) and emerging from (*vyutthāna*) them; this mastery (*vaśita*) of the samādhis is called play (*vikrīḍana*). This play is not attachment to desire (*tṛṣṇābandhana*); it is a mastery (*vaśita*). Thus the lion (*siṃha*) who appears as a fearless sovereign (*īśvara*) among gazelles (*mṛga*) is called *mṛgarati* (the one who plays with the gazelles). In the same way, these bodhisattvas who have mastery of these samādhis go in and out of them at will. [Other people do not have such mastery over the samādhis]: some enter into them at will but remain there and do not emerge easily; others remain there at will but do not enter and emerge freely; others enter and remain freely but do not emerge easily; finally, others remain and emerge at will, but do not enter freely. Because the bodhisattvas have the threefold power over these samādhis of entering, remaining there and emerging at will, the sūtra says that they produce a hundred thousand samādhis and play with them.

[648] See references in Kośa, VIII, p. 183.

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Sūtra: These bodhisattvas were endowed with countless qualities of this type (*evaṃvidhaiś cāpramāṇair guṇaiḥ samanvāgataiḥ*).

Śāstra: As these bodhisattvas surround the Buddha, the person who would like to glorify their qualities (*guṇa*), were he to do so for countless *koṭi*s of kalpas. would be unable to exhaust the subject. This is why they are endowed with innumerable qualities.

THE 22 MAIN BODHISATTVAS[649]

Sūtra: These were the bodhisattvas:

1. *P'o t'o p'o lo* or *Chan cheou* (Bhadrapāla)

2. *La na kie lo* or *Pai tsi* (Ratnākara)

3. *Tao che* (Sārthavāha)

4. *Sing tö* (Śubhagupta, according to the Pañcaviṃśati; Guhagupta, according to the Śatasāhasrikā)

5. *Na lo ta* (Naradatta)

6. *Chouei t'ien* (Varuṇadatta)

7. *Tchou t'ien* (Indradatta)

8. *Ta yi* (Uttaramati)

9. *Yi yi* (Viśeṣanati)

10. *Tseng yi* (Vardhamānamati)

11. *Pou hiu kien* (Amoghadarśin)

12. *Chan tsin* (Susaṃprasthita)

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649 These principal bodhisattvas constitute merely a stereotypical list and their number is not fixed at 22, even in the versions of the Pañcaviṃśati. Mokṣala's list has 23 (T 221, k. 1, p. 1a-b); the Sanskrit text ed. by N. Dutt (p. 5) and Dharmarakṣa's translation (T 222, k. 1, p. 147a-b) have 24; Hiuan tsang's translation (T 220, k. 401, p. 1c) has 26. The Śatasāsrikā, p. 6-7) has even more. On the other hand, the first 16 bodhisattvas on the list, all living in the world, make up the homogeneous group of *ṣoḍaśa satpuruṣāḥ*, which appears a number of times in the Greater Vehicle: Wou leang cheou king, T 360, K. 1, p. 265c16; Viśeṣacintābrahmaparipṛcchā, T 585, k. 1, p. 1a14; T 586, k. 1, p. 33b9; T 587, k. 1, p. 62b12; Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, p. 3, l. 10. These are the 16 bodhisattvas of the exoteric tradition (Hien kiao), distinct from the 16 bodhisattvas of the esoteric tradition (Mi kiao).

13. *Che cheng* (Suvikrāntavikramin)

14. *Tch'ang k'in* (Nityodyukta)

15. *Pou chö tsing tsin* (Anikṣiptadhura)

16. *Je tsang* (Sūryagarbha)

17. *Pou k'iue yi* (Anupamacintin)

18. *Kouan che yin* (Avalokiteśvara)

19. *Wen chou che li* or *Miao tö* (Mañjuśrī)

20. *Tche pao yin* (Ratnamudrāhasta)

21. *Tch'ang kiu cheou* (Nityotkṣiptahasta)

22 *Mi lö* or *Ts'eu che* (Maitreya)

They were at the head of countless thousands of *koṭinayuta* of bodhisattva-mahāsattvas who were all still awaiting succession (*ekajātipratibaddha*)[650] and will still accede to Buddhahood (*bhūyastvena kumārabhūta*).[651]

[**111a**] *Śāstra*: All these bodhisattvas accompanying the Buddha were at Rājagṛha on the Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata.

Question. - These bodhisattvas are very numerous; why does the sūtra give the names of only twenty-two?

Answer. - If it were to cite the countless *koṭinayuta* of bodhisattvas by name, there would be no end to it; the person who wants to cite them all would not have enough letters (*akṣara*) at their disposal.

Moreover, there are two categories among these bodhisattvas: the lay (*gṛhastha*) and the monastic (*pravrajita*):

1) These are the lay bodhisattvas, the first 16 on the list, beginning with Bhadrapāla.

- Bhadrapāla, of the vaiśya caste, is an old man from *Wang chö* (Rājagṛha).[652]

- Ratnākara, a young prince (*kumāra*), lives in Vaiśālī.

- Śubhagupta, a merchant's son (*śreṣṭhiputra*), lives in *Tchan po* (Campā).

- Sārthavāha, of the vaiśya caste, lives in *Chö p'o t'i* (Śravāstī).

- Naradatta, of the brahmin caste, lives in *Mi t'i lo* (Mithilā).

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650 The Chinese expression *pou tch'ou* or 'still awaiting succession' imperfectly renders the Sanskrit *ekajātipratibaddha* (Tibetan, *skye ba gcig thogs pa*), which means 'separated from Buddhahood by only one rebirth'.

651 The Chinese expression *chao tsouen wei rch*ö 'who will accede to the noble place' imperfectly renders the Sanskrit *bhūyastvena kumāranhūta* (Tibetan *phal cher g€on nur gyur pa)* which means 'always prince' [i.e., associated with royal power]. This expression will occur again at k. 10, p. 128a16 where it again is translated as *bhūyastvena kumārabhūtva*.

652 See Bhadrapālasūtra, T 416, k. 1, p. 872a-b.

- Varuṇadatta is an *upāsaka* bodhisattva.

2) There are the monastic (*pravrajita*) bodhisattvas, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, etc.

3) The bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, etc., all come from a buddha-field (*buddhakṣetra*) in a foreign region (*deśantara*).

By citing a few lay people (*gṛhasta*), the sūtra includes all the lay bodhisattvas; it is the same for the monastic bodhisattvas and the foreign (*deśantarin*) bodhisattvas.

Question. - What are the special (*viśeṣa*) qualities of the bodhisattva Bhadrapāla who is at the top of the list? - If the greatest ones were to be put first, you would have to cite first of all the bodhisattvas *Pien ki* (Vairocana), *Kouan che yin* (Avalokiteśvara), *Tö ta che* (Mahāsthāmaprāpta), etc. If the least were to be placed on top, you would have to cite first the bodhisattvas of fleshly body (*māṃsakāyabodhisattva*) and those who were about to produce the mind of enlightenment (*prathamacittottpādikabodhisattva*) for the first time.

Answer. - If the bodhisattva Bhadrapāla is placed first, it is not because he is the greatest or the least, but because he is an old man from Rājagṛha, the greatest of the lay bodhisattvas (*avadātavasanabodhisattva*), and because the Buddha went specifically to Rājagṛha to preach the Prajñāpāramitā.

Furthermore, the bodhisattva Bhadrapāla has immense qualities (*guṇa*) of every kind and, in the *Pan tcheou san mei* (Pratyutpannasamādhi)[653] the Buddha praised his qualities.

Question. - If the bodhisattva Maitreya can be said to be 'awaiting succession' (*ekajātipratibaddha*),[654] why are the other bodhisattvas also called 'waiting for succession to Buddhahood'?

Answer. - Divided up among the [various] buddha-fields (*buddhakṣetra*) of the ten directions, these bodhisattvas are all awaiting succession (*ekajātipratibaddha*).

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653 This is the Bhadrapālasūtra known by a Tibetan translation entitled *Da ltar hyi saṅs rgyas mṅon sum du b€ugs paḥi tiṅ ṅe ḥdzin* = Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthitasamādhi, Mdo X, 1 (Csoma-Feer, p. 250; OKC, no. 281, p. 299) and four Chinese translations due respectively to Jñānagupta (t 416), Tche tch'an (T 417 and T 418) and an anonymous translator (T 419).

654 In the Lesser Vehicle, it is claimed that the bodhisattva Maitreya, presently in Tuṣita heaven, will immediately succeed Buddha Śākyamuni in the course of a kalpa when the human lifespan will be 80,000 years (cf. Dīgha, III, p. 75; Tch'ang a han, T 1, k. 6, p. 41c; Tchong a han, T 46, k. 13, p. 511a). Maitreya therefore merits the adjective *pou tch'ou* 'awaiting succession'. But how would these innumerable other bodhisattvas also be awaiting succession?

The objection does not stop the Mahāyana scholars who claim that at the same time there can be several Buddhas, provided that they are in different trichiliocosms.

CHAPTER XIV: EMISSION OF RAYS

ACT I

Sūtra: Then, having himself arranged the lion-seat, the Bhagavat sat down cross-legged;[655] holding his body upright and fixing his attention, he entered into the samādhi called King of Samādhis, in which all the concentrations are included (*Atha khalu bhagavān svayam eva siṃhāsanaṃ prajñapya nyaṣīdat paryaṅkaṃ baddhvā ṛjukāyaṃ praṇidhāyābhimukhīṃ smṛtim upasthāpya samādhirājaṃ nāma samādhiṃ samāpadyate sma yatra sarvasamādhayo 'ntargatāḥ*).

Śāstra: Question. - The Buddha has a servant (*upasthāyaka*) and numerous bodhisattvas; why does he arrange the lion-seat (*siṃhāsana*) himself?

Answer. - This seat was created (*nirmita*) by the Buddha himself in accordance with the great assembly; this is why Ānanda [the Buddha's servant] could not arrange it. Besides, it is the Buddha's mind (*citta*) that creates this seat; this is why it is said that he arranges it himself.

Question. - What is this *siṃhāsana*? Did the Buddha create a lion? Is a real lion [**111b**] present, or did he make a lion out of gold, silver, wood or stone? Besides, since the lion is not a nice animal, the Buddha does not need it and, since there is no need for it, the lion should not be there.

Answer. - The lion in question is not a real lion but, since the Buddha is a lion among men (*puruṣasiṃha*), the seat where he sits down, whether it be on a bed (*āsana*) or on the ground (*bhūmi*), is called the 'lion's seat'. In the same way, even today the seat where the king is enthroned is called a lion's seat, the chief who commands warriors is called a lion-man (*puruṣasiṃha*) and people call the king of the land *puruṣasiṃha*. Just as a lion among animals is strong, fearless and can conquer all (*abhibhavati*), so the Buddha triumphs over all ninety-six heretical systems[656] and is called *puruṣasiṃha*.

Question. - Sitting postures are numerous; why does the Buddha take just the cross-legged posture (*paryaÌkabandha*)?

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[655] The Buddha should be visualized as seated in *padmāsana*, 'a position in which the legs are tightly folded with the soles of the feet turned upwards'. This lotus posture had always been utilized by the yogins of India and is still used by the *sādhu*s (Foucher, *Art Gréco-bouddhique*, II, p. 325). Also, as the Buddha is in samādhi, he exhibits the meditation *mudrā* in which the two hands are superimposed one on the other in the lap. Buddhist sculptures often show the Buddha in this posture.

Although according to the Mppś the lion-seat should be understood in a symbolic sense as the seat of the lion-man (*puruṣasiṃha*), the Buddha is sometimes represented seated on a *siṃhāsana*, 'a throne supported by lions'. Among other examples, see: a Buddha from Gandhāra, in A. von Le Coq, Von, *Land u. Leuten in Ost-Turkestan*, Leipzig, 1928, pl. 44; bodhisattva-buddha at Mathurā in Foucher, *Art Gréco-bouddhique*, II, p. 670, fig. 550; Vogel, *Sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. XXVIa. As Le Coq notes, o.c. p. 166-167, the lion-seat is still used among the Muslim Persians. For further details, see J. Auboyer, *Un aspect de la souveraineté dans l'Inde d'apres l'iconographie des trônes*, RAA, XI, 1937, p. 88-101.

[656] Made up of the systems of the six heretical teachers plus the fifteen schools founded by each of them. *Bukkyô daijiten*, p. 296a-b.

Answer. - *1*) Among sitting postures, the cross-legged position is the calmest (*kṣema*) and the least tiring; this is the posture of those in *dhyāna* for, by holding the hands and feet in this way, the mind does not wander.

2) Furthermore, among the four bodily positions (*kāyeryāpatha*), it is the most calming (*kṣema*): it is the posture of ecstasy, the usual position for finding the Path (*mārgalābha*). When king Māra sees it, he is sad and frightened. Sitting in this way is customary for the monastic (*pravrajita*): he actually sits cross-legged under a tree in the forest; the crowds who see him feel joyful and know that this monastic will certainly attain the path. Some stanzas say:

When one sits cross-legged

The body is at peace, one enters into samādhi.

Powerful people regard you with respect

Like the sun that lights up the continent.

Slothfulness and mental disturbances are driven away,

The body is light and does not know fatigue.

The intellect also is alert;

This peaceful posture is like the coiling up of a snake.

If merely a painting of crossed legs

Causes king Māra to feel sad and afraid,

How much more so if it is a person entered onto the Path

Sitting peacefully and motionlessly.

This is why one sits with crossed legs.

3) Furthermore, the Buddha told his disciples that they should sit this way.[657] There are some heretics who search for the path by always standing on one foot, or by always remaining standing, or by placing their feet on their shoulders; such tortures plunge the mind into a sea of bewilderment; these postures are not calming.[658] This is why the Buddha recommends that his disciples sit with crossed legs holding the body upright (*ṛjukāyaṃ praṇidhāya*).

Why? When one keeps the body straight, it is easy to control the mind; in those whose body is straight, the mind is not idle. With right mind, the ascetic fixes his attention (*abhimukhīṃ smṛtim upasthāpayati*); when the mind wanders, he seizes it and brings it back. In order to enter into samādhi, he keeps his mind free of any distraction. It is by fixing his attention thus that [the Buddha] entered into the Samādhirājasamādhi.

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657 For example, in the Satipaṭṭhānasutta (Majjhima, I, p. 56): *Kathañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyānupassī viharati .... parimukhaṃ satiṃ upaṭṭhapetvā.*

658 These postures have been condemned by the Buddha in Dīgha, I, p. 167.

What is the Samādhirājasamādhi? This samādhi is foremost among all the samādhis; [**111c**] it takes innumerable samādhis at will as object (*ālambate*). Just as the king (*rājan*) is foremost of all men, just as the cakravartin king is foremost among kings, just as the Buddha is foremost among all the beings of earth and heaven, so this samādhi is foremost of all samādhis.

Question. - By virtue of the power of the Buddha, all the samādhis [practiced by him] are necessarily foremost. Why do you call only the Samādhirāja foremost?

Answer. - Although all the samādhis practiced by the Buddha are necessarily foremost by virtue of his miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*), nevertheless there are differences (*viśeṣa*) among them; they do not all have the same value.

Question. - In what absorption (*samāpatti*) is the Samādhirājasamādhi contained (*saṃgṛhīta*), and what is its nature (*lakṣaṇa*)?

Abswer. - *a*) Some claim that the Samādhirājasamādhi has mastery (*vaśita*, *aiśvarya*) as its nature, that it is contained in the five good elements (*pañcakuśalaskandha*)[659] and that it resides in the fourth dhyāna (*caturtha dhyāna)*. Why?

It is in the fourth dhyāna that all the Buddhas, travelling on the path of seeing the truths (*satyadarśanamārga*), attain the fruit of *A na han* (anāgamin), and that they attain Buddhahood in eighteen mind-moments.[660] It is in the fourth dhyāna that the Buddhas abandon life and it is in the fourth dhyāna that they enter into nirvāṇa-without-residue (*nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa*).[661] The eight stages (*bhavasthāna*),[662] the [eight] vimokṣas and the [eight] abhibhvāyatanas[663] are contained in the fourth

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659 The five pure skandhas are *śīla*, *samādhi*, *prajñā, vimukti* and *vimuktijñānadarśana* (Dīgha, III, p. 279; Saṃyutta, I, p. 99-100; Kośa, I, p. 48).

660 The Buddha attained bodhi in dependence on the fourth dhyāna: this detail is noted by all the stories of the enlightenment; see, among other sources, Majjhima, I, p. 247; Mahāvastu, II, p. 283, l. 12; Lalitavistara, p. 344, l. 3. - The P'i p'o cha, T 1545, k. 153, p. 780a-b; Kośa, II, p. 206, VI, p. 177, explain how the Bodhisattva comes to bodhi in one session (*ekāsanataḥ*) in dependence on the fourth dhyāna. This session consists of 34 mind-moments:

i) The sixteen moments of the path of seeing (*darśanamārga*) or understanding of the truths (*abhisamaya*) make of the future Buddha an anāgāmin detached from all existence except for the bhavāgra. These sixteen moments have been discussed above.

ii) The eighteen moments (nine *prahāṇas* or 'abandonments', nin*e vimuktis* or 'deliverances') of the path of meditation (*bhāvanamārga*) or repeated study (*abhyāsa*) of the truths destroy the passions (*kleśa*) relating to bhavāgra in the future Buddha and assure him the quality of samyaksaṃbuddha.

661 This detail is noted in the stories of the Parinirvāṇa: *Catutthajjhānaṃ samāpajji; catutthajjhānā vuṭṭhahitbā samanantarā Bhagavā parinibbāyi*: Dīgha, II, p. 156; Saṃyutta, I, p. 158; Chinese translations of the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra: T 1, k. 4, p. 26c; T 6, k. 2, p. 188c; T 7, k. 2, p. 205a.

662 There are three stages for each of the first three dhyānas, and eight stages for the fourth dhyāna: anabhraka, puṇyaprasava, bṛhatphala and the five śuddhavāsikas - in all, seven places for rūpadhātu. This is the opinion of the Bahirdeśakas or Pāścātyas, "Westerners", i.e., Sarvāstivādins from Gandhāra. See Kośa, III, p. 2-3 as a note, where other opinions are mentioned.

dhyāna. The kṛtsnāyatanas are abundant in the fourth dhyāna. The fourth dhyāna is free of disturbances (*āniñjya*); it is not an obstacle (*āvṛṇoti*) to the dharmas of absorption. [On the contrary], in the desire realm (*kāmadhātu*), desire *(kama)* counteracts the mind of absorption (*samāpatticitta*); in the first dhyāna, investigation (*vitarka*) and analysis (*vicara*) stir up the mind; in the second dhyāna, it is great joy (*prīti)* that moves it; in the third dhyāna, it is great pleasure (*sukha*) that moves it. But in the fourth dhyāna, there is no disturbance.[664]

Moreover, the first dhyāna is burned up by fire (*tejas*), the second is flooded by water (*āpas*), the third is blown away by wind (*vāyu*), but the fourth is free of these three torments (*bādhana*);[665] there is no inbreath or outbreath (*āśvāsa, praśvāsa*);[666] it is pure in its equanimity and its memory (*upekṣāsmṛtipariśuddha*)[667] This is why the Samādhirājasamādhi should be in the fourth dhyāna in the same way that a precious object has its place in a treasury.

b) Others say: Who can know the nature (*lakṣaṇa*) of a samādhi of the Buddha? All the dharmas of the Buddha have a unique nature (*ekalakṣaṇa*), without mark (*animitta*), immense (*aprameya*), incalculable (*asaṃkhyeya*), inconceivable (*acintya*). If the other samādhis [of the Buddha] are immense, incalculable and inconceivable, what then could be said of the Samādhirājasamādhi? The Buddha is the only one who knows it. If the basis of his miraculous power (*ṛddhipada*) and his morality (*śīla*) is inconceivable, what then could be said of the Samādhirājasamādhi?

Moreover, all the samādhis are collected (*antargata*) in the Samādhirājasamādhi; this is why it is called 'king of samādhis'. In the same way, all the rivers and all the streams of Jambudvīpa empty into the great ocean and all the people depend on their king.

Question. - The Buddha is omniscient (*sarvajñā*) and knows everything. [**112a**] Why does he enter into the Samādhirājasamādhi and what will he know subsequently (*pṛṣṭham*)?

Answer. - 1) He wishes to show that his wisdom (*prajñā*) is the result of causes and conditions (*hetupratyayasamutpanna*) and astound the six heretic teachers who claim: "Wisdom is always present in us; we always know."[668] This is why it is said that the Buddha knows because he has entered into the Samādhirājasamādhi and, if he did not enter it, he would not know.

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663 The relationships between the *dhyānas* on the one hand and the *vimokṣas* and *abhibhvāyatanas* on the other hand are very complicated: see Kośa, VIII, p. 204 seq.

664 See Majjhima, I, p. 454; Tchong a han, T 26, k. 50, p. 743b; Kośa, IV, p. 107; VII, p. 161; Kośavyākhyā, p. 677: *prathamaṃ dhyānaṃ vitarkavicārābhyāṃ kaṃpyate, dvitīyaṃ prītyā, tṛtīyaṃ sukhena; naivaṃ ebhiś caturthaṃ kaṃpyate*.

665 Kośa, III, p. 215

666 In kāmadhātu and the first three dhyānas, there is inbreath and outbreath (*ānāpāna*) (Kośa, VI, p. 153), but in the fourth dhyāna, these two breaths along with the other six apakṣāla are eliminated (Kośa, VIII, p. 161).

667 *Upekṣāpariśuddhi* is one of the four members of the fourth dhyāna (Kośa, VIII, p. 148).

668 See, for example, the pretentions to omniscience of Pūraṇa Kassapa, in Aṅguttara, IV, p. 428: *Pūraṇo Kassapo sabbaññū sabbadassāvī .... ñāṇadassanaṃ paccupaṭṭitan ti*. - We have already seen the conceited attitude of Saccaka Nigaṇthīputta.

Question. - If that were so, the power of the Buddha would be very reduced!

Answer. - No, because he never has any trouble entering into Samādhirājasamādhi, and it takes him but a moment to do so. It is not the same for the śrāvakas, the pratyekabuddhas and the lesser bodhisattvas[669] who try in every way (*upāya*) to enter samādhi.

2) Moreover, when he has entered Samādhirājasamādhi, the Buddha, with his six super-knowledges (*abhijñā*), penetrates the ten directions without obstacle or limit.

3) Moreover, when he has entered Samādhirājasamādhi, he manifests his great miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*) by means of all kinds of metamorphoses (*nirmāṇa*). If he manifested his great miraculous power without entering into Samādhirājasamādhi, some people might think that the Buddha was using the powers of magic (*māyabala*) or of spells (*mantrabala*), or that he is a very powerful nāga, or that he is a god and not a human. Why? When a single body emits countless bodies and when all sorts of rays (*raśmi*) are created (*nirmita*), we might [easily] think that this is not the doing of a human. It is to prevent such an error that the Buddha enters into Samādhirājasamādhi.

4) Moreover, if the Buddha entered some samādhi other [than the Samādhirāja], the devas, śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas would be able to probe it: they would say that the miraculous power of the Buddha is great but nevertheless knowable, and their veneration (*gurukāra*) would be small. It is because the Buddha enters into Samādhirājasamādhi that no ārya nor even a tenth-bhūmi (*daśabhūmi*) bodhisattva is capable of sounding it out. [Actually, when the Buddha is deep in this Samādhirāja], no one knows what the support (*āśraya*) or what the object (*ālambana*) of the Buddha's mind is. This is why the Buddha enters into the Samādhirājasamādhi.

5) Moreover, there are occasions (*samaya*) when the Buddha emits great rays (*raśmi*) and manifests his great miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*): when he attains bodhi, when he turns the wheel of Dharma (*dharmacakra*), when a great assembly of devas and āryas gathers, when he astounds the heretics (*tīrthika*).[670] He emits great rays on all these occasions. Indeed, it is in order to manifest his superiority (*viśeṣa*) that he emits great rays, so that all the beings of the ten directions, human and divine, so that all the arhats, pratyekabuddhas and bodhisattvas might know him by sight. This is why he enters into the Samādhirājasamādhi.

6) Finally, rays (*raśmi*) and miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*) may be lesser (*avara*), medium (*madhya*) or superior (*agra*): *i)* spells (*mantra*) and magic (*māyā*) can produce luminous effects (*raśminirmāṇa*) that are lesser; *ii*) devas, nāgas and asuras, by virtue of retribution (*vipaka*) for their actions, have rays and

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669 I.e., the bodhisattvas before their entry into the bhūmis.

670 The Lalitavistara never fails to mention the lights rays emitted by the Bodhisattva-Buddha on the great occasions: when he leaves Tuṣita heaven (p. 51), when he is born (p. 80), when he goes to the bodhimaṇḍa (p. 278-279), when he gets ready to teach the Dharma at Benares (p. 420). - Corresponding passages in Foucaux' translation, p. 51, 80, 240, 341. - The Pāli scriptures are much more restrained on this subject.

As for the blazing of the Buddha "When a great assembly of devas or aryas gathers and when he astounds the heretics", it is represented frequently on the bas-reliefs, even when the texts find it unnecessary to mention it: see Foucher, *Art Gréco-bouddhique*, I, fig. 246 (Indra's visit); fig. 261 (dispute with the naked heretics).

miraculous power that are medium; *iii*) the one who has entered into samādhi by actual qualities (*guṇa*) and mental power (*cittabala*), is able to emit great rays and manifest great miraculous power that are superior. This is why the Buddha enters into the Samādhirājasamādhi.

Question. - All the samādhis have their own nature (*svalakṣaṇa*); how can they all be included in this [Samādhirājasamādhi]?

Answer. - 1) When one obtains the Samādhirājasamādhi, one obtains all the samādhis [by that very fact]. [**112b**] This is why 'they enter into it' (*tarāntargata*). By the power of the Samādhirāja, all the samādhis become immense (*aprameya*), incalculable (*asaṃkhyeya*) and inconceivable (*acintya*). This is why it is said that they are contained in it.

2) Furthermore, by entering into the Samādhirājasamādhi, one enters into all the other samādhis if one wishes.

3) Furthermore, when one has entered into the Samādhirājasamādhi, one can contemplate the nature of all the samādhis in the way one contemplates everything below from the top of a mountain.

4) Finally, when the Buddha is in Samādhirājasamādhi, he is able to contemplate all the universes (*lokadhātu*) of the ten directions and also all beings (*sattva)*. This is why he enters into the Samādhirājasamādhi.

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Sūtra: Then, having tranquilly come out of this samādhi and having contemplated the entire universe with his divine eye, the Bhagavat smiled with his whole body (*Atha khalu bhāgavān smṛtimān saṃprajānaṃs tasmāt samādher vyutthāya divyena cakṣuṣā sarvalokadhātuṃ vyavalokya arvakāyat smitam akarot)*

Śāstra: Question. - Having entered into the Samādhirājasamādhi, why does the Buddha leave it immediately and contemplate the universe?

Answer. - The Buddha enters Samādhirājasamādhi; he opens and examines the precious basket (*ratnapiṭaka*) of all the buddhadharmas. In this samādhi, he contemplates and says to himself: "The basket of my Dharma (*dharmapiṭaka*) is immense (*aprameya*), incalculable (*asaṃkhyeya*) and inconceivable (*acintya*)." Immediately afterwards, he comes out of samādhi and contemplates beings (*sattva*) with his divine eye (*divyacakṣus*). He knows the misery of beings, he knows that the basket of the Dharma which comes from causes and conditions (*hetuprayayasamutpanna*) can also be attained by all beings but that the latter, plunged in the shadows of error (*mohāndhakāra),* do not ask for it and do not seek it. This is why he smiles with his whole body (s*arvakāyāt smitaṃ karoti*).

Question. - The Buddha possesses the buddha-eye (*buddhacakṣus*). the wisdom-eye (*prajñācakṣus*) and the Dharma-eye (*dharmacakṣus*);[671] they are better than the divine eye (*divyacakṣus*). Why does he use the divine eye to contemplate the universe?

Answer. - Because the visual range of the fleshly eye (*māṃsacakṣus*) is not great enough. The wisdom-eye (*prajñācakṣus*) knows the true nature (*satyalakṣaṇa*) of the dharmas; the Dharma-eye (*dharmacakṣus*) sees a given person and discovers by what skillful means (*upaāya*) and by what teaching *(dharma*) that person will fnd the Path; the buddha-eye (*buddhacakṣus*) is the direct insight (*pratyakṣāvagama*) into all dharmas. Here it is the divine eye that considers the universe (*lokadhātu*) and beings (*sattva*) without encountering any obstacles (*anāvaraṇam*). It is not the same for the other eyes. The wisdom-eye, the Dharma-eye and the buddha-eye, although superior [to the divine eye] are not meant to see beings. If one wishes to see beings, there are only two eyes one can use, the fleshly eye (*māṃsacakṣus*) and the divine eye (*divyacakṣus*) but since the fleshly eye's range is insufficient and encounters obstacles, the Buddha uses the divine eye.

Question. - But the divine eye occurs in the Buddhas; why is it called divine eye [and not buddha-eye]?

Answer. - *1*) Because it often occurs among the gods (*deva)*. The range of the divine eye is not obstructed by mountains (*parvata*), walls (*kuḍya*) or forests (*vana*). The zealous person (*vīryavat*), disciplined (*śīlavat*) and concentrated (*dhyāyin*), obtains it by the power of practice (*abhisaṃskārabala*); it is not an inborn gift (*upapattija*). This is why it is called *divyacakaṣus*.

2) Furthermore, people are very respectful towards the gods and take them as teachers; and as the Buddha is in harmony with human conceptions, he calls this eye *divyacakṣus*.

3) Finally, there are three types of gods (*deva*): gods by metaphor (*saṃmatideva*), gods by birth (*upapattideva*), and pure gods (*viśuddhideva*). The *saṃmatideva* are **[112 c]** kings (*rājan*) and princes (*kumāra*). The *upapattideva* are gods like *Che* (Indra), *Fan* (Brahmā), etc. The *viśuddhideva* are the Buddhas, pratyekabuddhas and arhats. The Buddha is the most venerable of the *viśuddhidevas*; this is why it is not wrong to speak of the *divyacakṣus* [concerning him here].

[The sūtra says]: "With his divine eye he contemplates the entire universe." All the beings of this universe always seek happiness (*sukha*); their minds become attached (*abhiniviṣate*) to the ātman, but in reality there

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671 Here the Mppś attributes five cakṣus or visual powers to the Buddha. It will refer to them again later at k. 33, p. 305. These are: *1*) the fleshly eye (*māṃsacakṣus), 2*) the divine eye (*divyacakṣus*), *3*) the wisdom-eye (*prajñācakṣus*), *4*) the Dharma-eye (*dharmacakṣus*) and the buddha-eye (*buddhacakṣus*). The same list occurs in Mahāvastu, I, p. 158, and Dharmasaṃgraha, chap. LXVI. Lalitavistara, p. 3, l. 5; p. 413, l. 2, describes the Buddha as *pañcacakṣuḥsamanvāgata*.
These *cakṣus* were already mentioned in the canonical scriptures, either separately (see Rhys Davids-Stede, s.v. *cakkhu*) or as a group. A list of the first three eyes is in Itivuttaka, p. 52, Kathāvatthu, p. 251; a full list of the five eyes in Cullaniddesa, p. 235 and Atthasālini, p. 306, but the fourth is designated by the expression *sānatacakkhu* instead of *dhammacakkhu*.
The five eyes are also enumerated in a Sogdian text from the Pelliot mission, ed. by E. Benveniste in TSP, no. 10, p. 126-127.

is no ātman. Beings always are afraid of suffering (*duḥkha*) but they always suffer: they are like blind people (*andha*) who lose their way and fall into the ditch while seeking the right path.

After all these considerations, the Buddha "smiles with his whole body".

Question. - One smiles with one's mouth (*mukha*) and sometimes with the eyes (*akṣi*). Why does the sūtra say that the Buddha smiles with his whole body (*sarvakāyāt*)?

Answer. - The Buddha who has obtained mastery (*aiśvarya, vaśita*) over the universe can make his whole body like the mouth or the eyes. Besides, we call 'smiling' the dilatation of all the pores of the skin (*sarvaromakūpavivartana*): when we smile with pleasure, all the pores dilate.

Question. - Why does the Buddha who is always so serious (*guru*) smile like this?

Answer. - When the great earth (*mahāpṛthivī*) trembles (*kampate*), it is not without a reason or for a trivial reason; it is the same for the Buddha: he does not smile without rhyme or reason. He smiles with his whole body for a grave reason. What is this grave reason?

1) The Buddha is about to preach the Prajñāpāramitā and innumerable beings (*asaṃkhyeyasattva*) will continue the Buddha's lineage (*buddhagotr*a): that is the grave reason.

2) Furthemore, the Buddha said: "From lifetime to lifetime, I was once a tiny insect (*kṛmi*), a wretched thing, but little by little I accumulated the roots of good (*kuśalamūla)* and I finally attained great wisdom (*mahāprajñā*). Today I am a Buddha: my miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*) is immense (*apramāṇa*). All these beings could themselves do as I have done. Why are their efforts in vain and why do they fall into the lower destinies?" That is why the Buddha smiles.

3) Furthermore, small cause (*hetu*), large effects (*phala*); small condition (*pratyaya*), great results (*vipaka*)! If those who seek Buddhahood have only to pronounce a single stanza (*gatha*) and burn only a single pinch of incence (*gandha*) to be assured of becoming Buddha, what will not be the success of those who, from having heard (*śruta*) that dharmas are neither born (*anutpanna*) nor destroyed (*aniruddha*), will perform the actions that lead [to Buddhahood]? That is why the Buddha smiles.

4) Furthermore, the Prajñāpāramitā is essentially pure (*viśuddha*): like space (*ākāśa*), it can be neither given nor received. The Buddha, who wants to convert all beings, resorts to various skillful means (*upāya*), such as rays (*raśmi*) and miraculous qualities (*ṛddhiprabhāva*), in order to soften their minds and cause them to have faith in the Prajñāpāramitā. That is why he smiles and emits rays.

Finally, a smile has all kinds of causes (*hetupratyaya*): one smiles out of joy (*muditā*) or anger (*dveṣa*) or timidity; one smiles at the sight of strange or ridiculous things; one smiles in the face of strange customs or extraordinary [**113a**] difficulties. Here it is a matter of an absolutely extraordinary difficulty. Dharmas are non-arisen (*anutpanna*), non-ceasing (*aniruddha*), absolutely empty (*śūnya*), unpronounceable (*anakṣara*), unnameable (*anāmaka*), unspeakable (*anabhilāpya*), inexpressible (*anirvācya*); however, they must be given a name (*nāman*) and letters (*akṣara*) must be applied to them when one speaks of them to others in order to lead them to deliverance (*vimokṣa*): this is an enormous difficulty. Let us suppose that there is a fireplace one hundred yojanas in length and that a man carrying dry grass (*śuṣkatṛṇa*) enters this fireplace and crosses it without burning a single blade; that would be an exploit. In the same way, it is very difficult

for the Buddha to take these dried grasses that are the 80,000 sayings of the Dharma (*dharmanāmasaṃketa*)[672] and to enter with them into the true nature of the dharmas (*dharmasatyalakṣaṇa*) without letting them be burned by the fire of attachment (*saṅgatejas*) and to pass through this fire safely without stopping. That is why the Buddha smiles and it is a result of these difficulties of every kind that the Buddha smiles with his whole body.

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Sūtra: Wheels with a thousand spokes [imprinted on] the soles of his feet shoot out six hundred prabhedakoṭi of rays (*Tasyādhastāt pādatalayoḥ sahasrārābhyāṃ ṣaṭraśmiprabhedakoṭiśatāni niśceruḥ*)

Śāstra: Question. - Why does he first emit light from his body?

Answer. - We have already answered this question by talking about the causes for the smile, but we will repeat it here.

1) By seeing the immense body of the Buddha emit great rays, some people are filled with pure faith (*śraddhāviśuddhi*) and great veneration (*satkāra*): they know that he is not an ordinary man.

2) Moreover, the Buddha wishes to manifest his wisdom. By means of the miracle of his rays, he first emits a bodily light and beings know that if his bodily light appears, the rays of his wisdom (*prajñāraśmi*) will [soon] be emitted.

3) Finally, all beings are attached (*sakta*) to sensory pleasure (*kāmasukha*) and the first of the five sensory objects is form (*rūpa*). Seeing the marvelous light of the Buddha, their mind becomes attached to it; they renounce their earlier pleasures; their mind becomes detached little by little from sensory objects and then wisdom can be preached to them.

Question. - Yet others, gods or men, are able to emit rays; how are they different from the Buddha who emits rays?

Answer. - The rays that gods and men are able to emit are limited. The sun and the moon (*sūryacandramas*) illuminate only the four continents (*cāturdvīpaka*); but the rays emitted by the Buddha fill a trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu and, leaving this trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu, they extend as far as the nadir (*adhastād diś*). The rays emitted by men make only men rejoice, but the rays emitted by the Buddha make all beings hear the Dharma and find salvation. That is the difference.

Question. - The head is the noblest part of the body; why does the Buddha first emit rays from the soles of his feet (*pādatala*)?

Answer. - The body owes its stability (*pratiṣṭhāna*) to the feet. Moreover, if the head is noble in the body, the feet are lowly and, since the Buddha does not esteem his own rays and does not consider them very precious, he emits them from the lowly place. Finally, the nāgas, mahoragas and asuras emit rays from their mouths and poison whatever is in front of them. If the Buddha emitted his rays from his mouth, beings

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[672] This is a matter of the 80,000 or 84,000 *dharmaskandha*s.

would be frightened and fear to be exposed to them. This is why the Buddha emits rays from the soles of his feet.

Question. - The six hundred prabhedakoṭi of rays that escape from the soles of his feet up to and including those that come from his cranial protuberance [**113b**] (*uṣṇīṣa*) can be counted. If they cannot fill the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu, how could they then fill the ten directions?

Answer. - The rays from the body [of the Buddha] are a source of light (*ālokamūla*) and the secondary currents coming from this source are innumerable (*apramāṇa*) and incalculable (*asaṃkhyeya*). Just as the *K'ie lo k'ien lo* insect (?), the body of which is minuscule (*paramāṇu*), grows in contact with the wind to the point of being able to devour everything, so the Buddha's rays, on contact with beings to be converted (*vineyasattva*), grow to be infinite.

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Sūtra: In the same way, beams of six hundred *prabhedakoṭi* of rays are emitted (*niśceruḥ*) from the ten toes of his feet (*pādāṅguli*), from his two ankles (*gulpha*), from his two thighs (*jaṅghā*), from his two knees (*jānumaṇḍala*) from his two hips (*kaṭi*), from his spine (*pṛṣṭha*), from his belly (*udara*), from his sides, from his navel (*nābhi*), from the 'śrīvatsa' mark on his chest (*hṛidayaśrīvatsa*), from his shoulders (*aṃsa*)[673] , from his arms (*bāhu*), from his hands (*hasta*), from his ten fingers (*aṇguli*), from his neck (*grīvā*), from his mouth (*mukha*), from his forty teeth (*danta*), from his two nostrils (*ghrāṇa*), from his two eyes (*cakṣus*), from his two ears (*śrotra*), from his *urṇā* and from his *uṣṇīṣa*.[674]

Śāstra. - If the rays that shoot out from the soles of his feet can illuminate the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu and the universes of the ten directions, why do the other parts of his body also shoot out six hundred prabhedakoṭi of rays?

Answer. - I have said above that the rays from the soles of his feet light up the direction of the nadir (*adhastād diś*), but do not fill the other directions; this is why the Buddha also emits rays from [the other] parts of his body. Some say that the feet, the support (*pratiṣṭhāna*) of the entire body, are the most important and, for this reason, the Buddha emits six hundred prabhedakoṭi of rays from the soles of his feet. By so doing, he shows beings that, of his thirty-two marks (*dvātriṃsallakṣaṇa*), the foremost consists of having his feet well-planted (*supratiṣṭhitapādatala*), but that the other parts of his body have also a miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*).

Question. - On which samādhi, on which abhijñā and on which dhyāna does the Buddha depend (*āśrita*) to emit his rays?

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673 See, for example, the statue found near Kabul which is in the Calcutta museum showing the Buddha surrounded by flames coming from his shoulders (Foucher, *Art Gréco-bouddhique*, II, fig. 463, p. 331 and 369, note).

674 Cf. Pañcaviṃśati, p. 6, and Śatasāhasrikā, p. 7-8.

Answer. - Among all the samādhis, he depends on the Samādhirājasamādhi; among the six *abhijñās*, he depends on the *abhijñā* of miraculous power (*ṛddhyabhijñā*); among the four *dhyānas,* he depends on the fourth *dhyāna*. The fire of the fourth *dhyāna* surpasses ordinary fire, and all who enter into it emit rays.

Moreover, when he was born, when he attained bodhi and when he set in motion the wheel of Dharma (*dharmacakra*), the Buddha emitted immense rays that filled the ten directions. Why then would he not emit rays when he preaches the Mahāprajñāpāramitā?

The jewels of a cakravartin king usually have a brilliance that illuminates the king and his army on all four sides to a distance of one yojana.[675]It is the same for the Buddha: if he did not enter into samādhi, he would emit only his usual light (*prakṛtiprabhā*).[676] What is that? It is the light of the Three Jewels: the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṃgha.

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Sūtra: From these rays (*raśmi*) came a great light (*avabhāsa*) that illuminated (*parisphoṭati*) the trisāhasamahāsāshralokadhātu. From the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu, it went to illuminate universes in the east (*pūrvasyāṃ diśi*) as numerous as the sands of the Ganges (*gaṅgānudīvālukopamā lokadhātavaḥ*). And it was the same in the south (*dakṣiṇasyaṃ diśi*), in the west (*paścimāyāṃ diśi*) and in the north (*uttarasyāṃ diśi*), in the four intermediate directions (*vidikṣu*), at the zenith (*upariṣṭhād diśi*) and at the nadir (*adhastād diśi*).[677] And all the beings touched by this light were settled into supreme perfect

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[675] Cf. Milinda, p. 118: *cakkavattimaṇi samantā yojanaṃ obhāseti*.

[676] Below, k. 8, p. 114c, the Buddha will exhibit this usual light (*prakṛtiprabhā*) which is one arm-span in width and surpasses the light of a thousand suns. This will be Act III.

[677] Here it may be useful to give the Sanskrit, Pāli, Tibetan and Chinese vocabularies for the ten directions. See the following sources: Pañcaviṃśati, ed. N. Dutt, p. 6; Chinese translations: T 221, p. 1b12-1*3;* T 222, p. 147b25-26; T 223, p. 217b21*;* Śatasāsrikā, p. 9; Sukhāvatīvyūha st. 12; Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, p. 243; Mahāvyutpatti, no. 8326-8337; Saṃyutta, III, p. 124.

There are ten directions (*diś, disā, phyogs, fang*) subdivided in the following way:

a) The four directions proper:

East (*pūrvā, purimā* or *puratthimā, śar, tong*),

South (*dakṣiṇā, dakkhiṇā, lho, nan*).

West (*paścimā, pacchimā, nub, si*).

North (*uttarā, uttarā, byaṅ, pei*).

b) The four intermediate directions: *vidiś, vidisā* or *anudisā, phyogs-ḥtsham*, *wei* (120 and 8) or *yu* (170 and 9):

North-east (*uttarapūrvā, uttaraparimā, byaṅ-śar, tong-pei)*.

South-west (*pūrvadakṣiṇā, purimadakkhiṇā, śar-lho, rong-nan*).

South-east (*dakṣiṇapaścimā, dakkhiṇapacchimā, lho-nub, si-nan*).

North-west (*paścimottarā, pacchimuttarā, nub-byaṅ, si-pei*)

c) The two directions above and below (in Pāli, *paṭidisā* in Dīgha, III, p. 176): nadir (*adhaḥ*, *adhastāt* or *heṣhĪthimā, adho* or *heṭṭhimā, ḥog, hia*).

Zenith (*ūrdhvam, upariṣ ṭāt* or *upariṣṭhā*, *uddhaṃ* or *uparimā, steṅ, chang*).

enlightenment (*ye ca sattvās tena mahatā raśmyavabhāsena sphutā avabhāsitās te sarve niyatā abhūvan anuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau*).

[**113 c**] Question. - The nature of fire (*tejas*) is flame which rises upward (*ūrdhvajvāla*), that of water (*āpas*) is moisture which tends to go downward (*adhaḥsnigdhatā*), that of wind (*vāyu*) is sinuous movement (*tiryaggamana*). Therefore the vapor ignited by the rays [of the Buddha] will necessarily go upwards. Why does the sūtra say that that it illuminates everywhere (*parisphoṭati*) the trisāhasramahāsāsralokadhātu and the universes of the ten directions?

Answer. - The rays are twofold: vapor of fire and vapor of water; such are the vapor of fire of the sun-stone (*sūryakānta*) and the vapor of water of the moon-stone (*candrakānta*).[678]

Although the nature of fire (*tejolakṣaṇa*) is to blaze upward, the fire in the human body rises, descends and penetrates everywhere. It is the same for the solar fire and it is in this way that the waters of the earth dry up in the summer months. Thus we know that fire does not always rise upward.

Furthermore, by the power of the Buddha, these rays penetrate the ten directions like an arrow (*iṣu*) shot by a bow (*dhaṇus*) goes straight to the target.

Question. - Why do these rays first light up the east and only after that the south, the west and the north?

Answer. - Since the sun rises in the east, the east is first; the Buddha, who is in harmony with people's ideas (*sattvacittānuvartanāt*), lights up the east first. Furthermore, we will always come up with the same difficulty: if he first illuminated the south, we would wonder why he did not first illuminate the east, the west and the north; if he illuminated first the west or the north, the difficulty would be the same.

Question. - When do the rays disappear?

Answer. - The Buddha uses his miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*); as long as he maintains it, the rays persist; when he lets it go, the rays disappear. The Buddha's rays are like a lamp (*dīpa*) and his miraculous power is like the oil (*meda*); as long as the Buddha does not abandon his miraculous power, the rays do not disappear.

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Sūtra: The rays shoot out across the region of the east and its universes as numerous as the sands of the Ganges and the same for the ten directions.

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678 *Sūryakānta* and *candrakānta*: cf. Milinda, p. 118; Saṃdhinirmochana, p. 268. - The sūryakānta, cold to the touch, emits fire when it is exposed to the sun's rays. Cf. Kālidāsa in Śhākuntala, II 7: *śamapradhāneṣu tapodhaneṣu gūḍhaṃ hi .... 'bhibhavād vamanti*. "In ascetics among whom tranquility predominates, a burning energy is hidden; they are like the *sūryakānta*, cold to the touch, but which burst into flames when provoked by other fires."

On the other hand, the *candrakānta* streams with water when exposed to the moon's rays. Cf. Bhavabhūti in Uttarāmacarita, VI, p. 12: *vikasati hi pataṅgasyodaye puṇḍarīkaṃ .... candrakāntaḥ* "The lotus blossoms at sunrise, but the moon-stone streams with water when the star with cold rays appears." (tr. N. Stchoupak, p. 117).

Śāstra. - What is a trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu or trichiliomegachiliocosm?

Answer. - The Buddha defined it (*vyākaroti*) in the Tsa a han (Saṃyuktāgama):[679]

"A thousand suns (*sūrya*), a thousand moons (*candra*), a thousand Jambudvīpas, a thousand [Avara]godanīyas, a thousand Uttarakurus, a thousand Pūravidehas, a thousand Sumerus, a thousand Cāturmahārājikas. a thousand Trāyastriṃśas, a thousand Yāmas, a thousand Tuṣitas, a thousand Nirmāṇaratis, a thousand Paranirmitavaśavartins, a thousand Bramalokas, a thousand Mahābrahmās: all that is called *sāhasracūḍikalokadhātu* (chiliomicrocosm) or cūḍika for short.

A group of a thousand universes of the sāhasracuḍika type is called *dvisāhasramadhyamalokadhātu* (dichiliomesocosm).

A group of a thousand universes of the dvisāhasramadhyama type is called *trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu* (trichiliomegachiliocosm)."

Thus we have the sāhasralokadhātu (= 1,000), then the dvisāhasramadhyama

(= 1,000 x 1,000 or a million), finally the trisāhasramahāsāhasra (= 1,000 x 1,000,000 or a billion). Therefore a billion suns, moons, etc., up to a billion Mahābrahmās is a trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu. The creation (*vivartana*) and the destruction (*saṃvartana*) [of the universes within a group] takes place at the same time.

Some say: The period of duration (*sthiti*) is a kalpa, the period of destruction (*saṃvarta*) is a kalpa, the period of creation (*vivarta*) is a kalpa: that is the trisāhasramahāsāsahralokadhātu.[680] The mahākalpa has three disappearances: by water (*āpas*), by fire (*tejas*) and by wind (*vāyu*).[681]

[**114 a**] The small kalpa also has three disappearances: by knife (*śastra*), by plague (*roga*) and by famine (*durbhikṣa*).[682]

The trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu rests on space (*ākāśa*). [On top of space, the circle of wind (*vāyumaṇḍala*)], on top of wind, [the circle] of water (*abmaṇḍala*); on top of the water, [the golden] earth (*kañcanamayī bhūmi*); on the earth, people. Mount Sumeru has the abodes of two classes of gods, the Cāturmaharājikas and the Trāyastriṃśas. The others, the abodes of the Yāma gods, etc., are lands formed

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679 The passage that follows is taken from three consecutive sūtras of the Saṃyuktāgama: Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 424-426), p. 111c-112a. There is no correspondent in the Pāli Saṃyutta.

The same passage also occurs in various places in the Chinese Āgamas: in the Cosmography of the Tch'ang a han (T 1, k. 18, p. 114b-c) and its three independent versions (T 23, k. 1, p. 177a; T 24, k. 1, p. 310b; T 26, k. 59, p. 799c.

On the other hand, the Pāli Nikāyas contain only one text relating to the three chiliocosms: it occurs in Aṅguttara, V, p. 59): *Yāvatā Ānanda candimasuriyā pariharanti disā 'bhanti virocanā .... loko ayaṃ vuccat' Ānanda tisahassī mahāsahassīlokadhātu*.

It is the Greater Vehicle that has specially developed the chiliocosms; see the references gathered by S. Beal, *Catena,* p. 101 seq. See also Kośa, III, p. 170.

680 Kośa, III, p. 181-182.

681 ibid. p. 184, 215.

682 ibid., p. 207.

of the seven jewels (s*aptaratnabhūmi*) and caused by their merits.[683] The wind arises in space and reaches the Mahābrahmā gods and the levels formed of the seven jewels which all rest on the wind.

It is the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu that the Buddha's rays illumine and when these rays die out, other rays arise which go to light up universes as numerous as the sands of the Ganges. The same phenomenon is produced in the regions of the south, the west and the north, in the intermediate directions and in the regions of the zenith and the nadir.

Question. - Why does not their brilliance disappear the farther out they go out?

Answer: These rays have as their source (*mūla*) the Buddha's miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*), and as long as they persist, they will not disappear. Just as in the sea of the nāgas (*nāgahrada*), the water does not dry up by the power of the serpents, so these rays illumine the ten directions without disappearing in the course of their route by the mental power of the Buddha.

Question. - In Jambudvīpa there are many kinds of great rivers (*mahānādi*); there are some that surpass even the Ganges. Why do you always use the expression 'as numerous as the sands of the Ganges' (*gagaṇānadīvālukopama*)?

Answer. - *1*) Because the Ganges is sandier than the other rivers.

2) Furthermore, the Gangetic region is the birthplace of the Buddha and was the place where he moved about. Since his disciples knew it by sight, we use it as comparison.

3) Furthermore, the Buddha is a native of Jambudvīpa. In Jambudvīpa, four great rivers come from the northern (*uttarānta*) boundaries and empty into the oceans in the four directions of space (*caturdiśasamudra*).[684]

At the northern boundaries, in the Snowy Mountains (Himavat), there is lake *A na p'o ta to* (Anavatapta); in the lake there is a lotus golden in color and made of the seven jewels (*suvarṇavarṇānisaptaratnamayāni*

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683 ibid., p. 138-141.

684 The four great rivers of Jambudvīpa have already been mentioned. The main sources are: Tch'ang a han T 1, k. 18, p. 116c; separate versions of the Cosmography of the Dīrgha: T 23, k. 1, p. 279a; T 24, k. 1, p. 313a; T 25, k. 1, p. 368a; Sa po to sou li yu nai ye king, T 30, p. 812a; Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 21, p. 658b-c, and k.34, p. 736b; Sin ti kouan king, T 159, k. 4, p. 307b; P'i p'o cha, T 1545, k. 5, p.21c-22a; Kośha, III, p. 147; Si yu ki, T 2087, k. 1, p. 869b (tr. Watters, *Travels*, I, P. 32-34). - In his commentaries on the Nikāyas, Buddhaghosa describes at length where these rivers take their source: lake *Anotatta* has four mouths: *sīhamukha*, *katthimukha, assamukha* and *usabhamukha*, from which the four great rivers flow. Two of these rivers, those of the east and the south, go around the lake three times before continuing in their course. Buddhaghosa tells us that the Ganges changes its name five times in its course: *āvaṭṭagaṅgā*, *kaṅhagaṅgā, ākāsagaṅgā, bahalagaṅgā* and *ummaggagaṅgā*. All of this information has been gathered by Malalasekera, s.v. *Anotatta* (I, p. 96) and *Gaṅgā* (I, p. 733). Iconographic study, J. Przyluski, *Le symbolisme du pilier de Sarnath*, ML, p. 481-498. (I, p. 733).

padmāni), as large as a chariot wheel.[685] [Its master], Anavatapata, king of the nāgas (*nāgarāja*), is a great bodhisattva of the seventh bhūmi.[686]

At the four corners of the lake there are four [mouths] from which the water flows out: *i*) at the east, the Elephant's Mouth (*Siang t'eou* = hastimukha); *ii*) at the south, the Ox's Mouth (*Nieou t'eou* = vṛiṣabhamukha); *iii*) at the west, the Horse's Mouth (*Ma t'eou* = aśvamukha); *iv*) at the north, the Lion's Mouth (*Che tseu t'eou* = siṃhamukha).

a) In the east, the Elephant's Mouth empties into the *Heng* (Gaṅgā). Its bed consists of golden sand (*suvarānavālukā*).

b) In the south, the Ox's Mouth empties into the *Sin t'eou* (Sindhu). Its bed also consists of golden sand.

c) In the west, the Horse's Mouth empties into the *P'o tch'a* (Vakṣu). Its bed also consists of golden sand.

d) In the north, the Lion's Mouth empties into the *Sseu t'o* (Sītā). Its bed also consists of golden sand.[687]

These four rivers all come from the mountain in the north. The Gaṅgā comes from the mountain in the north and empties into the eastern ocean (*pūrvasamudra*). - The Sindhu comes from the mountan in the north and empties into the southern ocean (*dakṣiṇasamudra*). - The Vakṣu comes from the mountain in the north and empties into the western ocean (*paścimasamudra*). - The Sītā comes from the mountain in the north and empties into the northern ocean (*uttarasamudra*).

The Ganges is the most important of these four rivers; people come there from the four directions of space and consider it to be a sacred river, the sins (*āpatti*), stains (*mala*) and faults (*pāpa*) of those who bathe there are completely removed.[688] Since all people venerate and know this river, the sands of the Ganges are taken as comparison.

4) Finally, the other rivers change their name vying with one another, but the Ganges keeps its name from generation to generation; this is why the sands of the Ganges are taken for comparison and not the other rivers.

[**114 b**] Question. - How many grains of sand are there in the Ganges?

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685 According to the Si yu ki, l.c., Anavatapta is located at the center of Jambudvīpa, south of the Perfumed Mountain (*Gandhamādana*) and north of the great Snowy Mountain (*Himavat*). This is evidently a mythical lake which would be sought in vain on a map (Watters, I, p. 35); this however did not prevent the kings of Ceylon from trafficking in its waters (Mahāvaṃsa, XI, v. 30).

686 For this nāgarāja, see Hobogirin, s.v. *Anokudatsu*, p. 33; in Si yu ki, he is a bodhisattva of the eighth bhūmi.

687 On the identification of the Sindhu, the Vakṣu and the Sītā with the Indus, the Oxus and the Tarim, see references of L. de La Vallée Poussin in Kośa, III, p. 147, 148 as note.

688 Cf. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 6. Buddhism condemns this superstition (cf. Therīgathā, v. 236-251; tr. Rh. D., *Sisters*, p. 117-119).

Answer. - No mathematician is capable of knowing the number;[689] it is known only by the Buddhas and dharmakāya bodhisattvas who are able to number the atoms (*paramāṇu*) that arise and cease in the whole of Jambudvīpa and therefore they can also know the number of grains of sand in the Ganges!

Thus the Buddha was seated under a tree in a forest near the Jetavana. A brahmin approached him and asked: "How many leaves (*pattra*) are there in this forest?" The Buddha immediately replied: "There are such-and-such a number." The brahmin wondered how to prove that. He went behind a tree, tore off a few leaves and went to hide them. He came back and asked the Buddha: "Exactly how many leaves are there in this forest?" The Buddha answered by subtracting from the original number the number of leaves he had torn off. The brahmin recognized [the precision of his calculation] and was filled with respect and faith; he asked the Buddha to accept him as a monk and later he became an arhat.[690]

This proves that the Buddha is able to know the number of grains of sand in the Ganges.

Question. - What is the number of those who became destined (*niyata*) to supreme complete enlightenment in contact with the Buddha's rays? If it is enough to be touched by the Buddha's rays to find the Path, why does the Buddha, who is so benevolent (*mahāmaitrī*), not always emit his rays so that everyone will find the Path? Why should it be necessary to observe morality (*śīla*), samādhi and wisdom (*prajñā*) in order to finally find the Path?

Answer. - Beings find salvation by all sorts of different means. Some are saved by concentration (*samādhi*), others by morality (*śīla*) and preaching (*deśanādharma*), still others because the Buddha's rays touched their body. It is like a city (*nagara*) with many gates (*dvāra*); the entry-ways are different but the point of arrival is the same. Some people whom the Buddha's rays have touched find salvation; others who see the rays and whom the rays have touched do not find salvation.

ACT II

Sūtra: Then the Bhagavat smiled once more with all the pores of his skin and emitted rays that lit up the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu and extended to universes of the ten directions as numerous as the sands of the Ganges. All the beings who were touched by their brilliance were destined to supreme complete anlightenment (*Atha khalu Bhagavān punar eva sarvaromakūpebhyaḥ smitaṃ kṛtvā raśmīn niścārayati sma yair ayaṃ trisāhasramahāsāhasraro lokadhātuḥ parisphuto'bhut. taiś ca daśasikṣu*

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689 The Saṃyutta has already affirmed this (IV, p. 376): *Taṃ kiṃ maññasi mahārāja. atthi te koci gaṇako vā .... vālukasatasahassānti vā ti. - No hetam ayye*.

690 I [Lamotte] know this episode in the Buddha's life only from a mixed Sanskrit stanza from the Lalitavistara, p. 166:
Syamu ṛṣi upagatu puri drumanitlaye .... tatha tava avitatha samagira racitā
"Once, having gone to the ṛṣi Syama who lived under a tree, he said: 'I want you to count the number of leaves that this tree has', after having counted them and knowing how many there were, you told him the number in an even voice." (tr. Foucaux, p. 130).
In the corresponding passage in the Chinese translation entitled Fang kouang ta tchouang yen king, T 187, k. 5, p. 566b10, the ṛṣi is called *Chö mo* (37 and 8; 64 and 11), which gives Śyamu in Sanskrit.

gaṅgãnadīvālukopamāḥ sarvalokadhātvaḥ parisphutā abhūvan. ye ca sattvās tayā prabhayā spṛṣṭās te sarve niyatā abhūvan anuttatāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau).

Śāstra: Above, the Buddha smiled with his whole body (*sarvakāyāt*); why does he smile here with all the pores of his skin (*sarvaromakūpebhyaḥ*)?

Answer. - When he smiled with all his body, he was smiling with a coarse part (*sthūlabhāga*); now when he smiles with all his pores, he is smiling with a subtle part (*sūkṣmabhāga*).

Moreover, when he smiled with his whole body, the rays could be counted; now when he smiles with all his pores, his rays are innumerable (*asaṃkhyeya*).

Finally, those who had not been saved by the rays emitted from his body now obtain salvation by encountering the rays emitted from his pores. Thus, when a tree (*vṛkṣa*) is shaken (*dhumoti*) to gather the fruit, the ripe fruit (*paripakvaphala*) fall at once, but the tree must be shaken again to get the green fruit; the net (*jāla*) [**114c**] must be cast in order to take fish (*matsya*) and, if it is not full, it must be cast again until the fish are taken.

As for the reasons for smiling, they are the same as above.

ACT III

Sūtra: Then by means of his usual light (*prakṛtiprabhā*) the Bhagavat illumined the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu; this brilliance extended to all the universes of the east as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, and it was the same in the ten directions. All the beings who were touched by this light were destined to supreme complete enlightenment (*Atha khalu Bhagavān prakṛtiprabhayā trisāhasramahāsāhasraṃ lokadhātum avabhāsayāmāsa. yāvat pūrvasyāṃ diśi gaṅgānadīvālukopamā lokadhātavas tayā prabhayā avabhāsitā abhūvan. yāvat daśasu dikṣu gaṅgānadīvālukopamā lokadhātvas tayā prabhayā avabhāsitā abhūvan. ye ca sattvas tayā prabhayā spṛṣṭās te sarve niyatā abhūvan anuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau*).

Śāstra: First the Buddha smiled with his entire body (*sarvakāyāti*) then he emitted rays from the pores of his skin (*romakūpebhyaḥ*); why now does he exhibit his usual light (*prakṛtiprabhā*) to light up the ten directions?

Answer. - Some people who have seen the different rays [shooting out from the body and the pores of the Buddha] believed that this was not the light of the Buddha. [Now] seeing the great development of the usual light of the Buddha, they are filled with joy (*muditā*) and, recognizing the true light of the Buddha, they finally reach anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi.

Question. - What is the usual light (*prakṛtiprabhā*) of the Buddha?

Answer. - It is a light one armspan in width (*vyāmaprabhā*) surrounding the body of the Buddha on all sides; the Bodhisattva possessed it since his birth and it is one of the thirty-two marks (*lakṣaṇa*) called *vyāmaprabhālakṣaṇa*.[691]

Question. - Why is the usual light of the Buddha one armspan in width (*vyāma*) and not larger?

Answer. - The usual light of the Buddha is immense (*apramāṇa*) and lights up the universes of the ten directions. The miraculous bodily light of the Buddha Śhākyamuni is immense; it is the width of one armspan, a hundred armspans, a thousand prabhedakoṭi of armspans and fills up the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu and the ten directions. However, the Buddhas' custom is to manifest in the world of the five corruptions (*pañcakaṣāyaloka*), where beings are of middling qualities (*guṇa*) and knowledge (*jñāna*), a brilliance of only one armspan (*vyāmaprabhā)*. If he showed a larger brilliance, the people today, of little merit (*alpapuṇya*) and weak faculties (*mṛdvindriya*), would be unable to tolerate the

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691 A number of references to the thirty-two marks have been collected above. In the lists presumed to be the oldest, those of the Nikāyas and the Āgamas, the *vyāmaprabha* mark is missing or is put among the eighty secondary marks (*anuvyañjana*), but it does appear in the later lists: Tchong hiu mo ho ti king, 21st mark (T 191, k. 3, p. 940b); Pañcaviṃśati: 15th mark (T 223, k. 24, p. 395c); Daśasāhasrikā (ed. Sten Konow, p. 110); Bodh. bhūmi, 12th mark (p. 375; Vibhāṣhā, 15th mark, (T 1543, k. 177, p. 888b). The latter adds the following definition: "The mark which consists of having a usual light (*prakṛtiprabhā*) the width of one armspan (*siun* = *vyāma*). Surrounding the body of the Buddha there is always a light, one armspan in width in all directions which shines constantly day and night."

In the Āvadanas, on almost every page, there is a completely stereotyped physical description of the Buddha where this characteristic is always mentioned: cf. Avadānaśataka in 32 different places (e.g., p. 3, 18, 37, etc.); Divyāvadana (e.g., p. 45-47, 75, etc.): *Atha N. Bhagavantaṃ dadarśa dvātriṃśatā .... samantato bhadrakam*. "Then N. saw the Bhagavat adorned with the thirty-two marks of the Great Man, his body resplendent with the eighty minor marks, having *a light of one armspan* surpassing the light of a thousand suns, like a moving mountain of jewels, excellent in every way." The austerities which Śākyamuni had undergone had dulled his thirty-two marks, but according to the Lalitavistara, p. 270, they reappeared along with the *vyāmaprabhatā* when the future Buddha ate the milk gruel offered to him by Sujātā. Some texts state that this light, one armspan in width, has a circular shape (cf. Divyāvadana, p. 361: *vyāmaprabhāmaṇḍalamaṇḍitaṃ Bhagavato rūpam*).

A. Foucher, *Art Gréco-bouddique*, II, p. 366-370, has studied representations of this usual light of the Buddha on Greco-Buddhist monuments. It is a flaming aureole surrounding the Buddha's body on all sides. "Naturally circular around a seated person, it has a tendency to become oval around a standing person." The author refers to the following monuments: a bas-relief in the Lahore Museum representing the great miracle at Śrāvastī where, above and to the right of the Buddha, there is a bodhisattva dressed like a Buddha, seated and surrounded by a luminous halo (*Art Gréco-bouddhique*, II, p. 331, fig. 459; *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, p. XXVII); a statue in the Calcutta Museum showing the Buddha seated with a circular aureole into which are inserted episodes of the Buddha's life (ibid., II, p. 351, fig. 463); a bas-relief in the British Museum dedicated to the legend of Dīpaṃkara, where the future Buddha to whom the prediction is about to be given is represented with a radiating aurole (ibid., I, p. 277, fig. 140); a coin from Kaniṣka representing a Buddha with nimbus and aureole (ibid., II, pl. V, 9).The aureole or halo which surrounds the entire body is to be distinguished from the nimbus (*mukhamaṇḍala*) which surrounds only the head. Sometimes both are reprsented at the same time on the bas-relifs of Gandhāra (ibid., I, p. 192, fig. 76; II, p. 205, fig. 405), and especially on the monumernts of central Asia; see A. von Le Coq, *Bilderatlas zur Kunst Kulturgeschichte Mittel Asiens,* Berlin, 1925, fig. 178); fig. 243 (mural painting in cave 103 at Touen-houang); fig. 245 (cave 111); fig. 246 (frieze at Qyzil); fig. 248-249 (statues of seated Buddha at Qyzil).

light. When a person sees a god, his eyes are blinded because the greater the [outer] light, the more the eye contracts. It is to people of keen faculties (*tīkṣnendriya*) and eminent merit (*gurupuṇya*) that the Buddha shows his immense brilliance (*apamāṇaprabhā*).

Besides, there are people who, seeing the usual light of the Buddha, rejoice (*pramodante*) and find salvation.

[**k. 8, 115 a**] The king makes a gift of the leftovers from his usual table to his inferiors, and the latter receive them rejoicing greatly. The Buddha does the same. Some people feel no joy in seeing the other many lights of the Buddha but, on contemplating his usual light, they are destined to anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi.

ACT 1V

Sūtra: Then the Bhagavat put out his broad tongue and covered the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu with it. Having lighted it up, he began to smile. From his tongue there shot out innumerable millions of prabhedakoṭis of rays; on each of these rays appeared lotuses of precious jewels with a thousand petals golden in color; on these lotuses sat magical Buddhas cross-legged preaching the six virtues; beings who heard them were established in supreme complete enlightenment (*Atha khalu Bhagavāṃs tasyāṃ velāyāṃ jihvendriyaṃ nirṇāmayāmāsa. yenemaṃ trisāhasramahāsāhasraṃ lokadhātuṃ jihvendriyeṇācchādāmāsa. taṃ sphuritvā smitam akarot. tasmāj jihvendriyādanekāni raśmiprabhedakoṭiśhatasahasrāṇi niśceruḥ saśmimukhe caikaikasmin ratnamayāni suvarṇanirbhāsāni sahasrapattrāṇi padmāny utpannāny abhūvan. teṣu padmeṣu nirmāṇabuddhāḥ paryaṅkaṃ baddhvā niṣaṇṇā abhūvan ṣaḍpāramitādharmadeśanāṃ deśyantāḥ. ye ca sattvās tāṃ dharmadeśanāṃ śṛṇvanti te niyatā bhavanty anuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau*).[692]

Śāstra: Question. - The Buddha Bhagavat is venerable (*bhadanta*) and respected (*gurukṛta*). Why then does he put out his broad tongue (*prabhūtajihvā*): one would say out of thoughtlessness?

Answer. - Three times the Buddha shot out rays of light previously that illumined the beings of the ten directions and brought them to deliverance (*vimokṣa*). Now, wishing to preach the Mahāprajñāpāramitā which is profound (*gambhīra*), difficult to sound out (*durvigãhya*), difficult to understand (*duravabodha*) and difficult to believe (*durgrāhya*), he puts out his broad tongue as a test (*sākṣin*), for the words pronounced by such a big tongue are necessarily true.[693]

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[692] Cf. Pañcaviṃśati, p. 7-8; Śatasāhasrikā, p. 11-12.

[693] As we have seen above, the 27th mark, *prabhūtajihvatā*, goes along with the cryptorchidy of the Buddha. Its symbolism seems to have varied in the course of time: according to the Āloka, p. 919, it was a reward for gentleness of words (*ślakṣnādivacanāt prabhūtajihvatā*); in the Mppś and, as we shall see later, the Dīvyāvadana and the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, it is a proof of truth.

THE BUDDHA'S JOURNEY TO ŚĀLĀ[694]

Once, having spent the Rains Retreat (*varṣa*) in the country of *Chö p'o t'i* (Śrāvastī), the Buddha started out to travel followed by Ānanda and was about to enter a village of brahmins (*brāhmaṇagrāma*). Knowing that the miraculous power of the Buddha would convert his subjects, the king was very worried and agitated. "If he comes here today, would everyone still love me?" he said to himself. And so he issued the following edict: "Whoever gives food to the Buddha or listens to his words will be fined five hundred kārṣāpaṇas." Hardly had the edict been issued than the Buddha arrived; preceding Ānanda and holding his begging bowl, he entered the village to beg for his food. All the inhabitants had closed their doors and did not respond; the Buddha returned with his bowl empty (*dhautena pātreṇa*).[695]

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[694] In this story the Mppś combines two episodes of the Buddha's life: the first, taken from the *Piṇḍasūtra*, tells about the Buddha's trip to a village of brahmins and his return with an empty bowl; the second, taken from the *Brāhmaṇadārikāvadāna*, telling about the offering of the brahmin lady, the disbelief of her husband and the final triumph of the Buddha. There are numerous versions of the sūtra and the āvadāna in question. The way in which they are combined here allows us to grasp in a vivid way the literary processes used by the Buddhist compilers.

References to the Piṇḍasūtra:

1) Four different versions: *i*) Saṃyutta, I, p. 113-114 (tr. Rh. D., *Kindred Sayings*, I, p. 143-144: Geiger. I, p. 177-178; - *ii*) Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 1095), k. 30, p. 288a; *iii*) Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 41, p. 772a-c (tr. in Hobogirin, p. 159b, with some inaccuracies: thus *P'o lo yuan* means 'Garden of the brahmins' and not 'Garden of Benares'; the Buddha of the Bhadrakalpa called *Kiu leou souen* is Krakucchana and not Krośa); - *iv*) Dhammapadaṭṭha, III, p. 257-258 (tr. Burlingame, *Legends*, III, p. 72-73).

2) Numerous allusions: Mppś, T 1509, k. 9, p. 121c; Milinda, p. 154 (tr. Rh. D., I, p. 219); - Legend of Aśoka: Divyāvadāna, p. 350; A yu wang tchouan, T 2042, k. 5, p. 119b; A yu wang king, T 2043, k. 8, p. 159c (tr. Przyluski, *Aśoka*, p. 357); - Ta tchouang yen louen king, T 201 (no. 54), k. 9, p. 308b (tr. Huber, *Sūtrālaṃkāra*, p. 267); Ken pen chouo... yao che, T 1448, k. 18, p. 94c; - P'i p'o cha, T 1545, k. 76, p. 392a22.

References to the *Brāhmaṇadārikāvadāna*: This is the fourth avadāna in the Divya, p. 67-72. - It is also in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya; Ken pen chouo... yao che, T 1448, k. 8, p. 36a3-37a5. - A slightly different story in Kieou tsa p'i yu king, T 206 (no. 31), k. 1, p. 55c-516a (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, I, p. 393-395.

[695] In the Sanskrit and Chinese sources, this brahmin village is called *Śālā*; in the Pāli sources, *Pañcasālā* 'the five sālā trees'; it was a place in Magadha (Saṃyutta). The Buddha came there during the visitors' festival (*pāhuṇakāni*) during which the young boys and the young girls exchanged gifts. The villagers refused alms to the Buddha because they were possessed (*anvāviṭṭha*) by Māra pāpimat. The Mppś is the only slightly more expanded source that passes over the action of Māra in silence. The other texts refer to a twofold conversation between Māra and the Buddha, but their story is somewhat incoherent. The Pāli version of the Saṃyutta is evidently disordered and that of the Tsa a han is preferable. Here is how the order of events may be restored: When the Buddha was returning with an empty bowl, Māra went to find him and asked: "Has the monk received alms?" The Buddha replied: "It is you, O Evil One, who has prevented people from giving alms", and he added this stanza (Saṃyutta, I, p 114; Tsa a han, p. 288a): *Apuññaṃ pasavi Māro .... na me pāpaṃ vipaccati*. "Māra has committed an evil deed, an offence against the Tathāgata: do you think, O Evil One, that your sin will not bear friut for you?"

Then Māra invited the Buddha to return to the village. The Dhammapadaṭṭha, III, p. 258, assumes that his intention was to ridicule (*hassakeḷi*) the Buddha, but the canonical sources are precise: Māra promises to force the inhabitants to give him alms: "*Ahaṃ karissāmi yathā Bhagavā piṇḍaṃ lacchati*." What is the reason for this about-face? This is given by the

At that time, there was an old woman in a house[696] [in place of *lao ch jen*, read *lao niu jen* as in the rest of the story], who had in her hands a chipped clay dish (*bhinnamṛdbhājana*) full of foul broth (*saktu*) which she had come out onto her doorstep to throw away. She saw the Buddha who was going away with his empty bowl. Seeing the Buddha - with his major marks (*lakṣaṇa*), his minor marks (*anuvyañjana*), his golden color (*suvarṇavarṇa*), his *ūrṇa*, his *uṣṇīṣa* and his aureole one armspan in breadth (*vyāmprabhā*) - returning with an empty bowl and without food, the old woman thought: "A being as marvellous as this ought to eat the food of the gods. If he is embodied and begs with his bowl, it is surely out of loving-kindness (*maitrī*) and compassion (*karuṇā*) for all beings." Filled with pure faith (*śraddhāviśuddhi*), she

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Tseng yi a han. Māra hopes that the Buddha and his monks, overwhelmed by the gifts of the villagers, would become attached to these benefits and, no longer knowing how to deal with luxury, would always seek for more sensory pleasures. But the Buddha, reading the intentions of the Evil One, refused by the following stanza (Saṃyutta, I, p. 114; Tsa a han, p. 288a): *Susukhaṃ vata jīvāma yeṣhaṃ no .... devā Ābhassarā yathā ti.* "In perfect joy we live, we who possess nothing. Joy will be our food like the radiant gods."

The A tu wang tchouan (p. 119b) has a slightly different stanza: "Those who rejoice without having an abundance have a calm, light, active body. If in regard to food and drink, one does not have desirous thoughts, one's mind does not cease to be joyous, like the Ābhāsvara gods" (tr. Przyluski).

These stanzas are missing in the Tseng yi a han version (p. 772). The Buddha simply reproaches Māra for having prevented the villagers from giving him alms and recalls that a similar mishap had previously occurred in the Bhadrakalpa to the Buddha Krakucchanda who was depending on this city with his 40,000 disciples. Māra pledged the population to refuse to give them any alms. When his monks returned with their empty bowls, Krakucchanda asked them to spurn the four types of human food (*kavaḍīkāra āhāra, sparśa, manaḥsaṃcetanā*, *vijñāna*: cf. Kośa, III, p. 119) and seek only the five kinds of superhuman food (*dhyāna, praṇidhāna*, *smṛti, vimokṣa, prīti*). Māra then invited the monks to return to the village and, against their will, he overwhelmed them with alms. Krakucchanda then addressed a sermon to his monks: "Material benefits cause one to fall into the evil destinies and prevent one from attaining *asaṃskṛta* (or nirvāṇa).... The monks who are attached to gain do not realize the fivefold dharmakāya.... One must prevent the arising of the notion of profit..." Māra turned about and disappeared.

[696] By a device of compilation, the Mppś places the following story also in Śālā, the city of the brahmins. - In the Divyāvadāna, p. 67. the scene tales place in Nyagrodhikā, and the woman who makes the offering to the Buddha is the wife of one of the brahmins who came from Kapilavastu to Nyagrodhikā (*Kapilavastuno brāhmaṇasya dārikā Nyagrodhikāyāṃ niviṣṭā*). - The story in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (T1448, k. 8, p. 36a) begins as follows: "Then the Bhagavat left Rājagṛha and went to *To ken chou ts'ouen* ('the village of the tree of many roots', or Nyagrodhagrāma). Wearing his robes and carrying his begging-bowl, the Buddha entered this village to beg for alms. At Kapilavastu there was a married woman, etc....." - In the Kieou tsa p'i yu king (T 206, k. 1, p. 515c), the scene took place outside the city of Śrāvastī.

The village of Nyagrodhikā of which the Divya and the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya speak is probably the same as the Nigrodhārāma of the Pāli sources. We must distinguish two Nigrodhārāmas, one near Rājagṛha (Dīgha, II, p. 116) the other near Kapilavastu (Vinaya, I. p. 82; Mahāvastu, III, p. 101, etc.). In the latter was the tree at the foot of which the ascetic Kaṇha had practiced his austerities, a tree which bore fruit eternally by decree of the god Sakka. The Buddha, walking by this tree, began to smile and told the Kaṇhajātaka (Jātaka no. 440, IV, p. 6 seq.) to Ānanda who asked him why he smiled. According to the Divya, p. 70, the village of Nyagrodhikā took its name from a marvellous fig tree that could shelter five hundred chariots in its shade.

wanted to make an offering (*pūjā*) to the Buddha; but not having what she would have liked to give, she said, quite confused, to the Buddha: "I would very much like to make offerings to you but I do not have the means. Here is some spoiled food. The Buddha can take what he needs." Knowing the purity (*viśuddhi*) of her mind (*citta*), her faith (*śraddhā*) and her veneration (*arcanā*), the Buddha stretched out his hand and received in his bowl the food which was given to him.[697]

Then he began to smile and emitted rays of five colors that lighted up heaven [**115b**] and earth and returned to him through his *ūrṇā* (woolly tuft between his eyebrows). Joining his palms together (*añjaliṃ praṇamya*) and bending his knee (*jānumaṇḍalaṃ pratisthāpya*), Ānanda said to the Buddha: "Bhagavat, I would like to hear the reason why you smile."[698] The Buddha said to Ānanda: "Do you see this old woman who, out of a mind of faith (*prasādacitta*), has given me some food?" Ānanda replied that he saw her. The Buddha continued: "This old woman who has given food to the Buddha will receive the reward for her merit for fifteen kalpas among gods and humans and will not fall into the bad destinies (*durgati*). Later, she will receive a human male body, will leave home (*pravrajita*) and practice the Path. She will become a pratyekabuddha and will enter nirvāṇa-without-residue (*nirupadhiṣeṣanirvāṇa*)."[699]

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697 Cf. the story in the Divyāvadana, p. 67: *adrākṣīt sā brāhmaṇadārikā Bhagavantaṃ dvātriṃśatā mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇaiḥ .... prasādena Bhagavate śaktubhikṣāṃ dattavatī.*

698 Here the Mppś summarizes in two lines a long development about the smile and the prediction of the Buddha which occurs in stereotyped form many times in the Avadānaśataka (to be precise, in 20 places, e.g., p. 4-6, 10-12, 19-21, etc.) and the Divyāvadāna (p. 67-69). Here are the main lines of this development: It is a custom that, at the moment when the Buddha Bhagavats show their smile, blue, yellow, red and white rays *(nīlapītalohitāvadātā arciṣaḥ*) flash out of the Bhagavat's mouth, some of which go up and some of which go down. Those that go down penetrate into the hells (*naraka*); those that go up penetrate to the gods from the Cāturmahārājikas up to the Akaniṣṭas who cry out: "*anityaṃ duḥkhaṃ śūnyam anātman*" and chant two stanzas. Having travelled through the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu, the rays return to the Bhagavat from behind (*pṛṣṭhataḥ pṛṣṭhataḥ*). According as to whether the Buddha wishes to show such-and-such a thing, the rays return to him by a different part of the body. If they disappear in the back (*pṛṣṭha*) of the Buddha, it is because he wants to reveal past actions (*atītaṃ karma*); if they disappear into his front (*purastāt*), it is because he wishes to predict the future (*anāgata*). The returning of the rays into the soles of his feet (*pādatala*) of the Buddha predicts a birth in hell (*narakopapatti*); into his heel (*pārṣṇi*), a birth among the animals (*tiryagupapatti*); into the big toe (*pādāṅguṣṭha*), a birth among the pretas; into the knees (*jānu*), a birth among men (*manuṣyopapatti*); into the palm of the left hand (*vāma katatala*), the royalty (*rājya*) of a balacakravartin; into the palm of the right hand (*dakṣiṇa karatala*), the royalty of a cakravartin; into the navel, a birth among the gods (*devopapatti*); into the mouth (*āsya*), the bodhi of the śrāvakas; into the *ūrṇā*, the bodhi of the pratyekabuddhas; into the *uṣṇīṣa*, the anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi of the Buddhas. Then in prose and verse, Ānanda asks the Buddha the meaning of these rays and smile, and the Buddha answers by applying to a particular case the symbolism just described.

699 Cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 69-70: *Bhagavān āha. dṛṣṭā tavaiṣā Ānanda brāhmaṇadārika .... nāma pratyekabuddho bhaviṣyati*. The rays returning into the Buddha's ūṛṇā already showed that this woman would attain the bodhi of the pratyekabuddhas. The Buddha further predicts that for the fifteen kalpas that separate her from this bodhi, she will escape the bad destinies and be reborn among gods and humans. In place of the 'fifteen kalpas', the Divya (p. 69) and the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (p. 36b) read 'thirteen kalpas'; I [Lamotte] think that the first reading is better: it is that of the Avadānaśataka, I, p. 128, 133..

There was, at that moment near the Buddha, a brahmin who spoke the following stanza:

> You are of the solar race, from a family of Kṣatriyas,
>
> You are the crown prince of king Śuddhodana,
>
> But you are a great liar about this food.
>
> How could [the gift] of such foul food have such a great reward?[700]

Then the Buddha put out his broad tongue (*prabhūtajihvā*) and, covering his face with it up to his hair-line (*sarvaṃ mukhamaṇḍalaṃ avacchādayati yāvat keśaparyantam*), he said to the brahmin: "You have read the texts (*śāstra*): the person who has such a tongue, would he tell lies (*mṛṣāvāda*)?" The brahmin replied: "The person whose tongue can cover his nose (*ghrāṇa*) tells no lies; what can be said about the person whose tongue reaches his hairline? I fully believe that the Buddha does not lie, but I do not understand how such a small gift (*dāna*) can assure such a great reward (*vipāka*)."[701]

Then the Buddha said to the brahmin: "Have you ever seen something extraordinary (*adbhuta*) and rare (*durdṛṣa*)?" The brahmin replied: "I have. Once I was travelling with some other brahmins and I saw a nyagrodha tree (*Ficus indica*) the shade (*chāya*) of which covered five hundred chariots (*śaṭa*) without being completely used up. That was an extraordinary and rare thing." The Buddha then asked him: "What was the size of the seed of that tree (*kiyatpramāṇaṃ tasya vṛkṣasya bījam*)?" He answered: "It was a third as big as a mustard seed (*sarṣapatṛtīyabhāgamātram*)." The Buddha said: "Who would believe you when you say that such a big tree could come from such a small seed (*kas te śraddhāsyati iyatpramāṇasya bījasyāyaṃ mahāvṛkṣo nirvṛtta iti*)?" The brahmin asnwered: "Nevertheless, that is so, Bhagavat; I saw it with my own eyes, it is not a lie." The Buddha said: "It is the same for me: I see that this old woman who has given alms to the Buddha with faith and pure mind will attain a great fruit of retribution (*mahāvipākaphala*), just like a big tree comes from a tiny seed. Besides, the Tathāgata is a field of merit (*puṇyakṣetra*) filled with marvels."[702]

The brahmin's heart opened and his mind was liberated. Prostrating himself on the ground with all five limbs (*pañcamaṇḍalakena candanaṃ kṛtvā*), he repented of his error and said to the Buddha: "It was

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From the Divya and the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, we know that the pratyekabuddha will have the name Supraṇihita, in Chinese *Chan yuen*.

700 This stanza is missing in the other sources.

701 Cf. Divya, p. 71: *Tato Bhagavatā mukhāj jihvāṃ nirṇamayya .... saṃprajmanan mṛṣāvādaṃ bhāṣeta. no bho Gautama*.

But in the Divya and the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, the Buddha puts his tonguue out only after having convinced the brahmin by the parable of the fig-tree.

702 Cf. Divya, p. 70-71: *Bhagavān āha. kiṃ manyase brāhmaṇa, asti kaścit tvayāścaryādbhuto .... atha Bhagavān asminn utpanne gāthāṃ bhāṣate*.

> *yathā kṣetre ca bījena pratyakṣas tvam iha dvija .....*
>
> *evaṃ mayā brāhmaṇa dṛstam etad alpaṃ ca bījaṃ mahatī ca saṃpad iti*.

foolish of me not to believe the Buddha." The Buddha preached the Dharma in many ways to him and the brahmin obtained the first fruit of the Path [namely, srotaāpattiphala].

Then raising his hand, he uttered a great shout and addressed the villagers thus: "The gates of immortality (*amṛtadvāra*) are open to all beings! Why do you not enter therein?" All the brahmins in the village paid the five hundred kārṣāpaṇas and went with the king to the Buddha and paid homage to him. They all said: "When one can attain the taste of immortality (*amṛtarasa*), who cares for five hundred kārṣāpaṇas?" The inhabitants went in a crowd and the royal edict was abrogated. The king of the brahmins and his ministers (*amātya*) and subjects took refuge (*śaraṇaṃ gataḥ*) in the Buddha and the Dharma. All the villagers attained [**115 c**] pure faith (*viśuddhaśhraddhā*).[703]

It is thus that the Buddha puts out his broad tongue (*prabhūtajihvā*) to [convert] the unbelievers.

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Question. - In the case of the brahmin, the Buddha put out his tongue and covered his face with it. How is it that here his tongue and his rays extend as far as the trisāhasramahāsmahasra-lokadhātu?

Answer. - When it was a matter of people of little faith, the Buddha's tongue [was limited] to covering his face up to his hair-line, but here it is a matter of the great interests of the Prajñāpāramitā, so his long tongue covers the entire trisāhasramahāsāsralokadhātu.

Question. - If it is already extraordinary that all the inhabitants of one village should be able to see the Buddha's tongue, is it not still more extraordinary that when he preaches the Prajñāpāramitā, all the great assemblies (*apramāṇasaṃnipāta*) of this region and others should also be able to see it? Besides, the range of the human eye does not go beyond a certain number of *li* and you assume here that it extends to an entire trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu! Since the eye does not see that far, that is difficult to believe.

Answer. - The Buddha uses his miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*) skillfully (*upāyena*) so that all beings can see his tongue cover the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu. If the Buddha did not communicate his miraculous power to them, even [the bodhisattvas] of the ten bhūmis would not know the Buddha's mind (*citta*), but if he does communicate his miraculous power, the animals (*tiryagyoni*) themselves [know the mind of the Buddha. [It is thanks to this intervention] that, in one of the following chapters of the Prajñāpāramitā, all the people see the assembly of the Buddha *A tch'ou* (Akṣobya) and contemplate it face to face. [704] And when the Buddha had spoken of the various splendors (*alaṃkāravyūha*) of the universe of

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[703] This last paragraph is peculiar to the Mppś: it aims to show the linkage between the two episodes artificially connected here.

[704] It is because the Buddha communicates to them his miraculous power that the listeners to the Prajñāpāramitā have seen with their own eyes the assembly of the Buddha Akṣobhya; but, continues the Aṣṭāsāhasrikā, p. 465: "when the Bhagavat withdrew his miraculous power, the Bhagavat Akṣobhya, tathāgata, arhat and completely enlightened, was no longer visible" (*pratisaṃhṛte ca Bhagavatā tasmin .... samyaksaṃbuddhaḥ saṃdṛśyate sma*).

Buddha *A mi t'o* (Amitābha) and when Ānanda had said to him: "I would like to see them", the Buddha caused the entire assembly to see the splendors of the universe of Buddha *Wou leang cheou* (Amitāyus).[705] It is the same for seeing the tongue of the Buddha.

With his long tongue, the Buddha covers the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu, then he begins to smile. The reasons for this smile are the same as above.

Question. - Previously, the Buddha had emitted rays (*raśmi*) from his tongue; why does he again emit rays from his tongue?

Answer. - *1*) Because he wants all beings to have solid faith (*śraddhā*).

2) Moreover, the color of his tongue is like the pure light of coral (*pravāḍa, vidruma*). In order to produce all these characteristics, he sends out rays again.

3) Finally, these rays change into precious lotuses with a thousand petals and golden in color (*sahasrapattrāṇi suvarṇanirbhāsāni ratnamayāni padmāni*). These lotuses, the rays of which shine like the rising sun (*sūryodaya*), come from his tongue.

Question. - Why does the Buddha create precious lotuses of this kind by metamorphosis (*nirmāṇa*) on these rays?

Answer.- Because the Buddha wishes to sit on them.

Question. - He could sit on a mat (*mañca, kaṭvā*); why does he need these lotuses?

Answer. - *1*) The mat is the usual seat of worldly (*loka*) people and of lay people (*avadātavasana*) [but not of the Buddha].

2) Furthermore, the lotuses are delicate (*ślakṣna*) and the Buddha wants to manifest his miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*) by sitting on them without crushing them.

3) He wishes also to adorn the seat of the holy Dharma (*saddharmamaṇḍa*).

4) In general, lotuses are small and do not have the purity of perfume **[116 a**] (*gandhaviśuddhi*) nor the size of those of the Buddha. The size of the lotus among people is no greater than a foot. On lake *Man t'o k'i ni* (Mandākini) and lake *A na p'o ta to* (Anavatapta),[706] the lotuses are as large as a chariot wheel (*rathacakra*). In heaven, the precious lotuses are even larger. The lotus on which the Buddha is seated cross-legged is a hundred thousand *prabheda* times larger. It forms a floral platform of marvelous perfume on which one can sit.

- For the Buddha Akṣobhya who already appears in the Prajñā literature and the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka before becoming one of the five dhyānibuddhas, especially venerated in the Shingon sect, see Hobogirin, *Ashuku*, p. 39-40.

[705] The Mppś is referring here to the Sukhāvatīvyūha, v. 39 (tr. M. Müller, SBE, XLIX, 2, p. 49-61: *Evam ukta āyuṣmān Ānanda Bhagavavtam etad avocat .... taṃ ca bodhisattvagaṇaṃ taṃ ca bhikṣusaṃgham*.

[706] Mandākinī and Anavatapta are two of the seven large lakes of the Himālaya (Aṅguttara, IV, p. 101; Jātaka, V, p. 415; Sumaṅgala, I p. 164). Anavatapta has already been described; there is a detailed description of Mandākini in Sārattha, I, p. 281.

5) Finally, after the kalpa fire, everything is empty (*śūnya*); then by the causal power of the merits of beings (*sattvapuṇyahetupratyayabala*), the winds (*vāyu*) come from all the directions and, interacting and mixing with one another, they are able to support the great waters (*mahāpaḥ*). On these waters there is a man with a thousand heads, two thousand arms and two thousand legs called *Wei mieou* (Viṣṇu). From his navel (*nābhi*) comes a precious lotus, golden in color, with a thousand petals, the light and rays of which are like the combined light of a thousand suns. On this lotus there is seated cross-legged a man who, in turn, possesses an infinite light. He is called *Fan t'ien wang* (Brahmādevarāja) who mentally gives birth to eight sons who, in their turn, give rise to the heavens, the earth and people.[707] Brahmādevarāja has eliminated all sexual desire (*rāga*) and all hatred (*dveṣa*) without residue; thus, when people cultivate (*bhāvayanti*) the pure practice of the dhyānas (*dhyānaśuddhacarya*) and abandon sexual desire (*rāga*), they are said to follow brahmanic conduct (*brahmacarya*).[708]. And the wheel of Dharma which the Buddha put into motion is sometimes called *dharmacakra* and sometimes *brahmacakra*.[709] This Brahmādevarāja is

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707 This is the classical myth of the birth of Brahmā, told in the Mahābhārata (3.272.44; 12.207.13) and which gives to Viṣṇu the name *padmanābha*, and to Brahmā the epithets *padma -ja, -jāta, -bhava, -yoni, -saṃbhava*, etc. Although the usual mount of Brahmā is a swan, the Hindu iconography often shows him seated on a lotus. The Mppś is not the only Buddhist source that tells this Hindu myth; it is also found in another work, also translated by Kumārajīva, the Tsa p'i yu king, T 207 (no. 31), p. 529b (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, II, p. 53-54). Ki tsang also records it in his Tchong kouan louen chou, T 1824, k. 1, p. 14c.

708 The word *brahmacarya* is of brāhmin origin and designates in a general way the rigorous observation of prescribed rules and, in a more specialized way, the [sexual] continence imposed on the novice during his studies at the foot of the master. Cf. the Manusmṛti, II, v. 249:

evaṃ carati yo brahmacaryam avuplutaḥ/
sa gacchati uttamaṃ sthānaṃ na cehājāyate punaḥ//

The word has pased into Buddhism with this twofold meaning. It designates the holy life, the religious life, notably in the form of the arhat: *khinā jāti vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ*, etc. but also chastity. The latter meaning is evidenced in the Mppś, k. 8, p. 120c: "There are beings who follow the ten wholesome courses of action (*kuśalakarmapatha*) but who have not yet destroyed lust. Thus the sūtra here praises those who practice the conduct of king Brahmā (*brahmacarya*) by cutting through their sexual desire. It is said that those who practice brahmacarya purely never smell bad (*nirāmayagandha*): the person who is addicted to lust has an ugly malodorous body; thus, to praise those who have cut through lust, it is said that they do not have a bad smell." Later the Mppś , k. 20,p. 211b, will return to this subject.: "The gods who have cut through sexual desire are Brahmās, a term applied to all the gods of the form realm (*rūpadhātu*); this is why the method of cutting through sexual desirre is called *brahmacarya*."

709 From the earliest texts on, besides *dharmacakra*, the expression *brahmacakra* occurs: Majjhima, I, p. 69; Saṃyutta, II, p. 27; Aṅguttara, II, p. 9, 24; III, p. 417; V, p. 33; Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 348), k. 14, p.98a15; Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 19, p. 645b29. The Mppś, k. 25, p. 245b (tr. Hobogirin, *Bon*, p. 120), interprets it as follows: "The wheel of Brahmā bears this name because it is pure ... or else because Brahmā means vast (*bṛhant)*; now the wheel of Dharma which the Buddha turned extends to the entire world; or again because the Buddha taught the four dwellings of Brahmā (the four limitless ones) (*brahmavihāra*); or also because at the start, it was Brahmā, king of the gods, who invited the Buddha to turn the wheel of Dharma; or also, in order to please those who venerate the god Brahmā. - Sometimes the Buddha said 'wheel of Dharma', sometimes 'wheel of Brahmā'. - What difference is there between these two terms? - They are synonyms. Nevertheless, according to some, the wheel of Brahmā refers to the four limitless ones (*apramāṇa*) and the wheel of

seated on a lotus; this is why the Buddha, who conforms to current usage (*saṃvṛtyanuvartanāt*), also sits crosslegged on a precious lotus to teach the six pāramitās, and those who listen to this sermon necessarily reach anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi.

Question. - The Buddha Śākyamuni creates innumerable thousands of prabhedakoṭi of Buddhas by emanation. How can they all preach the Dharma at the same time? It is said in the *A p'i t'an* (Abhidharma): "There cannot be two minds (*citta*) at the same time (*ekakṣaṇa*): when the apparitional (*nirmita*) Buddhas speak, the master who creates them (*nirmātṛ*) must be silent; when the creating master speaks, the apparitional creations must be silent."[710] How do these [apparitional Buddhas] preach the six pāramitās all at the same time?

Dharma to the four Truths (*satya*); or again, we say 'wheel of Brahmā' because the Path is attained by means of the four limitless ones, and 'wheel of Dharma' insofar as it is attained by other dharmas; or again,'wheel of Brahmā' is used in reference to the four dhyānas and 'wheel of Dharma' in reference to the thirty-seven aids to enlightenment (*bodhipākṣikadharma*); or again, 'wheel of Brahmā' is applied to the way of *dhyāna* and *samādhi*, and 'wheel of Dharma' to that of wisdom (*prajñā*)."

The words *brahmacarya* and *brahmacakra* are not the only signs of brahmin influence on the Buddhist vocabulary. The Mppś could also add that, according to Jīvaka, "the Bhagavat is Brahmā" (Kośavyākhyā, p. 578: *eṣa hi Bhagavān Brahmety etad udāharaṇaṃ Jīvakenoktam etat*), and that the term *brahmabhūta* 'identified with Brahmā' is applied sometimes to Buddha himself (Dīgha, III, p. 84; Majjhima, I, p. 111; III, p. 193, 224; Saṃyutta, IV, p. 94: Aṅguttara, V, p. 226; Tchong a han, T 26, k. 34, p. 645b24), sometimes to the arhats (Saṃyutta, III, p. 83; Aṅguttara, II, p. 206). - According to Buddhaghosa, the word *brahmā* is used here in the sense of excellent (*seṭṭhaṭṭhena*); but the explanations of the Bodh. bhūmi, p. 385 are subtler: *svayam adhigamya pareṣām apy anukaṃpayā vistareṇa ....tasmād brāhmaṃ cakram ity ucyate*.

710 Undoubtedly the Mppś is referring here to the theory of *nirmita* explained in the Kāraṇaprajñapti, which is one of the seven books of the Abhidharma: Che chö louen, T 1538, k. 6, p. 526a: "Why are beings created *(nirmita*) by the Nirmātṛ, i.e., the Buddha Bhagavat, of fine color, handsome, pleasant to see, their body adorned with the thirty-two marks of the Great Man, silent while the Buddha speaks and speak when the Buddha is silent; whereas the beings created by the śrāvakas, of fine color, handsome, head shaved, clothed in robes and having the marks of the śramaṇa, speak when the the śrāvakas speak and are silent when the śrāvakas are silent? - The Buddha Bhagavat dwells always in samādhi and has mastery of mind (*cetovaśitā*); he enters into samādhi and comes out quickly and with no difficulty; he never abandons the object (*ālambana*) of his mind. This is not the case for the śrāvakas. On the contrary, the Bhagavat is omniscient (*sarvajñā*): he has obtained mastery of knowledge (*jñāna*) and mind (*citta*), and he has reached the other shore (*pāraṃgata*). This is why the beings created by the Buddha... are silent when he speaks, speak when he is silent, whereas the beings created by the śrāvakas... speak when the śrāvakas speak and are silent when the śrāvakas are silent."

This text shold be compared to a canonical stanza, the Pāli version of which is in Dīgha, II, p. 212:

Ekasmiṃ bhāsamānasmiṃ sabbe bhāsanti nimmitā/
ekasniṃ tuṇhīm āsīne sabbe tuṇhī bhavanti te//

and the Sanskrit version in Madh. vṛtti, p. 331, and Divyāvadana, p. 166:

Ekasya bhāsamāṇasya sarva bhāsanti nirmitāḥ/
ekasya tūṣṇīṃbhūtasya sarve tūṣṇīṃbhavati te//

"When one speaks (i.e., the creator), all the created beings speak; when one remains silent, all remain silent."

Answer. - What has been said there holds for the creations (*nirmāṇa*) of the heretics (*tīrthika*) and śrāvakas, but the immense power of concentration (*apramāṇasamādhibala*) inherent in the creations of the Buddha is inconceivable (*acintya*). Thus, when the Buddha speaks, the innumerable thousands of prabhedhakoṭi of apparitional Buddhas speak at the same time as him. - Moreover, the apparitional creations of the tīrthikas and the śrāvakas are unable in their turn to create [other] apparitional creations, whereas those of the Buddha Bhagavat can create them in turn. - Moreover, after their death, the tīrthikas and śrāvakas cannot make the fictive beings [that they have created] last (*adhitiṣṭhanti*),[711] whereas the Buddha, after his own parinirvāṇa, can make the apparitional being [that he has created] persist as if it were no different from the Buddha himself.[712] - Finally, what the Abhidharma says, that there cannot be two minds at the same moment, holds true also for the Buddha. At the moment when the emanated being speaks, he is without thought; but when the Buddha thinks about his emanationed creations and wants them to speak, then they all begin to speak.

Question. - The Buddha now wants to preach the Prajñāpāramitā; why does he have the emanated Buddha preach the six pāramitās?

[**116 b**] Answer. - The six pāramitās and the Prajñāpāramitā are identical and not different. Without prajñāpāramitā, the [first] five pāramitās would not be called 'pāramitā'. Without the prajñāpāramitā, the virtue of generosity (*dānapāramitā*) would be classed among the perishable dharmas (*kṣayadharma*) of the world or would lead to the parinirvāṇa of the arhats and pratyekabuddhas: it is when it is joined with prajñāpāramitā that it is called pāramitā and leads to Buddahood. This is why the prajñāpāramitā and the six pāramitās are identical and not different.

There are two kinds of prajñāpāramitā, that which is adorned (*alaṃkṛtā*) and that which is not adorned. It is like a person who takes coral (*pravāda, vidruma*) and adorns their body with it, and a person who does not have coral and does not adorn themselves with it. Or also, when the king comes accompanied by his retinue (*parivāra*), we say: "The king is coming"; when he does not have a retinue, he is said to be "solitary". This is the way it is in universes as numerous as the sands of the Ganges in the east and in the ten directions.

This holds for all śrāvaka creations, but not for those of the Buddha for, says the Kośa, VII, p. 118, "the latter has perfect mastery of concentration: at will, the magical beings speak one after the other; they question and the Buddha responds; the Buddha questions and they respond." This is also the opinion of the Divyāvadana, p. 166, if one applies the corrections proposed by L. de La Vallée Poussin in Kośa, VII, p. 118, n. 3: *yaṃ khalu śravako nirmitam abhinirmiīte yadi praśnaṃ pṛcchati. nirmito vyākaroti*.

I [Lamotte] am not sure that the Mppś has completely understood its sources: according to it, "when the Buddha speaks, the innumerable thousands of prabhedhakoṭi of apparitional Buddhas speak at the same time as him."

711 For this special meaning of *adhitiṣṭhati* 'to make last or endure', see Kośa, VII, p. 119, n. 2.

712 It is thus that, after their parinirvāṇa, the Buddhas Prabhūtaratna and Suśanta left behind an apparitional Buddha, in a way their 'double', in order to convert beings. The śrāvakas are unable to prolong themselves thus after their death, but they can use a certain *adhiṣṭhāna*: thus Kāśyapa, the Buddha's disciple, caused his skeleton to last until the coming of Maitreya (Kośa, VII, p. 120).

Question. - If the Buddha has miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*) such that innumerable thousands of prabhedakoṭi of fictve Buddhas (*nirmāṇabuddha*) go in the ten directions to preach the six pāramitās and save the entire world, all beings will find salvation and there would be nobody else [to save]!

Answer. - Three obstacles (*āvaraṇa*) [oppose universal salvation]: *i*) beings plunged in the three bad destinies (*durgati*) cannot understand [the teaching of the Buddhas]; *ii)* and *iii*) gods and humans who are too young, too old or too sick, as well as the non-perceptive gods (*asaṃjnideva*) of the formless realm (*ārūpya*) cannot hear or understand [the teaching of the Buddhas].

Question.- Why cannot all those who hear and understand [this teaching] find the Path?

Answer. - They do not all find the path. Why? Because of their fetters (*saṃyojana*) and the obstacles [consituted by] actions (*karmāvaraṇa*). People whose fetters are heavy have a mind obsessed with fetters; this is why they do not all find the Path.

Question. - Now that the Buddhas of the ten directions and the apparitional Buddhas whom they have delegated preach the six pāramitās, why do we, who are free of the three obstacles (*āvaraṇa*), not hear them?

Answer. - Actually, beings are living in a bad age and enter into the three obstacles; they are living in an epoch after the Buddha. The retribution of evil actions (*karmāvaraṇa*) consisting of the errors and sins of the world or the obstacle constituted by heavy fetters (*stūlasaṃyojanāvaraṇa*) has plunged beings into an epoch after the Buddha, and many people are chained (*āvṛta*) by heavy fetters; sometimes their desire (*rāga*) is small but their hatred (*dveṣa*) is considerable; sometimes their hatred is small but their desire is considerable; sometimes their desire is small but their delusion (*moha*) is considerable; sometimes their delusion is small but their hatred is considerable. Thus there is mutual interchange in the order of importance [amongst the fetters]. As a result of the obstacle consisting of the fetters (*saṃyojanāvaraṇa*), people do not hear or do not understand the apparitional Buddhas who are preaching the Dharma and do not see the rays of the Buddha. How then would they find the Path? Thus, when the sun (*sūrya*) rises (*udati*), blind people (*andhapuruṣa*) who do not see it claim that the world has no sun or moon (*sūryacandramas*); is that the fault of the sun? [**116c**] When thunder and lightning (*meghavidyut*) shake the earth, deaf people (*badhira*) do not hear it; is that the fault of the sound (*śabda*)? Actually, the Buddhas of the ten directions are always preaching the Dharma and always delegating the apparitional Buddhas to preach the six pāramitās in universes of the ten directions, but those who are affected by the blindness or deafness of evil actions do not hear the sound of the Dharma. Therefore they are not all in a position to hear and to see. Although the Ārya (here, the Buddha) has great loving-kindness (*mahāmaitrīcitta*), he cannot cause everyone to see and hear. But when peoples' sins (*āpatti*) are almost destroyed and their merits (*puṇya*) are on the rise, then they succeed in seeing the Buddha and hearing the Dharma.

ACT V

Sūtra: Then the Bhagavat, on the same lion-seat, entered into the concentration called Lion's Play and, by the action of his [miraculous] superknowledge, shook the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu which trembled

in six different ways (*Atha khalu Bhagavāṃs tasminn eva siṃhāsane niṣaṇṇaḥ siṃhavikrīḍitaṃ nāma samādhiṃ samāpede. tathārūpaṃ ca ṛddhyabhisaṃskāram abhisaṃskaroti sma yathāyam trisāhasramahāsāhasrolokadhātuḥ ṣaḍvikāram akampata*).

Śāstra: Question. - Why is this samādhi called Lion's Play (*siṃhavikrīḍita*)?

Answer. - *1*) Just as the lion (*siṃha*) who has taken a gazelle (*mṛga*) plays with it as a master (*aiśvaryena krīḍati*),[713] so the Buddha, having entered this samādhi, can upset the world in every way and thus make it shake in six different ways.

2) Moreover, [sometimes] the lion plays, and when he plays, all the animals are reassured; in the same way, when the Buddha enters this samādhi, he shakes the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu in such a way that beings in the three evil destinies (*durgati*) simultaneously attain cessation (*nirvṛtti*) and all will reach salvation (*yogakṣema*).

3) Finally, the Buddha is called the man-lion (*puruṣasiṃha*) and the samādhi of the Lion's Play is the samādhi of the Buddha's Play. When he enters this samādhi, he causes the great earth (*mahāpṛthivī*) to shake in six different ways and all beings deep in the hells (*niraya*) and the two unfortunate destinies (*durgati*) all receive deliverance (*vimokṣa*) and are reborn amongst the gods. Such is his 'Play'.

Question. - Why does the Buddha enter this samādhi?

Answer. - To shake the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu, to take beings out of the three unfortunate destinies (*durgati*) and bring them to the threefold Path (*mārgatraya*).

Moreover, by means of three kinds of samādhi, the Buddha has already shown his Buddha body but there are people whose faith (*śraddhācitta*) is not profound (*gambhīra*). And so the Buddha [now] shakes the great earth so that these beings, knowing the immensity of the miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*) of the Buddha who shakes external objects, [may be filled] with pure faith (*śraddhāviśuddhi*) and joyful thoughts (*cittamuditā*) and will all escape from suffering.

Question. - But the arhats and devas also can shake the earth. Why speak only about the miraculous power of the Buddha here?

Answer. - The arhats and devas are unable to shake it at its base; only the Buddha can make it tremble in six different ways.

Question. - Why does the Buddha shake the trisāhasramahāsmahasralokadhātu?

Answer. - So that all beings know that everything is empty (*śūnya*) and transitory (*anitya*). There are people who claim that the great earth (*mahāpṛthivī*), the sun and the moon (*sūryacandramas*), Sumeru and the great ocean (*mahāsamudra*) are all eternal (*nitya*). This is why the Bhagavat shakes the earth six times and gives the reason (*hetupratyaya*) for it: Beings will know that it is not eternal.

[**117a**] And just as a man who wants to soil his garment (*vastra*) first walks into the dust (*rajas*), so the Buddha first shows his miraculous power to the beings of the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu; then, when

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[713] Hence the Sanskrit expressions *mṛgarāj* and *mṛgarāja* to designate the lion.

their minds are softened (*mṛduka, snigdha*), he preaches the Dharma to them. This is why he shakes the earth in six ways.

Question. - What are the six ways?

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Sūtra: *1*) The east rises up and the west sinks (*pūrvā dig unnamati paścimā dig avanamati*); *2*) the west rises up and the east subsides (*paśimā dig unnamati pūrvā dig avanamati*); *3*) the south rises up and the north sinks down (*dakṣiṇā dig unnamati uttarā dig avanamati*); *4*) the north rises up and the south subsides (*uttarā dig unnamati dakṣiṇā dig avanamati*); *5*) the edges rise up and the center sinks (*anta unnamati madhye 'vanamati*); *6*) the center rises and the edges sink (*madhya unnamati ante 'vanamati*).[714]

Śāstra: What are these six tremblings of the earth (*bhūmicala*)?

Answer. - The trembling of the earth is lesser (*avara*), medium (*madhya*) and greater (*agra*). In the lesser trembling of the earth, there are two movements: the east rises and the west sinks; or else the south rises and the north sinks; or else the edges [rise] and the center [sinks]. In the medium trembling, there are four movements: in the east, in the west, in the south and in the north; or again in the east, the west, the edges and the center; or again in the south, the north, the edges and the center. In the greater trembling, all six movements appear.

There are all kinds of causes for a greater trembling of the earth. Thus the Buddha said to Ānanda: "There are eight causes and eight conditions for a great trembling of the earth (*aṣṭāv ime Ānanda ketavo 'ṣṭau pratyayā mahataḥ pṛthivīcalasya*)", etc.[715]

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[714] Cf. Mahāvyutpatti no. 3019-3030; Lalitavistara, p. 52, 411.

[715] The eight causes are the following: The earth trembles (1) when the waters on which it rests are stirred by the wind; (2) when a being endowed with supernatural power has come to the point of visualizing the earth as limited and the water as unlimited; (3) when a bodhisattva descends into his mother's womb and leaves it at birth; (4) when a Tathāgata succeeds to the state of Buddha, (5 - 8) turns the wheel of Dharma, rejects the remainder of his life, enters into nirvāṇa.

These eight causes are listed in the following texts: Pāli sources: Dīgha, II, p. 107-109; Aṅguttara, IV, p. 312-313. - Sanskrit sources: Divyāvadana, p. 204-206. - Chinese sources: Versions of the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra (T 1, k. 2, p. 15c-16a; T 5, k. 1, p. 165a-b; T 6, k. 1, p. 180c; T 7, k. 1, p. 191c-192a); Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 36, p. 753c-754a.

Some sources have only three causes, namely, the first two and the last of the preceding list: Tchong a han, T 26, k. 9, p. 377b-478a; Ken pen chouo... tsa che, T 1451, k. 36, p. 389a. Some of the texts have been translated and compared by Przyluski, *Le Parinirvāṇa et les funérailles du Buddha*, p. 63-92.

The Lalitavistara points out that the tremblings of the earth were produced at the main events of the Buddha's life: at conception (p. 52), at his birth (p. 85), at the moment of enlightenment (p. 352) and at his first sermon (p. 411). - Corresponding passages in the translation of Foucaux, p. 51, 79, 285, 342.

Moreover, some talk about four kinds of trembling of the earth: trembling of fire (*agnicala*), trembling of the dragon (*nāgacala*), trembling of the golden garuḍa (*garuḍacala*), trembling of the king of the gods (*devendracala*).

The moon revolves [around the earth] in 28 days.

I. If the moon enters one of the six following constellations (*nakṣatra*):[716]

1. *Mao* (Kṛitikā, Smin-drug): Tauri (Pleiades),
2. *Tchang* (Pūrvaphālgūnī, Gre): Leonis
3. *Ti* (Viśākhā, Sa-ga): Librae,
4. *Leou* (Aśvinī, Tha-skar): Arietis,
5. *Che* (Pūrvabhadrapadā, Khrums-stod): Pegasi,
6. *Wei* (Bharṇī, Bra-ñe): Arietos,

then at that moment, the earth trembles as if it would collapse, this shaking extends up to the god of fire (Agni). Then there is no more rain, the rivers dry up, the year is bad for grain, the emperor (*T'ien tseu*) is cruel and the great ministers are evil.

II. If the moon enters one of the following six constellations:

1. *Lieou* (Āśleṣā, Skag): Hydrae
2. *Wei* (Mūla, Snrubs): Scorpionis
3. *Ki* (Pūrvāṣhāḍhā, Chu-stod): Sagittarii,
4. *Pi* (Uttarabhadrapadā, Khrums-smad), Pegsi, Andromedae,
5. *K'ouei* (Revati, Nam-gru): Piscium.,
6. *Wei* (Dhaniṣṭhā, Mon-gru): Delphini,

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716 The Mppś lists 27 constellations or lunar mansions of the zodiac, divided here into three groups of six and one group of nine. Next to the Chinese term are the Sanskrit and Tibetan translations (according to the Mahāvyutpatti, no. 3187-3214) and the modern equivalent.

The series of 27 or 28 *nakṣatra* has already appeared in the Vedic literature and has passed from there into the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain texts.

Ancient Brahmanical sources: Atharvav., XIX, 7, 1 seq; 8,2 seq; Kāṭhaka-Saṃh., XXXIX, 13; Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃh. II, 13, 20; Taittitīya-Saṃh. IV, 4, 10, seq; Taittitīyabr. I, 5,1; Tattirīyabr. III, 4, 1 seq. - Synoptic table in Kirfel, *Kosmographie der Inder*, p. 36.

Recent Brahmanical sources: Nakṣatrakalpa, etc., in Kirfel, o.c., p. 138-139.

Buddhist sources, in Sanskrit: Mahāvastu, III, p. 305, l. 20-21; p. 306, l. 21; p. 308, l. 2-3, p. 309, l. 2-3; Lalitavistara, p. 389; Mahāvyutpatti, no. 3187-3214; - in Pāli: Abhidhānappadīpikā, ed. W. Subhuti, Colombo, 1883, p. 58-69 (list in Rhys Davids-Stede, s.v. *nakkhatta*); - in Chinese, in a whole series of texts yet poorly explored.

then at that moment the earth trembles as if it would collapse and this trembling extends as far as the Nāgas. Then there is no more rain, the rivers dry up, the year is bad for grain, the emperor is cruel and the great ministers are unjust.

III. If the moon enters one of the following six constellations,

1. *Chen* (Ārdrā, Lag): Orionis,
2. *Kouei* (Puṣya, Rgyal): Cancri,
3. *Sing* (Maghā, Mchu): Leonis,
4. *Tchen* (Hasta, Me-b€i): Corvi
5. *K'ang* (Svāti, Sa-ri): Bootis,
6. *Yi* (Uttaraphālgunī, Dbo): Leonis,

then at that moment the earth trembles as if it would collapse, this trembling extends as far as the Garuda. Then there is no more rain, the rivers dry up, the year is bad for grain, the emperor is cruel and the great ministers are unjust.

IV. If the moon enters one of the following nine constellations:

1. *Sin* (Jyeṣṭhā, Snron): Scorpionis
2. *Kio* (Citrā, Nag-pa): Virginis,
3. *Fang* (Anurādhā, Lha-mtshams): Scorpionis
4. *Niu* (Abhijit, Byi-b€in): Lyrae,
5. *Hiu* (Śatabhiṣa, Mon-gre): Aquarii.
6. *Tsing* (Punarvasu, Nabs-so): Geminorum,
7. *Pi* (Rohinī, Sanr-ma): Tauri,
8. *Tsouei* (Mṛgaśiras, Mgo): Orionis,
9. *Teou* (Uttarāṣāḍhā, Chu-smad): Sagittarii,[717]

then at that moment the earth trembles as if it would collapse and this trembling extends as far as Devendra. Then peace (*yogakṣema*) is plentiful, rain favors the growth of the five grains, the emperor is kind (*śiva*), the great ministers are virtuous and everyone is peaceful.

Moreover, among the causes of the trembling of the earth, some are small and others are great. There are some that shake one Jambudvīpa, others one cāturdvīpaka, one sāhasralokadhātu, one dvisāhasralokadhātu or one trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu,

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[717] [Translator's note: Due to the lack of the Greek alphabet on my computer, I was unable to reproduce the Greek letters delineating the individual constellations in each of the above three lists.]

The small trembling is due to a small cause: when an individual of quality is born or dies, there is a trembling of the local earth; this is the small trembling. The [**117b**] great trembling is due to a great cause: when the Buddha is born, reaches Buddhahood and is about to enter nirvāṇa, the entire trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu shakes completely; this is the great trembling. Here the Buddha, who wants to gather together all beings, causes the earth to tremble in six ways.

Moreover, in the Prajñmapāramitā, the Buddha prophecies to the bodhisattvas that they will be Buddhas. The Buddha is the great leader (*mahādhipati*) of heaven and earth. [On learning of the accession of the future Buddhas], the goddess of the earth (*pṛthivīdevatā*) is filled with joy (*muditā*) [and says to herself]: "I have found a leader." This is why the earth trembles. In the same way, when the leader of a country sets up a minister (*amātya*), the people congratulate him; everyone shouts "Hurray!" and they sing and dance.

Finally, as a result of the merits (*puṇya*) of the beings of the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu, there are rivers, trees and all kinds of things on this earth, but beings are ignorant of their transitory nature (*anityatā*). This is why the Buddha, by the power of his merit and his wisdom, shakes this universe so that the beings know the futility of it: everything will be destroyed *(nirvṛta*) and will return to nothingness (*anityatā*).

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Sūtra: The earth became soft and gentle so that all beings rejoiced (*pṛthivī mṛduka snigdhā sarvasattvasukhajanany abhūt*).

Śāstra: Question. - How could a trembling of the earth (*pṛthivīcala*) inspire beings to a joyful mind?

Answer. - Mind (*citta*) stands in support behind the body (*kāya*); thus when the body is at ease, the mind is joyful. And so (read *jou* inplace of *yue tchö*), in the person who has fasted (*upoṣadhika*)[718] has a joyful mind on returning to his normal routine. At present in the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu, beings with various faults have a coarse (*audarika*) mind deprived of wholesome stimuli; this is why the Buddha shakes the great earth so that soft and gentle minds (*mṛduka-snigdhacitta*) can develop (*vṛddhi*).

Thus, when the gods enter the *Houan lo yuan* (Nandanavana) garden of the king of the Trāyastriṃśa gods, their minds become soft and gentle, they are joyous, content and no gross minds (*sthulacitta*) arise in them. When the asuras come with their armies, they feel no aggressive attitudes (*vigrahacitta*). But it happens that *Che t'i p'o na min* (Śakro devānām indraḥ), at the head of an army of gods, enters the Pāruṣyavana and, because this garden, where the trees, flowers and fruits have an unpleasant smell, is coarse (*paruṣa*), the army of gods [feel] aggressive thoughts arising in themselves.[719] It is the same for the Buddha: Since this

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718 In Sanskrit, the person who fasts is said to be *upoṣadhika* (*M*ahāvastu, ii, p. 9), in Pāli, *uposathika* (Vinaya, I, p. 58; IV, 75, 78).

719 The Trāyastriṃśa gods with Śakra as king live in the city of Sudarśana on the summit of Mount Meru. This city has four parks: *Caitraratha, Pāruṣya, Miśra* and *Nandana* (Tch'ang a han, T 1, k. 20, p. 132b; Mahāvastu, I, p. 32;

great earth is coarse and harsh, he transforms (*pariṇāmayati*) it, softens it and causes all beings to have joyous dispositions.

Thus, when certain magical herbs (*mantauṣadhi*) are burned under people's noses, violent feelings (*āghātacitta*) are aroused in them and they fight. On the other hand, there is a certain magical herb which inspires joy (*muditā*), happiness (*nanadana*), respect (*satkāra*) and harmony (*samaya*) in people. If a simple magical herb has such power, what can be said [of the Buddha] who makes the ground of the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu soft and gentle?

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Sūtra: In this trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu, [beings] in the hell realms (*niraya*), in the preta realm, the animal realm (*tiryagoni*) and the eight difficult (*akṣaṇa*) conditions were immeditately liberated (*vimukta*) and reborn among the gods dwelling at the Cāturmahārājika stage to the Paranirmitavaṣavartin stage.[720]

Divyāvadāna, p. 219; Lokaprajñapti in Lav., *Cosmologie*, p. 304-305; Jātaka, VI, p. 278; Kośa, III, p. 161; P'i p'o cha, T 1545, K. 133, p. 692a).

These sources mention the beneficent influence of the *Nanadanavana* and the maleficent influence of the *Pāruṣyavana*. - Tch'ang a han, T 1, k. 20, p. 132b: "Why is it called *Pāruṣyavana*? Because when one enters it, one's thoughts (*chen t'i)* become harsh (*paruṣa*)... Why is it called Nanadanavana? Because when one enters it, one is happy and joyful." - Jātaka V, p. 158: *Nandane ti nandijananasanatthatāya Nandanavanasaṃkhāte Tāvtiṃsabhavave*. - P'i p'o cha T 1545, k. 133, p. 692a: "In the Pāruṣyavana, when the gods want to go to war, armor and weapons appear according to their needs... In the Nanadanavana, all kinds of marvels and joys are gathered and they go from one to another without getting tired." - Samyutta, I, p. 5 (cf. Tsa a han, T 99, l. 22, p. 153c) says that those who have not seen the Nandana do not know happiness (*Na te sukhaṃ pajānati ye na passanti Nandanaṃ*), and Aṅguttara, III, p. 40 (cf. Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 24, p. 681a) speaks of those who walk in the Nandana, joyous, happy and content among the five sense pleasures (*te tattha nandanti ramanti modare samappitā kāmaguṇehi pañcahi*).

Originally the abode of the Trāyastriṃṣa, with all its wonders, was shared with the asuras, but when Magha was born as Śakra among the Trayastriṃṣa gods, the company of the asuras displeased him and, having previously made them drunk, he expelled them from his palace, the five walls of which he had guarded by the nāgas, suparṇas, kumbhaṇḍas, yakṣas and the Cāturmahārājika gods. Cf. Jātaka, I, p. 201 seq; Dhammapadaṭṭha, I, p. 272 seq (tr. Burlingame, *Legends*, I, p. 319). It is undoubtedly wrong that the Mppś claims that the asuras still had access to the *Nandanavana*.

[720] Here Kumārajīva abridges the text of the Pañcaviṃśati and leaps over an important phrase. In reality, it is not only among the gods of the kāmadhātu (from the Cāturmahārājikas to the Parinirmitavaśavartins) that these beings take rebirth, but also especially among humans. This is expressed by the continuation of the sūtra given below, p. 118a, where it is said that these gods and *these men*, remembering their former existence, go to the Buddha. Here is the text of the Pañcaviṃśati, p. 8, where rebirth among humans is explicitly mentioned:

Atha khalu kṣanalavamuhūrtena ye 'smiṃs trisāhasramahāsāhasra lokadhātau nirayā vā tiragyonayo .... devānāṃ sabhāgatāyām uppannaś cābhūvan.

"Then at that very moment, at that minute, at that hour, the hells, the animal destinies and the realms of the dead who were in this trichiliomegacosm were broken open and emptied and all the difficult conditions (*akṣaṇa*) disappeared and the beings who had fallen into the hells, the animal realm and the realm of Yama, all experienced such great joy that they

Śāstra: Having entered into the Lion's Play samādhi, if the Buddha causes the damned, the pretas, the animals and the eight other difficult conditions[721]to be liberated and reborn in the abodes of the Cāturmahārājika gods up to the Paranirmitavaśavartin gods, why is it still necessary to acquire merit (*puṇya*) and practice the good (*kuśala*) in order to obtain the fruit of retribution (*vipākaphala*)?

Answer. - We have said that beings of great merit have seen the Buddha's rays and have thus found salvation; those of profound faults and stains understand it [only] when the earth trembles. When the rising sun lights up a lotus pool (*padmahrada*), the ripe lotuses open at once while the young buds do not; similarly, when the Buddha emits his rays (*raśmi*), beings with ripe merit (*paripakvapuṇya*) and sharp knowledge (*tīkṣnajñāna*) attain liberation (*vimokṣa*) at once, whereas those who do not have ripe merit or keen knowledge do not. The Buddha has great loving-kindness (*maitrī*) and compassion (*karuṇā*); he saves everyone alike (*samam*), without feeling aversion (*pratigha*) or affection (*annunaya*) for anyone. When a fruit tree is shaken (*dhunoti*), the ripe fruits (*paripakvaphala*) fall first. Apply that to the Buddha: the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu is like the fruit tree; it is the Buddha who shakes it; the ripe fruits [that fall] are the beings who are saved; the green fruits [that remain attached to the tree] are the beings who are not saved.

Question. - Why are the beings who have had this good mind (*kuśalacitta*) reborn [only] among the gods of the desire realm (*kāmadhātu*) and not in the form realm (*rūpadhātu*) or the formless realm (*ārūpyadhātu*)?

Answer. - In order to save beings, the Buddha leads them to realize the Path (*mārgasākṣātkāra*). But in the formless realm (*ārūpyadhātu*) where [beings] have no bodies (*kāya*), it is not possible to preach the Dharma to them; in the form realm (*rūpadhātu*) where all feelings of displeasure (*nirvedacitta*) are absent, it is difficult to find the Path because where the pleasure of dhyāna is plentiful, the mind is dulled (*mṛdu*).

Furthermore, when the Buddha makes the ground of the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu soft and pliable by shaking the universe by means of his [*ṛddhy]-abhijñā*, beings full of faith (*prasādita*) are joyful (*pramuditā*) and consequently are reborn among the gods of the desire realm (*kāmadhātu*). Since they are not practicing the four dhyānas [of the form realm] or the four empty attainments (*śūnyasamāpatti*) [of the

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were reborn among humans or among the Cāturmahārājika, Trāyastrimśa, Yama, Tuṣita, Nirmāṇarati or Paranirmitavaśavartin gods."

Aside from a few unimportant differences, the corresponding text of the Śatasāhasrikā, p. 13-14, is the same.

[721] The hell, animal and preta destinies constitute the three bad destinies (*durgati*); these are well known and it is not necessary to define them here. By contrast, the *akṣaṇa*, which the Chinese translation renders as 'difficult conditions' asks for some explanation. There are eight (occasionally nine) *akṣaṇa*: belonging to one of the bad destinies, i.e., damned (*naraka*), animal (*tiryagoni)* or preta; being a human, one is lacking an organ (*indriyavaikalya*), is plunged into wrong views (*mithyadarśana*), is living before or after the Buddha (*tathāgatānām anutpādaḥ*), or living in a border region (*pratyanatajanapada*); if one is a god, belonging to the class of the long-lived gods (*dīrghāyuṣo devaḥ*).

These eight *akṣaṇa* (in Pāli, *akkhaṇa*) are listed and defined in Digha, III, p. 263, 265, 287; Aṅguttara, IV, p. 225-227; Tchong a han, T 26 (no. 124), k. 29, p. 613; Tseng yi a han, Y 125, k. 36, p. 747; Mahāvyutpatti, np. 2299-2306; Dharmasaṃgraha, chap. 134. - Allusion is made to them in Mahāvastu, I, p. 416 (note), II, p. 338, 363; Lalitavistara, p. 412 (*aṣṭākhaṇavarjinā*); Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, p. 96, 163, 434, 451; Avadānaśataka, I, p. 291, 332.

formless realm], they cannot be reborn in the form realm (*rūpadhātu*) or the formless realms (*ārūpyadhātu*).

Question. - The five aggregates (*skandha*) [making up the individual] are transitory (*anitya*), empty (*śūnya*) and non-substantial (*anātmaka*); then how can one be reborn among the gods or men? Who is reborn?

Answer. - This point has already been fully discussed in the chapter on the bodhisattva. We shall limit ourselves here to a brief answer. You say that the five skandhas are transitory, empty and non-substantial, but according to the Prajñāpāramitā, the five skandhas are neither eternal nor transitory, neither empty nor non-empty, neither substantial nor non-substantial. Like the heretics (*tīrthika*), you are looking for a real ātman, but that is non-existent (*anupalabdha*); it is only a designation (*prajñaptipat*). It exists as a result of diverse causes and conditions (*nānāhetupratyayasāmagrī)*, but only nominally and conventionally (*nāmasaṃketa*). Thus when a magician (*māyākāra*) kills himself, the spectators see him dead, and when a trick resuscitates him, the spectators see him alive; but his life and his death have only nominal existence (*prajñaptisat)* and are not real (*dravyasat*). According to ordinary systems (*lokadharma*), saṃsāra really does exist; but according to the system of the true nature (*bhūtalakṣaṇadharma*) there is no saṃsāra, transmigration.

Furthermore, if there were a transmigrating being (*saṃsārin*), there would be transmigration, saṃsāra; without a saṃsārin, there is no saṃsāra. Why? Because the Asaṃsārin has destroyed birth by means of his great wisdom

Thus some stanzas say:

Although the Buddha dharmas are empty (*śūnya*)

They are not, however, reduced to nothingness (*ucchinna*).

[**118 a**] Existent, but non-eternal

Actions are not lost.

Dharmas are like the trunk of a banana tree (*kadalī*):

All are the result of mind.

If one knows the non-reality of the dharmas

This mind, in its turn, is empty.

The person who thinks about emptiness

Is not a practitioner of the Path.

Dharmas do not arise and they do not perish:

Being momentary (*kṣaṇika*), they lose their nature.

The person who thinks falls into Māra's net,

The person who does not think finds escape (*niḥsaraṇa*).

Mental discursiveness is not the Path,

Non-discursiveness is the seal of the Dharma (*dharmamudrā*).

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Sūtra: Then remembering their former existences (*pūrvajanmāny anusmṛtya*), these gods and men (*devamanuṣya*) experienced great joy (*prāmodya*). They went to the Buddha and, having bowed down to the Buddha's feet (*bhagavataḥ pādan śirobhir abhivandya*), they stood to one side.

Śāstra.- Question. - When the gods are reborn, they know three things: they know where they have come from (*kutaś cyutāḥ*), they know where they are born (*kutropapannāḥ*) and they know by virtue of what previous merit (*kena pūrvakṛtapuṇyena*).[722] But when men are reborn, they are unaware of these three things. [How can it be said here] that they rememeber their previous existences?

Answer. - *1*) It is not a fixed rule (*niyama*) for men (*manuṣyagati*): some remeber, some do not remember.[723]

2) Furthermore, it is thanks to the miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*) of the Buddha that [those in question here] remember their previous existences.

Question. - The gods, who possess the five superknowledges (*abhijñā*) and remember their previous lives, are able to go to the Buddha; but supposing that they received [the gift] of the miraculous power of the Buddha and remembered their previous lives, how could men go to the Buddha?

Answer. - Some of them, by birth (*janman*) or by retribution (*vipāka*), possess the superknowledges (*abhijñā*)724, as for example, the noble cakravartin kings; the others borrow the Buddha's miraculous power [in order to go to him].

Question. - Humans are carried in the womb for ten months, suckled for three years and fed for ten years; only after that can they support themselves. It is said, by the power (*anubhāva*) of the Buddha, beings in the three bad destinies (*durgati*) and the eight difficult conditions (*akṣana*), all obtain deliverance (*vimukti*),

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722 Cf. Avadānaśataka, I, p. 292: *dharmatā khalu devaputrasya vā devakany āy .... cyutaḥ kutropapannaḥ kena karmaṇeti*. - Kośavyākhyā, p. 413: *aciropapannasya devaputrayasya trīni cittāni .... kutropapannaḥ kena karmaṇā*.

723 It is not rare that Indian newspapers report the case of young children who remember their immediately preceding lifetime.

724 Notably the *ṛddhyabala* of moving rapidly from one place to another.

are reborn among gods or humans, and go to the Buddha. It may be so for the gods but it is impossible for humans; indeed, how could they walk [as soon as they are born]?

Answer. - In the five destinies (*gati*), living conditions differ:

1) Gods and hell beings (*naraka*) are all apparitional beings (*upapāduka*).

2) Pretas are of two kinds, born from a placenta (*jarāyuja*) or apparitional (*upapāduka*).

3) Men (*manuṣya*) and animals (*tiryagyoni*) are of four kinds: born from an egg (*aṇḍaja*), born from exudation (*saṃsvedaja*), apparitional (*upapāduka*) or born from a placenta (*jarāyuja*).725

a) Born from an egg, e.g., the thirty-two sons of *P'i chö k'ia mi k'ie lo mou* (Viśakhā Mṛgāramātā): Viśākhā, their mother, gave birth to thirty-two eggs which on breaking open, released thirty-two boys who all were strong men;726 the oldest of them was Mṛgāra. Viśākhā obtained the fruit of the threefold Path.

b) Born of exudation, for example, *Yen lo p'o li* (Āmrapālī), chief courtesan (*veśyāgra*) who gave birth to a cakravartin king, etc.727

c) Apparitional beings: thus, when the Buddha was traveling with the four assemblies, in the group of nuns there was a bhikṣuṇī named *A lo p'o* (Ārāmavāsā) who appeared miraculously on this earth.728 Moreover, the people born at the beginning of the cosmic peiod (*prāthamakalpika*) were all apparitional beings.

d) Born from a placenta: this is the usual birth for humans.

[**118 b**] People of apparitional birth (*upapāduka*, as an emanation), being full-grown at birth, are able to go to the Buddha. There are people who have obtained the abhijñās as reward (*vipāka*) and who are able to go to the Buddha [by themselves]; others also are able to go to the Buddha because the latter lends them his power of abhijñā.

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725 These are the four "wombs' or yoni which are listed in Dīgha, III, p. 230; Majjhima, I, p. 73; Tch'ang a han, T 1, k. 8, p. 50c; Milinda, p. 146; Visuddhimagga, p. 552, 557; Mahāvyutpatti, np.2279-2282. To illustrate these four types of birth, the Kāraṇaprajñapti in Tibetan (Lav., *Cosmologie*, p. 345-346), Vibhāṣā (T 1545, k. 120, p. 626c-627a) and Kośa (III, p. 28) have gathered a long series of examples. The Mppś mentions the cases of Viśākhā, Āmrapāli and Ārāmavāsā.

726 The thirty-two eggs of Viśākhā: Dulva, III, p. 126- 131 (Csoma-Feer, p. 173-174); Rockhill, *Life*, p. 71; Schiefner-Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 125.

727 Āmrapālī was born from the stem of a banana tree as is told at length in the Nai nin k'i yu yin yuan king, T 553 (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, III, p. 325-329); Schiefner-Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 85. - But Āmrapālī is the mother of Jīvaka, not of a cakravartin king.

728 As her name indicates, this nun 'dweller in a hermitage' was born in a hermitage, her head shaven and clothed in ochre robes

Sūtra: In the universes of the ten directions, universes as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, the earth shook similarly in six ways. The damned (*naraka*), the pretas, the animals (*tiryak*) and the other inhabitants of the eight difficult conditions (*akṣaṇa*) were at once liberated (*vimukta*) and reborn among the gods of the six classes.

Śāstra: Question. - Beings, infinite (*apramāṇa*) and innumberable (*asaṃkhyeya*), form a considerable number just in the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu; why does the Buddha also address himself to beings in the universes as numerous as the sands of the Ganges?

Answer. - The power of te Buddha (*buddhabala*) is immense (*apramāṇa*): it is a trifle for him to save the beings of the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu: this is why he addresses himself also [to the beings] of the ten directions.

Question. - If, by his great power, the Buddha Śākyamuni saves the ten directions as a whole, why are other Buddhas still needed [to save beings]?

Answer. - *1*) Because beings are infinite (*apramāṇa*) in number and do not all ripen (*paripakva*) at the same time.

2) Furthermore, causes and conditions (*hetupratyaya*) vary for each being. Thus it is said in the system of the śrāvakas: "In the *Chö li fou yin yuan* (Śāriputrāvadāna), disciples become separated from Śāriputra;729 if the Buddhas cannot save them, how could others do so?"

3) Furthermore, here it is a matter only of universes of the east equal in number to the sands of a single Ganges; we are not speaking of universes as numerous as the sands of two, three, four, up to a thousand prabhedakoṭi of Ganges.

4) Finally, universes (*lokadhātu*) are infinite (*ananta*) and unlimited (*apramāṇa*) in number. If they were finite and limited, the number of beings would be exhausted. This is why the Buddhas must save the innumerable universes of the ten directions.

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Sūtra: Then, amongst the beings of the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadāthu, those who were blind from birth were able to see (*jātyandhāḥ paśyanti sma*), the deaf began to hear (*badhirāḥ śṛṇavanti sma*), the mute began to speak (*mūkā bhāṣanti sma*), the insane became rational (*unmattāḥ smṛtiṃ pratilabhante sma*), the distracted recovered their attentiveness (*vikṣiptacittā ekāgracittā bhavanti sma*), those who were naked received clothing (*nagnaś cīvarāṇi pratilabhante sma*), those who were hungry and thirsty had their bowls

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729 This perhaps concerns the schism of Kauśambī in which Śāriputra had to intervene (cf. Vinaya, I, p. 354).

filled (*jighatsitāḥ pūrṇapātrā bhavanti sma*), the sick recovered their health (*rogaspṛṣṭā vigatarogā bhavanti sma*), the crippled regained their wholeness (*hīnendriyāḥ paripūrṇendriyā bhavanti sma*).730

Śāstra: Beings are subject to hundreds of thousands of sufferings (*duḥkha*); if the Buddha uses miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*), why does he not liberate them from all of these sufferings?

Answer. - All sufferings are suppressed, but here only the most serious (*sthūla*) ones are spoken of in brief. Similarly, in order to designate all the fetters (*saṃyojana*), they are spoken of, as a whole, as the three poisons (*triviṣa*).

I. Question. - It would suffice to say that 'the blind' obtained their sight; why specify 'those blind from birth'?

Answer. - Because in their previous existences, those born blind (*pūrvajanma*) were great sinners. If great sinners can thus recover their sight, what about minor sinners?

Question. - What grave sin (*sthūlāpatti*) have they committed in their previous lives in order to be blind from birth today?

Answer. - They have gouged out or torn out someone's eyes, or destroyed someone's correct view (*samyagdṛṣṭicakṣus*) by saying that sin (*āpatti*) and merit (*puṇya*) do not exist. After death, these people fall into hell (*niraya*), then, [being reborn] in the form of humans, their sins make them blind from birth. - Moreover, stealing lights or lamps (*pradīpa*) from a stūpa of the Buddha, arhat [**118c**] arhat or pratyekabuddha, ruining the lamps in other fields of merit (*puṇyakṣetra*) are also actions of previous lives (*pūrvajanmakarman*) that cause the loss of sight [in the course of a future lifetime].

But one may lose one's sight during the present lifetime (*ihajanma*) as a result of sickness (*vyādhi*) or because of being beaten (*prahāra)*: those are actual causes.

Only the Buddha is able to restore sight to the 96 eye-sicknesses that king *Chö na kia lo* (Jñānakara) could not cure; first he gives them back their sight, then he makes them find the wisdom eye (*prajñācakṣus*). It is the same for the deaf who recover their hearing.

II. Question. - If there are those who are blind from birth, why does the sūtra not speak of those who are deaf from birth?

Answer. - Because those who are blind from birth are more numerous than those who are deaf from birth.

Question. - What are the causes of deafness?

Answer. - *1*) Deafness has [the actions] of the previous life as cause. To reject or transgress the instructions of one's teacher (*ācārya*) or one's father (*pitṛ*) and to rebel against them is a sin (*āpatti*) which will result in deafness. To cut off or tear out someone's ear, to ruin a gong (*gaṇḍī*), a bell (*dhaṇtā*), a conch (*śaṅkha*) or a drum (*dundubhi*) of a stūpa of the Buddha of the saṃgha of good men or of any field of merit

730 Similar exposition in Pañcaviṃśati, p. 9-10; Śatasāhasrikā, p. 18-19; Lalitavistara, p.278-279; Suvarṇaprabhāsa, ed. Nobel, p. 8-9; Mahāvyutpatti, no. 6036-6309.

(*puṇyakṣetra*) are also sins (*āpatti*) which in turn lead to deafness. These various actions of a previous lifetime (*pūrvajanmakarman*) are the causes of deafness in a future lifetime.

2) In the present lifetime (*ihajanma*), one can lose one's hearing as a result of sickness (*vyādhi*), or being beaten (*prahāra*), and other similar things: those are the actual causes.

III. Question. - The mute (*mūka*) cannot speak. What sins (*āpatti)* have they committed in order to be mute?

Answer. - *1*) They have cut out someone's tongue or choked someone; they have made someone unable to speak by means of an evil herb; hearing the instructions of their teacher (*ācārya*) or the orders of their father, they have cut off their speech and not followed their advice; acting in bad ways, they did not believe in sin or merit and opposed correct speech (*samyagvāc*). Condemned to hell, when they are reborn in human form, they are mute, unable to speak. Those are the various causes that make someone mute.

IV. Question. - [The sūtra says] that the insane become rational (*unmattāḥ smṛtiṃ pratilabhante sma*); why is one insane?

Answer. - For having committed the following sins in the course of previous lifetimes: molesting someone deep in dhyāna, destroying the monastery of meditators (*dhyāyin*), deceiving people by means of spells (*mantra*) in order to inspire them to hatred, anger or sensual desires.

In the present lifetime (*ihajanma*) [insanity is caused by] the heaviness of the fetters (*saṃyojanagurutā*). Thus the brahmin, who had lost his rice field (read *tao t'ien*, sasyakṣetra, instead of *fou t'ien*) and whose wife had died, had a fit of madness and fled completely naked. - The bhikṣuṇī *Tch'e chö k'ie kiao t'an* (Kṛiśakā gautamī), while she was still a lay-person (*avadātavasanā*), lost her seven sons; the sadness made her lose her reason and she became insane.731 Extremely irritable people, unable to contain themselves, become completely insane. Mad people (*mūḍha*), by a sad mistake, cover their bodies with ashes (*bhasman*), tear out their hair (*keśa*), go about naked and eat dung (*purīśa*) in their madness.732 After a serious illness, a sickness of wind (*vāyuvyādhi)* or a sickness of fire (*tejovyādhi*), people become insane. Others are insane because they are possessed by evil demons or because they have stupidly drunk rain

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731 The story of 'Thin Gautamī', in Pāli, Kisāgotamī, is especially well-known in the Pāli sources: Therīgathā Comm., p. 174 seq (tr. Rh. D., *Sisters*, p. 106-108); Apadāna, II, p. 564-567; Dhammapadaṭṭha, II, p. 270-275; III, p. 432 (tr. Burlingame, *Legends*, II, p. 257-260: III, p. 165-166); Manoratha, I,p.378-381; Ralston-Schiefner, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 216-226. See J. H. Thiessen, *Die legende von Kisāgotamī*, Breslau, 1880. Kisāgotamī fled in dspair with her dead child in her arms. She came to the Buddha who promised to bring her child back to life if she brought him a mustard seed from a house where nobody had died. She sought in vain for such a house until she realized that 'the living are few and the dead are many' and that the Buddha had wanted to teach her the universality of death. Comforted, she entered the monastic order where she attained arhathood.

This nun is different from Kisāgotamī, a young girl of Kapilavastu, known also under the name of Mṛgī who praised the future Buddha when he returnd to his palace, addressing to him the famous stanza: *Nibuttā nūna sā mātā* ... "Blessed truly the mother; blessed truly the father, blessed truly the wife who has such a husband as that." Cf. Nidānakathā, p. 60; Mahāvastu, II, p. 157; Fo pen hing tsi king, T 190, k. 15, p. 724b; Tchong hiu mo ho ti king, T 191, k. 4, p. 944c; Ken pen chouo... p'o seng che, T 1450, k. 3, p. 114b.

732 An allusion to the religious practices of the Nirgranthas.

water.733 This is how one loses one's reason, and all these individuals are called insane. But when they succeed in seeing the Buddha, these madmen recover their reason.

V. Question. - [The sūtra adds that] distracted people regain their attentiveness [**119a**] (*vikṣipticittā ekāgracittā bhavanti sma*) but the insane (*unmatta*) are also distracted. Why is there this distinction?
Answer. - There are people who, without being insane, are often distracted. Attentiveness is like a monkey (*markata*);734 when it is not fixed, there is distraction. Agitated and speedy, mind becomes attached (*abhiniviśate*) to a crowd of objects; then one loses one's mental power (*cittabala*) and is unable to find the Path.

Question. - What are the causes of distraction?

Answer. - The attenuation of the functioning of good thoughts (*kuśalacitta pravṛtti*), the pursuit of evil (*akuśalānugama*): these are [the causes] of distraction.

Furthermore, people do not consider (*na samanupaśyanti*) the transitory nature (*anitya*) of things, or the signs of death (*maraṇanimitta*)735 or universal emptiness (*lokaśūnya*); they are attached to long life (*dīrghāyus*), think only of their own business and are scattered in many ways: this is why they are distracted.

Finally, they do not enjoy the inner joy (*ādhyātmika sukha*) coming from the Buddhadharma; they seek the occasions of pleasure outwardly and pursue the causes of pleasure; this is why they are distracted. But when these distracted people come to see the Buddha, their attentiveness is fixed.

VI. Question. - There are two kinds of madmen (*unmatta*), those who are recognized as such and those who, by a sad mistake, are naked without people considering them to be insane.

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[733] The Tsa p'i yu king, T 207 (no. 17), p. 526b, (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, II, p. 31) tells that in a foreign kingdom evil rains having fallen, all those who drank that water became mad after seven days.

[734] Canonical reference: Saṃyutta, II, p. 95 (Tsa a han, T 99, k. 12, p. 81c15): 'In the same way that a monkey (*makkata*) playing about in the forest, seizes one branch, then lets it go and seizes another (*sākhaṃ gaṇhati taṃ muñcitvā aññaṃ gaṃhati*), so what is called 'mind' or 'consciousness', appears and disappears in the perpetual alternation of day and night."

[735] See Kośa, III, p. 134-136.

It is said that in southern India (*dakṣiṇāpatha*) there was a Dharma teacher (*dharmācārya*) *Kao tso* 736

736 *Kao tso* may not be a proper name; these characters mean 'he who sits on a high seat' and probably translate the Sanskrit *uccāsane niṣaṇṇaḥ*, which occurs in the Pāli Pāṭimokkha, 69th *sekhiya* (Vinaya, IV, p. 204): *na nīce āsane nisīditvā ucce āsane nissinnassa agilānassa dhammaṃ desessāmi*: "I will not preach the Dharma while sitting on a seat lower than a man who is sitting on a higher chair, unless he is sick" and in the Sanskrit Sarvāstivādin Prātimokṣa, 92nd śaikṣa (L. Finot, *Le Prātimokṣasūtra des Sarvāstivādin*, Extracts of JA, Nov.-Dec., 1913, p. 75; Mahāvyutpatti, no. 8603; Che song pi k'ieou po lo y'i mou tch'a kiai pen, T 1436, p. 478a4: *na niccāsane niṣaṇṇā uccāsane niṣaṇṇasyāglānasya dharmaṃ deśaayiṣyāmaḥ*.

Therefore a *kao-tso* teacher is a teacher seated on a throne to teach.

We know that the famous translator Dharmarakṣa who came from a family of Scythian origin established at Touen Houang and who lived in the 3rd centruty, was the student of the Hindu *Kao tso* (Tchou Kao tso) whom he accompanied into the Western countries. Here again *kao tso* is an honorific title rather than a proper name.

We should note that the Kao tso presented to us here by the Mppś is a native of southern India, that he converted the king and ensured his protection in an original way - by his actions rather than by words - and that he finally triumphed over the heretics. These three points constitute the outline of Nāgārjuna's biography and, if indications were not so slight, I [Lamotte] could easily believe that *Kao tso* is none other than Nāgārjuna. Nāgārjuna was also a native of southern India (Andhra) and was a friend of king Śatavahana. Many sources, more or less dependent on one another, tell us how he was converted; it was indeed in the manner of Kao tso: "When Nāgārjuna came back from the nāgas, the king of southern India, full of wrong views, favored the tīrthikas and disputed the holy Dharma. In order to convert him, Nāgārjuna appeared before him with a red flag for seven consecutive years. The king was astonished and asked who was this man before him. Nāgārjuna replied: "I am omniscient (*sarvajñā*)." The king was startled at these words and said: "An omniscient one is very rare; how can you prove that?" Nāgārjuna answered: "If the king wishes to test my science, he must pay attention to my words..." The king then asked him what the devas were doing at that moment; Nāgārjuna told him that the devas were fighting against the asuras. At that moment the king heard a sound as if someone were being choked. Not belieiving that this sound was coming from the devas, he said that that was no proof... Then at once a mass of shields, spears and weapons fell from the sky. The king then said: "Although these are certainly weapons, how do you know [that they come] from the devas fighting with the asuras?"... Immediately, severed hands, feet, ears and noses of the asuras fell from the sky... The king bowed his head and was converted. Some brahmins who were on the palace terrace cut their hair and took on the precepts (*śīla*). From that time on Nāgārjuna spread Buddhism widely in southern India, vanquished the tīrthikas and developed the Mahāyāna."

This story is drawn from a biography of Nāgārjuna attributed, wrongly, without a doubt, to Kumārajīva: the Long chou p'ou sa rchouan, T 2047, p. 186a-b; it is repeated by later biographies (Fou fa tsang yin yuan tchouan, T 2058, k. 5, p. 318a-b; Fo tsou t'ong ki, T 2035, k. 5, p. 174c; Fo tsou li t'ong tsai, T 2036, k. 4, p. 503a-b) but its great antiquity is attested by a note of Kumārajīva inserted in the Tchou wei mo kie king, T 1775, k. 2, p.330, where the episode is summarized.

The same sources tell also about a brahmin who, in discussion with Nāgārjuna, produced a magic pool in the middle of which was a lotus with a thousand petals, and how Nāgārjuna astounded him by creating a white elephant with six tusks that upset the pool.

In the victory of *Kao tso* over the tīrthikas as it is told here in the Mppś, we see perfect agreement with the biographies of Nāgārjuna written in the same spirit and with the same concerns. It would be rather tempting to identify Kao tso with Nāgārjuna. If the latter is really the author of the Mppś, he was thus transmitting to us an anecdote in his own life

who preached the five precepts. In the crowd there were many heretics (*tīrthika*) who had come to listen, and the king of the country made some objections: "If as you say, those who provide liquor (*mṛdvīkā*) or who drink liquor were punished with madness, among our contemporaries mad people would be more numerous than rational people. Now actually, mad men are rare and those of healthy mind are numerous. How can that be?" At once the heretics applauded (*sādhukāram dadati*), saying: "This is a profound (*gambhīra*) objection. This *Kao tso* with the shaven head (*muṇḍa*) will not be able to answer it for the king's knowledge is sharp (*tīkṣnajñāna*)." Then the Dharma teacher, pointing his finger at the heretics, spoke about something else. The king understood but the heretics said to him: "The king's objection was profound; he has not answered. Ashamed of his ignorance, he just raises his finger and talks about something else." The king said to the heretics: "The Dharma teacher *Kao tso* has answered with his finger and that is all; he said nothing in order to spare you. By showing you his finger, he meant that you are the madmen and that madmen are not rare. You coat your bodies with ashes (*bhasman*) and you have no shame in going about naked; you fill human skulls (*kapāla*) with excrement (*purīṣa*) and you eat it; you tear out your hair (*keśa*); you sleep on thorns (*kaṇṭaka*); you hang yourselves upside-down and you asphyxiate yourselves; you go into the water in winter; you roast yourselves in the fire in summer. All these practices are not the Path (*mārga*), but signs of madness. According to your rules, selling meat (*māmṣavikraya*) or selling salt (*lavaṇavikraya*) are transgressions of the brahmin law; but in your temples, you accept oxen as gifts, you resell them and you claim to observe your law. But the ox is meat! Is it not wrong to deceive people thus? You claim that by going into the sacred rivers (*nadī*), all the stains of sins (*āpattimala*) are wiped out, but there is no reason [**119b**] why such a bath consitutes a sin or a merit. What wrong is there in selling meat or salt? You claim that a bath in holy rivers can wipe out sins, but if it wipes out sins, it would also wipe out merits; what is there that is holy in these rivers? These practices have no basis; attempting to justify them is madness. All these signs of madness are yours and it is to spare you that the Dharma teacher has shown you his finger and said nothing."

That is what is called the madness of nudity.

Moreover, some poor people (*daridra*) go about without clothes or their clothes are in tatters (read *lan liu*, 120 nd 21, 120 and 11). It is by the power of the Buddha that they acquire clothing.

VII. [The sūtra says] that the hungry will be satisfied and the thirsty quenched. Why are they hungry and thirsty?
Answer. - As a result of scarcity of merits (*puṇya*). In previous existences (*pūrvajanma*) there was no cause (*hetu*) and in the present existence (*ihajanma)* there is no condition (*pratyaya*) for hunger and thirst

Furthermore, people who, in their previous lifetimes, have stolen food from the Buddhas, the arhats, the pratyekabuddhas, their relatives or their families, will be hungry and thirsty because of the gravity of this fault even if they are living during the [golden] age of a Buddha.

Question. - The cause of it is retribution of actions (*karmavipāka*) which varies for each case. Some people fufill the causes and conditions required to see a Buddha but do not fulfill the causes and conditions

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designating himself not by his name *Long chou* or Nāgārjuna, but by his title: *Fa che kao tso* 'the Dharma teacher on the throne', in Sanskrit *uccāsana dharmācārya*. But this hypothesis is so risky that it hardly merits attention.

required to eat and drink. Others fulfill the causes and conditions required to eat and drink but do not fulfil the causes and conditions required to see a Buddha. It is like the black snake (*kālasarpa*) that sleeps while clasping the jewel at the top of its head (*cūḍāmaṇi*). There are arhats who beg for their food and get nothing.

Thus, at the time of the Buddha Kāśyapa, two brothers left home (*pravrajita*) in order to seek the Path (*mārga*).737 The first observed the precepts (*śīladhara*), recited the sūtras (*sūtrapāṭhaka*) and practiced dhyāna; the second solicited patrons (*dānapati*) and cultivated meritorious actions (*puṇyakarman*). When Buddha Śākyamuni appeared in the world, the first was born into a merchant's (*śreṣṭhin*) household and the second became a great white elephant (*pāṇḍaragaja*) whose strength conquered the enemies. The merchant's son left home (*pravrajita*) to practice the Path. He became an arhat endowed with the six *abhijñās* but, as a result of his restricted merits, he obtained his food with difficulty when he begged. One day he entered into a city, bowl in hand, to beg his food, but he could not obtain anything. Coming to the stable of the white elephant, he saw that the king furnished the latter with everything in abundance.738

He said to the elephant: "You and I together have committed sins (*doṣa, kilbiṣa*)." The elephant was at once remorseful and spent three days without eating. Worried, its keepers set out to look for the monk and, having found him, asked: "What spell (*mantra*) have you placed on the king's white elephant that it is sick and does not eat?" He answered: "In a previous lifetime, this elephant was my younger brother; under the Buddha Kaśyapa we left home (*pravrajita*) together to practice the Path. I was satisfied to keep the precepts, recite sūtras and practice dhyāna, but I did not practice generosity (*dāna*); on the other hand, my brother limited himself to soliciting patrons (*dānapati*) and making gifts; he did not observe the precepts and did not educate himself. Having thus renounced observing the precepts, reciting sūtras and practicing dhyāna, today he is this elephant; but because he was very generous, food (*dhāra*) and amenities **[119c]** (*pariṣkāra*) come to him in abundance. As for myself, I was content to practice the Path but I was not generous in making gifts; thus today, even though I have attained [the fruit] of arhathood, I am unsuccessful in getting any food when I beg."739

This explains why causes and conditions (*hetupratyaya*) vary [for each individual] and why, although being born in [the golden] age of a Buddha, one may still be hungry and thirsty.

Question. - How did these beings see their bowls filled (*pūrṇapātrā bhavanti sma*)?

Answer. - Some say that the Buddha, by his miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*), created (*nirmitīte*) food that satisfied them. According to others, the Buddha's rays, on touching their bodies, suppressed their hunger and thirst. This is like the wish-fulfilling jewel (*cintāmaṇi)*: those who think of it have neither hunger nor thirst. What then could be said of those who meet the Buddha?

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737 The story of the two brothers here is taken from Tsa p'i yu king, T 207 (no. 3), p. 523a (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, II, p. 4-6).

738 According to Tsa p'i yu king, the king maintained this elephant in luxury and had assigned the revenue of a city of many hundreds of households to the elephant's maintenance.

739 In Tsa p'i yu king, it was to the king that the monk made this explanation; the king's understanding was awakened and he released the monk.

VIII. [The sūtra says that] the sick are cured (*rogaspṛṣṭā vigatarogā bhavanto sma*). There are two kinds of sickness (r*oga, vyādhi*):740

1) All kinds of illnesses are contracted as punishment (*vipāka*) of actions carried out in previous lifetimes (*pūrvajanmakarman*).

2) In the present lifetime, all kinds of illnesses are also contracted following sudden cold (*śīta*), heat (*uṣṇa*) or wind (*vāyu*). In the present lifetime, sicknesses are of two types: *i*) internal sicknesses (*ādhyātmikaroga*): disturbances of the five internal organs, coagulation, sickness due to the stars, etc.; *ii*) external sicknesses (*bāhyaroga*): being crushed by a chariot, falling from a horse, being injured by weapons and other accidents of this kind.

Question. - What are the causes of sickness?

Answer. - For having devoted oneself in past lifetimes to all kinds of violence, e.g., beatings, pillage, imprisonment, etc., sicknesses are contracted in the course of the present lifetime. In the present lifetime, again all kinds of sickness are contracted due to lack of hygiene, wrong nourishment, irregularity of sleeping and rising. There are 404 different illnesses. These illnesses are cured by the Buddha's miraculous powers (*ṛddhibala*). What is said is as follows:741

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740 See Hobogirin, *Byô*, p. 155.

741 In the Pāli text (Vinaya, I, p. 301-302) there is the story of the sick and abandoned monk whom the Buddha washed with his own hands:

Tena kho pano samayena aññatarassa bhikkhuno kucchivikārābādho hoti .... Ānando pādato uccāretvā mañcake nipātesuṃ.

The same story occurs in many texts: Tseng yi a han T 125, k. 30, p. 766b-767b; Cheng king, T 154 (no. 26), k. 3, p. 89b-90a; P'ou sa pen cheng man louen, T 160 (no, 11), k. 4, p. 342b-c; Fa kiu p'i yu king, T 211, k. 2, p. 591b-c; Wou fen liu, T 1421, k. 20, p. 139c; Mo ho seng k'i liu, T 1425, k. 28, p. 455a-457b; Sseu fen liu, T 1428, k. 41, p. 861b-c; Che song liu, T 1435, k. 28, p. 205a-b; Hiuan tsang, *Si yu ki*, T 1087, K. 6, p. 899b (tr. Beal, II, p. 5; Watters, *Travels*, I, p. 387).

There are some differences among these stories:

a. The scene takes place at Śrāvastī in most of the sources , but in Rāgagṛha in T 125 and T 160 and in the kingdom of *Hien t'i* (154 and 8; 64 and 9) in T 211. Hiuan Tsang may have visited the stūpa commemorating this cure, either NE of Śrāvastī (according to the Si yu ki, l.c.) or NE of Rājagṛha (according to the Che che yao lan, T 2127, k. 2, p. 306a).

b. In T 125, the sick man calls to the Buddha for help and the Buddha hears his cry by means of his divine ear.

c. The Buddha cures the sick man, sometimes without the aid of anyone else (T 211, T 1421, T 1428, T 1435, T 2087), sometimes with the help of Ānanda (Pāli Vinaya; T 1425) or Śakra (T 160 and Mppś) or Vaiśramaṇa and Śakra (T125).

d. In three sources (T 154, T 211 and Mppś), the sickness and the abandonment of the monk is presented as the punishment for his evil conduct in past lifetimes.

e. All the Vinayas (Pāli Vinaya, T 1421, T 1425, T 1428, T 1435) add that the Buddha profited from the occasion by encouraging his monks to care for one another when they are sick; cf. Vinaya, I, p. 302: *N'atthi te bhikkhave mātā n'atthi pitā .... so gilānaṃ upaṭṭhaheyya*.

"No longer, O monks, do you have a mother or father to care for you. If you do not care for one another, who will care for you? Whoever wishes to care for me must take care of sick people."

The Buddha was in the country of *Chö p'o t'i* (Śrāvastī). A vaiśya invited him and the saṃgha to take a meal at his house. There are five reasons (*hetupratyaya*) why the Buddha, staying in a vihāra, would go for a meal: *1*) He wishes to enter into samādhi; *2*) He wishes to preach the Dharma to the devas; *3*) He wishes to visit the monks' cells in the course of his walk; *4*) He wishes to care for the sick monks (*glānopasthāna*); *5*) He wants the monks who have not yet taken the precepts to take the precepta (*śīlasādāna*). Then raising up the door-latch with his hand, the Buddha entered the bhikṣus' cells; he saw a bhikṣu who was sick and had no care-giver (*glānopasthāyika*): unable to rise up from his bed, he carried out all his needs in his bed. The Buddha asked him: "Why, O unfortunate man, are you alone and without a care-giver?" The bhikṣu answered: " Bhagavat, I am lazy by nature (*svabhāvākāraka*) and, when the others were sick, I did not care for them; thus, now that I am sick, the others are not caring for me." The Buddha said to him: "My child, it is I who am going to take care of you." Then *Che t'i p'o na min* (Śakro devānām indraḥ) brought water (*udaka*) and the Buddha, with his own hands, washed the sick man's body. When the washing was finished. all the sick man's sufferings had disappeared, his body and his mind were at peace (*yogakṣema*). Then the Bhagavat helped the sick bhikṣu rise and go out of his cell, gave him clean garments, then he made him go back in, refresh his mattress (*mañcaka*) and sit down.Then he said to the sick bhikṣu: "For a long time you have sought [**120 a**] indolently to attain that which you have not yet attained, to understand that which you have not yet understood. This is why you have had to undergo these sufferings and you will still have more to suffer." Hearing these words, the bhikṣu said to himself: "The Buddha's loving-kindness is immense (*apramāṇa*), his miraculous power incalculable (*asaṃkhyeya*). When he washed me with his hand, my sorrows immediately disappeared; my body and my mind rejoiced."

This is how the sick are healed by the miraculous power of the Buddha.

IX. [The sūtra says that] the crippled recover their wholeness (*hīnendritāḥ paripūrṇendriyā bhavanti sma*). Why are they crippled?
1) In the course of their previous existences (*pūrvajanma*), these people had mutilated bodies (*kāya*), cut off heads (*śiras*), hands and feet (*pāṇipāda*) and broken limbs (*kāyabhāga*). Or they had broken a statue of the Buddha (*buddhapratimā*) and torn off its nose (*ghrāna*); they had damaged a picture of a saint or broken the grindstone of their parents. For these sins they are often crippled (*aparipūrṇakāya*) when they take on a body. Furthermore, as punishment for their bad dharmas (*akuśaladharmavipāka*), they are ugly (*virūpa*) from birth.

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f. The Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, which does not seem to have this story, nevertheless recommends that the image of the Buddha himself taking care of a sick person (T 1451, k. 17, p. 283b) be painted in the monastery infirmaries. The Mppś once more shows its nature of being a compilation. It borrows its story from the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya, (Che song liu, T 1435, k. 28, p. 205a-b). At the start, it repeats it almost word-for-word until it incorporates a digression into the story where it is a matter of the five reasons why the Buddha, staying in a vihāra, accepts an invitation from outside. Towards the end, it departs from its main source to mention the intervention of Śakra in the care given to the sick man (detail borrowed perhaps from Pen cheng man louen, T 160, or from Tseng yi a han, T 125) and to note that the sickness and the abandonment of the monk were punishments for his past actions (detail borrowed from the Cheng king, Y 154, or from the Fa kiu p'i yu king, T 211).

2) In the present existence (*ihajanma*), they are victims of robbers (*caura*) or butchers (*ghātaka*) and they are crippled because of all this. Or the sicknesses (*vyādhi*) of wind (*vāyu*), cold (*śīta*) or heat (*uṣṇa*) causes them physical discomfort and parts of their bodies become infected; this is why they are crippled. But thanks to the Buddha's loving-kindness they recover their wholeness.

Thus, for example, the servant of the Jetavana (*jetavanārāmika*) called *Kien ti* (Gaṇḍaka)742 [Gaṇḍaka in the Ts'in language means 'cut up']. He was the brother of king *Po sseu ni* (Prasenajit); he was handsome (*abhirūpa*), kind (*bhadra*) and endowed with an excellent heart (*kalyāṇāśaya*). A high court lady fell in love wih him, called him secretly and asked him to follow her, but Gaṇḍaka refused. The lady became very angry and slandered him to the king, placing the blame on him.743 On hearing this, the king had him cut into pieces (*gaṇḍagaṇḍam*) and thrown into a cemetery (*śmaśana*). As he was not yet dead, a rākṣas tiger-wolf came during the night to feed him.744 Then the Buddha came to him and shone his rays on him; his limbs reunited at once and his heart felt great joy.745 The Buddha preached the Dharma to him and he attained the threefold Path (*mārgatraya*). Taking him by the hand, the Buddha led him to the Jetavana. Then Gaṇḍaka said: "My body was broken and abandoned; the Buddha has rejoined my limbs; I must dedicate my life to him. I give my body to the Buddha and to the saṃgha of bhikṣhus." The next day, on hearing of this event, king Prasenajit went to the Jetavana and said to Gaṇḍaka: "I am sorry for the mistake [I have committed] against you; indeed, you are not guilty, I have wrongly punished you; therefore I am

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742 *Kien ti* may well conceal an original Sanskrit *Khaṇḍin* which also means 'cut up', but Gaṇḍaka is attested by the Divyāvadāna, p. 155: He was originally called Kāla, but 'as his body had been cut into pieces, his name was changed to Gaṇḍaka.' Indeed, *Kien ti* can easily conceal an original Gaṇḍa, because *Kien* (93 and 9) can as well translate *gan* as *k(h)an*, and *ti* (64 and 5) probably translates a final *di[ka]*: Gaṇḍika.

His story, told here, also occurs with some divergences in detail in the Divyāvadāna, p. 153-155 (tr. Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 154-156) and the Mūlasarvmastivādin Vinaya, Ken pen chouo ... tsa che T 1451, k. 26,p. 330b-c.

The same Gaṇḍaka, called Gaṇḍa in the Pāli sources, appears also in another story. The gardener of king Prasenajit, he went one day to the palace to offer the king a ripe mango (*ambapakka*). But meeting the Buddha on the way who was on his begging round, he offered it to him instead. The Buddha ate it at once and gave the seed (*aṭṭhi*) to Ānanda to plant in the garden at the gate of the city. A tree grew out of it immediately to the height of one hundred cubits, laden with flowers and fruits. Cf. Jātaka, IV, p. 264-265; Dhammapadaṭṭha, III, p. 206-208 (tr. Burlingame, *Legends*, III, p. 41). It was at the foot of this mango tree, called Gaṇḍamba, that the Buddha accomplished the great miracle of Śrāvastī (cf. Nidānakathā, p. 88, Milinda, p. 349).

743 In the Divyāvadāna and the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (l.c.), the palace lady threw a garland of flowers (*sragdāma*) from the high terrace that fell onto Gaṇḍaka; the evil-meaning people went to tell the king that Gaṇḍaka had seduced one of his ladies.

744 There is no mention of a tiger-wolf in the other sources.

745 Here Gaṇḍaka is healed by the Buddha's light and this confirms the thesis to be established, that on contact with the Buddha's rays, the crippled recover their wholeness. But in the Dīvya and the Mūlasarvāstvādin Vinaya (l.c.) the Buddha does not intervene directly in Gaṇḍaka's healing. He sends Ānanda to restore the young man's hands and feet by pronouncing the phrase "Among all beings ... the Tathāgata is foremost; among all dharmas .... detachment (*virāga*) is foremost; among all assemblies ... the assembly of the Hearers of the Tathāgata is foremost." Hardly had these words been pronounced than the body of the young man resumed its former condition and he attained the state of anāgamin.

going to give you half of my kingdom as compensation." Gaṇḍaka answered: "I am satisfied, O king, you are not guilty either: it must be that way as punishment (*vipāka*) for faults [that I have committed] during my previous existences (*pūrvanivāsa*). But today I have given my body to the Buddha and the saṃgha; I will not return with you."746

This is how the crippled who have lost their wholeness recover it when they receive the Buddha's rays. This is why [the sūtra] says that the crippled recover their wholeness (*hīnendriyāḥ paripūrṇendriyā bhavanti*). They are reestablished as soon as they receive the Buddha's rays.

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[**120 b**] *Sūtra*: All beings obtained the mind of equanimity (*sarvasattvāḥ samacittā bhavanti sma*) by thinking of one another [with the feelings one would feel] for one's mother (*mātṛ*), one's father (*pitṛ*), one's older brother (*bhrātṛ*), one's younger brother (*kanīyabhrātṛ)*, one's older sister (*bhaginī*), one's younger sister (*kamīyabhaginī*), one's relatives (*jñāti*), or one's spiritual friend (*kalyānamitra*). They practiced the ten wholesome ways of acting (*daśakuśalakarmapathasevinaś ca bhavanti sma*). Pure, remaining celibate, they were without faults (*śucayo brahmacāriṇo nirāmayāḥ*) and were full of bliss like that experienced by a bhikṣu in the third dhyāna (*sarvasukhasamarpitā idṛśaṃ sukhaṃ pratilabhante sma tadyathāpi nāma tṛtyadhyānasamāpannasya bhikṣuḥ*). They approved of wisdom (*prajñā*), keeping the precepts (*śīla*), mastery of the self (*dama*) and non-violence towards beings (*prāṇibhūteṣu avihiṃsā*).747

Śāstra: Question.- These beings had not renounced desire (*avītarāga*), were not concentrated (*asamāhita*) and did not possess the four limitless ones (*apramāṇacitta*);748 how could they attain an evenness of mind (*samacittatā*)?

I. Answer. - This evenness (*samatā*) is not that of concentration; it is absence of hostility (*avaira*) and malice (*avyāpāda*) towards all beings. Thanks to this evenness, they consider one another with good feelings. Concerning this mind of evenness (*samacitta*), it is said in a sūtra: "What is *samācitta*? It is to consider one another with the feelings one would feel for one's father or mother."

Question. - Do they consider all beings indiscriminately as their father, mother, elder brother, younger brother, older sister or younger sister?

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746 The Dīvyāvadāna adds that he will retire into the Buddha's hermitage and that he will be the Buddha's servant (*upasthāyaka*).

747 The last phrase translates only imperfectly the original Sanskrit of the Pañcaviṃśati, p. 10 and the Śatasāhasrikā, p. 19: *tasminn eva ca samaye evaṃrūpayā .... sādhu prāṇibhūtṣv avihiṃseti*: "At that very moment, they were filled with such wisdom that they cried: "Long live mastery of the self! Long live the discipline! Long live the practice of the religious life! Long live non-violence towards animate beings!"

748Namely, loving-kindness (*maitrī*), compassion (*karuṇā*), joy (*muditā*) and equanimity (*upekṣā*).

Answer. - No. They consider old people as their father and mother, large people as their elder brother, small people as their younger brother; similarly for elder or younger sister. By the power of *samācitta*, everybody is considered as a relative (*jñāti*).

Question. - Why call father and mother somebody who is neither father nor mother, etc.? Why call somebody who is not a relative a relative? Is that not a falsehood (*mṛṣāvāda*)?

Answer. - In the course of innumerable generations, all beings have been one's father, mother, elder brother, younger brother, elder sister, younger sister and relative. Furthermore, according to the true nature (*satyalakṣaṇa*) of dharmas, there is no father or mother, no elder or younger brother; but people who are submerged in the error of self (*ātmaviparyāsābhiniviṣṭa*) believe in their existence and thus there is the question of father and mother, elder and younger brother. Therefore it is not a lie when, by virtue of a wholesome mind (*kuśalacitta*), we consider one another [with the feelings we would feel] for a father or mother. Finally, there are people who, out of interest, treat as a father someone who is not their father and as a mother someone who is not their mother. It is the same for elder brother, younger brother and children. There are people who send away their son when he is badly behaved and other families take him in and treat him as their own son.

A stanza says:

Consider another person's wife (*parakalatra*) as a mother,

Consider the welfare of another (*paradhana*) like fire,

Consider all beings as your relatives,

This is what is called the vision of evenness.

II. [The sūtra says that] all beings practice the ten good paths of action (*daśakuśaladharmapathasevino bhavanti sma*).

1) The paths of bodily action (*kāyakarmapatha*) are three in number: abstaining (*virati*) from murder (*prāṇātipāta*), theft (*adattādāna*), and wrongful sexual relations (*kāmamithyācāra*).

2) The paths of vocal action (*vākkarmapatha*) are four in number: abstaining from falsehood (*mṛṣāvāda*), slander (*paiṣunyavāda*), harmful speech (*pāruṣyavāda*) and thoughtless speech (*saṃbhinnapralāpa*).

3) The paths of mental action (*manaskarmapatha*) are three in number: abstaining from envy (*abhidhyā*), spitefulness (*vyāpāda*) and wrong views (*mithyādṛṣṭi*).749

Every path of action, from abstention from murder to abstention from wrong views, involves four subdivisions: not to kill beings oneself, not to order others to kill, praising (*praśaṃsā*) those who do not kill, rejoicing (*anumodanā*) when one does not kill.

[**120 c**] Question. - The last three paths of action, [abstaining from envy, spitefulness and wrong views] are not actions, whereas the first seven are actions. Then why speak of 'ten paths of action'?

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749 These ten *karmapatha* are listed in the same way in Aṅguttara, V, p. 261, 266-267; Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 1052), k. 37, p. 274c; Mahāvyutpatti, no. 1685-1698; Kośha, IV, p. 168. See Rhys Davids-Stede, s.v. *kammapatha*.

Answer. - Because they are often resorted to, they are rightly called 'paths of action'. Although the last three may not be actions, they can give rise to actions; this is why they are called paths of action as a whole (*samāsataḥ*).

III. [The sūtra continues]: "Pure, observing chastity, they are without fault" (*śucayo brahmcāriṇo nirāmayāḥ*).

Question. - We have just said that these beings practiced the ten wholsome paths of action and the argument is satisfactory. Why add that they are pure and practice chastity?

Answer. - There are beings who practice the ten wholsome paths of action and who have not cut through their sensual desire. Here we are also praising those who observe the conduct of king Brahmā (*brahmacarya*, in the sense of chastity). Because they have cut through lust, [the sūtra] says that they are 'pure, chaste and without fault'. People who practice impurity have an ugly malodorous body. This is why we praise those who have cut through their sensual desire by saying that they are without fault (*nirāmaya*).

IV. [The sūtra says] that they were full of bliss (*sarvasukhasamarpita*).

Question. - What is bliss (*sukha*)?

Answer. - This bliss is of two types, internal bliss (*ādhyātimkasukha*) and the bliss of nirvāṇa (*nirvāṇasukha*). This bliss is not the result of the five coarse objects (*rajas*-). This mental bliss (*cittasukha*) is like water from a spring that gushes forth spontaneously from the rocks and does not come from the outside. By practicing the mind of evenness (*samacitta*), by observing chastity (*brahmacarya*), by practicing the ten wholesome paths of action (*daśakuśalakarmapatha*), one is pure (*śuci)* and faultless: this is what is called internal bliss.

Question. - To what realm (*dhātu*) does this bliss belong? Does it belong to the desire realm (*kāmadhātu*), the form realm (*rūpadhātu*) or the formless realm (*ārūpyadhātu*)?

Answer. - This bliss both belongs to and does not belong to the desire realm (*kāmadhātu*); it does not belong to the form realm or the formless realm. The sūtra says that it is 'like that experienced by a bhikṣu entered into the third dhyāna' (*tadyathāpi nāma tṛtyadhyānasamāpannasya bhikṣoḥ*). If this bliss belonged to the form realm (*rūpadhātu*), the sūtra would not have used this comparison (*upamāna*); that is why we know that it does not belong to the form realm. It is a matter here of a mind of the desire realm (*kāmadhātucitta*) that produces a joy filling the entire body; it is like a warm joy that floods the body, makes it flexible (*snigdha*), soft and happy (*sukha*). Those who are without bonds (*anavacara*) discover the nature (*lakṣaṇa*) of Prajñāpāramitā; they see that all dharmas are unborn (*anutpanna*) and unceasing (*aniruddha*); they acquire real wisdom (*prajñā*) and their mind is without attachment (*asaṅga*). The bliss of the signless (*ānimittasukha*) is the absence of bonds.

Question. - The Buddha has said that nirvāṇa is the supreme bliss (*nirvāṇaṃ paramaṃ sukham*);750 why do you speak here about the bliss of the third dhyāna (*tṛtīyadhānasukha*)?

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750 For example, in the well-known stanza of the Māgandiyasutta (Majjhima, I, p. 508; Tchong a han, T 26, k. 38, p. 672b):

Answer.751 - There are two types of bliss, the bliss that involves feeling (*saveditasukha*) and the bliss that involves the abandonment of feeling (*veditanirodhasukha*). In the latter, the five aggregates (*pañcaskandha)* are completely eliminated and there is no further rebirth; this is the bliss of nirvāṇa-without-residue (*nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇasukha*). But the bliss of the mind (*cittānanda*) that suppresses displeasure (*arati*) and the afflictions (*kleśa*) is called pleasant feeling (*sukhavedana*) and the fullness of the pleasant feeling (*sukhavedanāparipūri*) occurs in the third dhyāna. This is why [the bliss which these people experience] is compared to that of the third dhyāna.

Question. - The first and second dhyānas involve a pleasant feeling as well: why does the sūtra speak only of the third dhyāna?

Answer. - Bliss is lesser (*avara*), medium (*madhya*) and greater (*agra*). The lesser bliss is that of the first dhyāna, the medium bliss is that of the second dhyāna, the greater bliss is that of the third dyāna.

In the first dhyāna it is twofold: the faculty of pleasure (*sukhendriya*) and the faculty of satisfaction (*saumanasayendriya*), namely, the faculty of pleasure associated with the [first] five consciousnesses (*pañcavijñānasaṃprayuktaka sukhendriya*) and the faculty of satisfaction associated with the mental consciousness (*manovijñānasaṃprayukataka saumansasyendriya*).

[**121 a**] In the second dhyāna, there is the faculty of satisfaction associated with the mental consciousness (*manovijñānasaṃprayuktaka saumasyendriya*).

In the third dhyāna there is the pleasure associated with the mental consciousness (*manovijñānasaṃprayuktaka sukhendriya*).

In all the threefold world (*traidhātuka*), with the exception of the third dhyāna, this faculty of pleasure associated with the mental consciousness is absent. The [first] five consciousnesses (*pañcavijñāna*) are unable to conceive (*vikalpanā*) things; they do not know their names (*nāma*) or their symbols (*saṃketa*) or their marks (*nimitta*). At the moment it is produced, the visual consciousness (*cakṣurvijñāna*) is like a first indication; but it is the mental consciousness arising later [that knows the thing]. This is why the faculty of pleasure associated with the first five consciousnesses (*pañcavijñānasaṃprayuktaka sukhendriya*) is unable to perfect (*paripṛ*) happiness; it is the faculty of pleasure associated with the mental consciousness (*manovijñānasaṃprayuktaka sukhendriya*) that perfects bliss. Consequently if, in the third dhyāna, the qualities (*guṇa*) are few in number, bliss (*sukha*) abounds. It is not vimokṣa, abhibhvāyatana or kṛtsnāyatana which surpasses this third dhyāna, for they themselves lack this bliss. This is why the sūtra compares the [bliss of these beings] to that experienced by a bhikṣhu in the third dhyāna.

V. [The sūtra says]: "They approve of wisdom (*prajñā*), keeping the precepts (*śīla*), mastery of the self (*dama*) and non-violence toward others (*prāṇibhūteṣv avihiṃsā*)."

Question. - Having spoken of the bliss [which they experience], why does the sūtra say that they approve of wisdom?

Ārogyaparamā lābhā nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ /

aṭṭhaṅgiko ca maggānaṃ khemaṃ amatagāminaṃ //

751 For this entire explanation, see Kośa, VIII, p. 150 seq., where there are some refereces.

Answer. - Those who have not found bliss (*sukha*) can still acquire qualities (*guṇa*); but when they have found it, attachment to bliss (*saṅgasukha*) dominates and they no longer acquire qualities. This is why, immediately after this bliss, they set their minds to the approval of wisdom Those who approve wisdom keep the precepts, master themselves and do no harm to others.

Question. - Keeping the precepts is 'mastering oneself' and 'not harming others'; why add this useless comment?

Answer. - Purity of body and sppech (*kāyavākkauśalya*) constitutes 'keeping the precepts'; setting one's mind on the wholesome is 'mastering oneself' and also 'not harming others'. All these qualities are included in the section on morality (*śīlaskandha*), the section on concentration (*samādhiskandha*) and the section on wisdom (*prajñāskandha*).752 Keeping the precepts constitutes the *śīlaskandha*; mastering oneself constitutes the *samādhiskandha*; not harming others - loving-kindness (*maitrī*) in the course of dhyāna and other qualities (*guṇa*) - constitutes the *prajñāskanda*.

Question. - Nobody boasts about hating the precepts. Why does the sūtra say that the beings [whom it praises here] approve the observing of the precepts?

Answer. - There are some brahmins attached to worldly things (*lokadharmāsakta*) who say: "Leaving home, observing the precepts, those are the deeds of a casteless person. Dedicating one's life to acquiring wealth (*dhana*) and accumulating qualities (*guṇa*), that is what is good. How can a mendicant (*pravrajita*) who begs for his food and makes no personal effort acquire qualities?" This is how they criticize those who keep the precepts.

There are also people attached to political institutions who criticize the partisans of self-mastery (*dama*). They say: "People should govern the world by law. Rewarding good and punishing evil is an inviolable principle. There is great profit in never forgetting to pay respect to one's parents, establishing laws and helping one's neighbor. Why should one be limited to improving oneself, mastering oneself, without doing anything about putting the disordered world into order, or helping those in need?" This is how they criticize the partisans of self-mastery.

Finally, there are people who criticize the partisans of non-violence towards beings (*prāṇibhūteṣv avihiṃsā*) by saying: "They do not punish the wicked, they [**121b**] do not arrest thieves or chastise rogues; they show no severity towards the guilty; they are unable to repel an offense or put aside difficulties. What is the use of preserving profitless silence?" This is how they criticize the partisans of non-violence toward beings. They also say:

> Why does a man without energy
>
> Come into the world?
>
> He does not avoid his own difficulties.
>
> He is like a wooden statue fixed in the ground.

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752 These three skandhas, *śīla*, *samādhi* and *prajñā* are the three elements constituting the Path. See for example Aṅguttara, I, p. 291.

With evil words like these, they criticize non-violence toward beings.

But the gods and men [with whom the sūtra is concerned] all approve of wisdom, observation of the precepts, mastery of oneself and non-violence toward beings. Practicing these good dharmas, [they enjoy] peace of body and mind (*kāyacittayogakṣema*) and the fearlessnesses (*vaiśāradya*); they are without worry and without anger; they have a good reputation; they are beloved by people; they are going towards entry into nirvāṇa. When their life reaches its end and they think about their merits, they feel neither sorrow nor remorse. If they do not attain nirvāṇa, they are reborn in the Buddha universes or in the heavens (*svarga*). This is why the sūtra say that they approve wisdom, keeping the precepts, self-mastery and non-violence toward beings.

ACT VI

Sūtra: Then the Bhagavat, seated on the lion-seat, mastered the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu by his brilliance, his color, his beauty and his splendor, and extended [his domination] as far as universes of the ten directions as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, in the same way that Sumeru, king of the mountains, surpasses all the mountains by its brilliance, its color, its beauty and its splendor (*Atha khalu Bhagavāṃs tasminn eva siṃhāsane niṣaṇṇaḥ imaṃ trisāhasramahāsāhasraṃ lokadhātum abhibhūya tiṣṭhati ... ābhayā varṇena śriyā tejasā ca, yāvad daśadikṣu gaṅgānadīvālukopamān lokadhātūn abhibhūya tiṣṭhati. tadyathāpi nāma Sumeruḥ parvatarājaḥ sarvaparvatān abhibhūya tiṣṭhati ... ābhāyā varṇenaśriyā tejasā ca*).

Śāstra: Question.- By means of what power (*bala*) does he thus dominate all beings with his brilliance, beauty and splendor? The cakravrtin kings, the devas and the āryas also have power, brilliance and beauty; why speak only of the Buddha's superiority here?

Answer. - Although these āryas have brilliance and beauty, theirs are limited like the stars that are dimmed and disappear at sunrise (*sūryodaya*). For numberless [**k. 9, 121c**] asaṃkhyeyakalpas the Buddha has accumulated great qualities and all the accumulations (*saṃbhāra*); and because his merits (*hetupratyaya*) are great, his retribution (*vipākaphala*) also is great. This is not the case for other men.

Moreover, from age to age the Buddha has practiced the austerities (*duṣkaracaryā*) beyond measure or limit; unceasingly he has sacrificed his head, his eyes, his marrow and *a fortiori*, his kingdom, his wealth, his wife and his children. Having, from age to age, cultivated all types of morality (*śīla*), patience (*kṣānti*), energy (*vīrya*), dhyāna, and acquired incomparable (*anupama*), pure (*viśuddha*), unchangeable (*avikāta*) and inexhaustible (*akṣaya*) wisdom (*prajñā*), his accumulations (*saṃbhāra*) were complete. By the power of retribution, he has obtained [as result] an incalculable powerful superiority. This is why we have said that when the merits are large, the reward also is large.

Question. - If the miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*) of the Buddha is immense, if his beauty and grandeur are ineffable (*avāchaya*), why would he have to undergo the retribution of the nine sins (*navāppativipāka*)?753

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753 First, here is a series of references to these nine torments of the Buddha of which the majority were illnesses:

1) *Sundarī's slander*. - At the instigation of the heretics, Sundarī went to the Jetavana in the evening, announcing to those who questioned her that she was going to spend the night in the Buddha's cell. Actually, she went to stay in the parivrājakas' monastery, but the next day she made it appear as if she was coming back from the Jetavana. After a few days, the heretics had her killed and hid her body under a heap of rubbish near the Jetavana; then they announced her disappearance to king Prasenajit. A search was carried out and the corpse of Sundarī was found near the *Gandhakuṭi* cell of the Buddha. The heretics placed her body on a litter and carried it about in the city of Śrāvastī, crying: "See the work of the Śākya monks!" The bhikṣus were all insulted, but the Buddha annouced to them that the public uprising would end in seven days. The murderers were found by the king and confessed having been hired by the heretics who were forced to retract their accusation against the Buddha and his monks.

Pāli sources: Udāna. p/ 43-45 (tr. Seidenstücker, p. 66-69); Apadāna, p. 229, v. 6; Jātaka, II, p. 415-417 (tr. Burlingame, *Legends*, III, p. 189-191); Udāna Comm., p. 256; Suttanipāta Comm., II, p. 528.

Chinese sources: Hing k'i hing king, T 197 (no. 1), k. 1, p. 164b-165c; Yi tsou king, T 198 (no. 3), k. 1, p. 176b-177c; Ta pao tsi king, T 310, k. 28, p. 54c18; P'ou sa chou t'ai king, T 384, k. 7, p. 1056b, (where Sundarī is called Sundaranandī); Po king tch'ao, T 790, p. 729b1; Ken pen chouo... yao che, T 1448, k. 18, p. 95a5 (where Sundarī is called Mei yong); Hiuan tsang, Si yu ki, T 2087, k. 6, p. 899c (re. Beal, II, p. 7-8; tr. Watters, I, p. 389).

2) *Slander by Ciñcā*. - See above.

3) *Rock thrown by Devadatta*. - Pāli sources: Vinaya, II, p. 193 (tr. Rh. D.- Oldenberg, III, p. 243): *atha kho Devadatto Gijjhakūṭaṃ abhirūhitvāmahantaṃ .... bhagavato pāde ruhiraṃ uppādesi*. - Apadāna, I, p. 300, v. 136 (tr. Rhys Davids, I, p. 193).

Chinese sources: Hing k'i hing king, T 197 (no. 7), k. 2, p. 170b-c; P'ou sa chou t'ai king, T 384, k. 7, p. 1055c; Ken pen chouo... yao che T 1448, k. 18, p. 94a13; Fa hien, tr. Legge p. 83; Hiuan tsang in Watters, *Travels*, II, p. 152; Yi tsing in Chavannes, *Religieux éminents*, p. 155.

4) *Wound caused by khadira thorn*. - Daśabala Kāśyapa took care of the Buddha's foot wounded by an acacia thorn. Sanskrit sources: Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya, ed. Suall, p. 26: *Sugataḥ kadācid bhikṣam atāṭyamānaḥ .... pāde viddho 'smi bhikṣavaḥ*.

Pāli source: Apadāna, I,p. 300, v. 22.

Chinese sources: Hing k'i hing king, T 107 (no. 6), k. 1, p. 168a-170b; Tsa pao tsang king, T. 203 (no. 80), k. 7, p. 481a-b (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, III, p. 78); Ta pao tsi king, T 310, k. 28, p. 154c14; P'ou sa chou t'ai king, T 384, k. 7, p. 1056b; Ken pen chou... yao che, T 1448, k. 18, p. 94b14.

5) *Headache*. - The Buddha suffered a headache at the time of the massacre of the Śākyas by Virūḍhaka, in Pāli Viḍūḍabha. The Pāli sources, which essentially are confirmed by the Sanskrit and Chinese sources, tell that Pasenadi, king of Kosala, had a son, Viḍūḍabha, whose mother was a young slave named Vāsabhakhattiya, the natural daughter of Mahānāman, the successor to Suddhodana at Kapilavastu. Vāsabhakhattiyā had been fraudulently affianced by the Śākyas. When the trick was subsequently discovered and Viḍūḍabha was treated as 'the son of a slave' by the Śākyas, he vowed to avenge himself. With the help of his general Dīgha Kārāyana, he dethroned his father Pasenadi, who fled from Śrāvastī to take refuge with his former enemy Ajātasattu. Viḍūḍabha marched against Kapilavastu and, despite the intervention of the Buddha who three times succeeded in stopping the operations, he finally took the city and massacred the entire Śākya clan. But he himself perished miserably as a result. In the Sanskrit sources, Viḍūḍabha, his mother Vāsabhakhattīya and his minister Dīgha Kārāyana, appear under the names of Viruṣaka, Mālikā (or Mallikā) and Dīrgha Cārāyana respectively.

The story of the massacre of the Śākyas may be found: in Pāli, in Jātaka, IV, p. 144-153, and Dhammapadaṭṭha, I, p.337-361 (tr. Burlingame, *Legends*, II, p. 30-46; - in Sanskrit, in Avadānakalpalayā: ch. XI, *Virūḍhakāvadāna* (vol. I, p. 352-

393); in Chinese, in Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 26, p. 690a-693c; Lieou tou tsi king, T 152 (no. 54), k. 5, p. 30b-32a (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, I, p. 202-212); Fa kiu p'i yu king, T 211, k. 1, p. 583b; Tch'ou yao king, T 212, k. 3, p. 624b-625a; Liaou li wang king, T 513, vol. XIV, p. 783b-785b; Wou fen liu, T 1421, k. 21, p. 141; Ken pen chouo... tsa che, T 1451, k. 8-9, p. 239b-242a; Fa hien, tr. Legge, p. 67; Hiuan tsang, *Si yu ki*, T 2087, k. 6, p. 900b and p. 901b-c (tr. Watters, *Travels*, I, p. 395-396; II, p. 8-9); - in Tibetan in Rockhill, *Life*, p. 112-122.

The headache from which the Buddha suffered on this occasion is mentioned in Apadāna, I, p. 300, v. 24; Udāna Comm., p. 264; Lieou tou tsi king, T 152, k. 5, p. 31b3-4; Hing k'i hing king, T 197 (no. 3), k. 1, p. 166c-167a; P'ou sa chou t'ai king, T 384, k. 7, p. 1056b; Ken pen chouo... yao che, T 1448, k. 18,p. 96c9.

6) *Eating horse feed*. - See above.

7) *Backache*. - The brahmin Devahita had to heal the Buddha when he suffered from a backache caused by a disturbance of the wind element. He had Upavāsa massage him with warm water.

Sources: Saṃyutta, I, p. 174-175 (tr. Geiger, I, p. 173-274); Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 1181), k. 44, p. 4319b; T 100 (no. 95), k. 5, p. 407b; Hing k'i hing king, T 197 (no. 3), k. 1, p. 167c-168a; Ken pen chouo... yao che, T 1448, k. 18, p. 96c23 (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, II, p. 423-424); Ta tche tou louen, T 1509, k. 26, p. 249c; Dīgha, III, p. 209; Majjhima, I, p. 354; Saṃyutta, IV, p. 184.

8) *Six years of austerities*. - A well-known period in the Buddha's life; see the fine study of the sources by J. Dutoit*, Die Duṣkaracaryā des Bodhisattva,* Strassburg, 1905.

9) *Return with empty bowl*. - See above.

The Mppś will return to these sufferings endured by the Buddha at k. 27, p. 261a.

From this brief summary of the sources, we see that the most authentic texts attribute a series of sufferings and illnesses to the Buddha. How can such a perfect being be subject to suffering? This is a problem which scholasticism has attempted to answer.

a. The first explanation, and the one most conforming to the theory of retribution of actions, is that by these torments and sicknesses, the Buddha was expiating the faults of his previous existences. This is the explanation given in various texts:

The Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, T 1448, k. 18, p. 94-96, tells a series of misdeeds of which the Buddha was guilty in his earlier lifetimes and which, in the course of his last lifetime, earned him the following inconveniences: (*1*) Rock thrown by Devadatta (p. 94a); (*2*) Wound caused by a thorn (p. 94b); (*3*) Return with empty bowl (p. 94c); (*4*) Slander by Sundarī (p. 95a); (*5*) Slander by Ciñcā (p. 95b); (*6*) Eating horse feed (p. 96a); (*7*) Six years of austerities (p. 96b); (*8*) Illnesses (p. 96b); (*9*) Headache (p. 96c); (*10*) Backache (p. 96c). Same list of misdeeds in the Pāli Apadāna; I, p. 299-301, section no. 387, entitled *Pubbakammapiloto*. They earned the Buddha the following punishments: (*1*) Slander by Sundarī (v. 6); (*2*) Slander by Ciñcā (v. 9); (*3*) Rock thrown by Devadatta (v. 16); (*4*) Hired assassins sent by Devadatta to kill the Buddha (v. 18; cf. Vinaya, II, p. 191-193); (*5*) Nālāgiri, the elephant, sent against the Buddha by Devadatta (v. 20; a famous often-told episode, e.g., Vinaya, II, p. 194-196; Jatakā, V, p. 333-337; Avadānaśataka, I, p. 177-181; (*6*) Wound caused by thorn (v. 22); (*7*) Headache (v. 24); (*8*) Eating horse feed (v. 26); (*9*) Backache (v. 27); (*10*) Dysentery (v. 28); (*11*) Six years of austerities (v. 30). K'ang Mong siang, a monk of Sogdian birth who went to China to Lo Yang in 194 A.D., translated into Chinese a sūtra entitled Hing k'i hing king (T 197) which, according to some catalogues, is a text of the Saṃyuktapiṭaka. This work contains ten stories telling the earlier actions which the Buddha had to expiate in the course of his last lifetime by ten sufferings: (*1*) Sundarī's slander (T 197, p. 164); (*2*) Slander by *Chö mi po* (p. 166); (*3*) Headache (p. 166); *(4*) Rheumatism (p. 167); (*5*) Backache (p. 167); (*6*) Wound by thorn (p. 168); (*7*) Rock thrown by Devadatta (p. 170); (*8*) Ciñcā's slander (p. 170); (*9*) Eating horse feed (p. 170); (*10*) Six years of austerities (p. 172).

It was most certainly from these works or other similar works that the objections raised in the Mppś were borrowed for the "List of nine sins" of the Buddha.

1) The brahmacārinī *Souen t'o li* (Sundarī) slandered (*abhyākhyati*) the Buddha, and five hundred arhats wiped out the slander.

All these texts agree that the Buddha, despite his perfection, remained subject to retribution for his past actions or, as the Divyāvadāna expresses it, "The Victorious Ones themselves are not freed from their actions" (*karmabhis te 'pi Jinā muktāḥ*).

b. But it was not long before such a radical application of the law of karma to the case of the Buddha was shocking. Two compromises have been found:

The first consists of saying that, whatever his experiences may be, the Buddha feels only pleasant feelings. Cf. the Devadahasutta (Majjhima, II, p. 227; Tchong a han, T 25 (no. 19): "If beings feel pleasure or pain as a result of their past actions, then, O monks, the Tathāgata has done good actions since, at the moment, he is experiencing pure and pleasant feelings" (*sace, bhikkhave, sattā pubbekatahetu sukhadukhaṃ .... anāsavā sukhā vedanā vedeti*).

Another compromise comments that, besides the torments and illnesses resulting from past actions, there are others that are simply due to the present physical conditions. This is what the Buddha himself explained to Sīvaka in Saṃyutta, IV, p. 230-231 (cf. Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 977), k. 35, p. 252c-253a; T 100 (no. 211), k. 11, p. 432b-c). Without saying it explicitly, this sūtra seems to mean that the Buddha is subject only to illnesses reulting from physical conditions (cf. P. Demiéville in Hobogirin, *Byô*, p. 234. This, indeed, is the thesis of the Milinda, p. 134-136, which recalls the Buddha's illnesses - wounding of the foot, dysentery (Dīgha, II, p. 128, body problems (Vinaya, I, p. 178-180), wind sickness (Saṃyutta, I, p. 174) - only to affirm immediately that none of the feelings experienced by the Buddha come from action (*na -tthi Bhagavato kammavipākajā vedana*).

c. For the Greater Vehicle whose ideas the Mppś is expressing here the Buddha's illnesses are simulated illnesses. Superior to the world (*lokattara*), the Buddha conforms to the world (*lokānuvaratana*) and simulates illness in order to console suffering humanity and assure its conversion by this soteriological artifice (*upāya*). A text of the Ratnakūta, T 310, k. 28, p. 134c is especially clear: How do the bodhisattva mahāsattvas understand the intentional teaching (*saṃdhāyabhāṣita*) of the Tathāgata? The bodhisattva mahāsattvas are skillful in precisely understanding the profound and secret meaning hidden in the sūtras. O son of noble family, when I prophecy the attainment of supreme perfect enlightenment to the śrāvakas, that is not correct; when I say to Ānanda that I have a backache, that is not correct; when I say to the bhikṣus: "I am old, you should find an assistant (*upasthāyaka*) for me", that is not correct. O son of noble family, it is not correct that in several places the Tathāgata triumphed over the tīrthikas and their systems one after another; it is not correct that an acacia thorn (*khadirakaṇṭaka*) wounded the Tathāgata in the foot. When the Tathāgata says: "Devadatta was my hereditary enemy, he pursued me ceaselessly and tried to deceive me", that is not correct. It is not correct that the Tathāgata, entering Śrāvastī, made a begging-round in *Chö li ye* (Śālā), the village of the brahmins, and returned with empty bowl. It is not correct that Ciñcamāṇavikā and Sundarī, attaching a wooden bowl to her belly [pretending to be pregnant] slandered the Buddha. It is not correct that the Tathāgata, once dwelling in the land of Verañjā where he had accepted the invitation of the brahmin Verañja, spent the three months of varṣa eating only barley (*yava*)." Ibid., k. 108, p. 604b (tr. in Hobogirin, Byô, p. 235: "Just as when a pharmacist, able to cure all the sicknesses but who himself is free of them, takes a bitter drug to persuade sick people to take it following his example, so the Tathāgata, although he has destroyed in himself all the sicknesses of the afflictions and has the sovereign mastery of all the dharmas, carries out such and such a bad action to obtain such and such a retribution and actualize such and such a factor, in order that beings avoid every obstacle of action and cultivate the practices of purity." - The same ideas are expressed in the Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra, T 475, of which the Mppś will give a lengthy extract.

2) The brāhmaṇī *Tchan chö* (Ciñcā) attached [to her belly] a wooden bowl (*dārumaṇḍalika*) pretending she was pregnant, and slandered the Buddha.

3) *T'i p'o ta* (Devadatta) pushed down a rock (*Ôilā*) to crush the Buddha and wounded him on his big toe (*pādmaṃguṣṭa*).

4) While walking in the woods, the Buddha hurt his foot.

5) When king *P'i leou li* (Virūdhaka) and his army massacred the Śākyas, the Buddha had a headache (*śīrṣadukha*).

6) Having accepted the invitation of the brahmin *A k'i ta to* (Agnidatta), the Buddha had to eat horse feed (*yava*).

7) As a result of a cold wind, the Buddha had a backache (*pṛṣṭhaduhkha*).

8) For six months, he practiced austerities (*duṣkaracaryā*).

9) Having gone to a brahmin village (*brāhmaṇagrāma*) to beg for food, he received nothing and returned with an empty bowl (*dhautapātreṇa*).

Moreover, in winter (*hemanta*), in the eight nights that precede and follow [the full moon],754 a cold wind (*śīlavāyu*) smashed the bamboos (*veṇu*). The Buddha took three robes (*tricīvara*) to protect himself against the cold.755 During the oppressive heat, Ānanda was behind him and fanned (*vījati*) the Buddha.756 The

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754 The characters *ts'ien heou pa ye* 'the eight nights that precede and follow' translate, without a doubt, the Pāli expression *rattīsu anta' aṭṭhakāsu* which is found, e.g., in Vinaya, I, p. 31, 288; Majjhima, I, p. 79; Aṅguttara, I, p. 136, and which means 'during the nights that extend between the eight (*aṣhṭakā*), i.e., between the eighth day before and the eighth day after the full moon. (Cf. Rhys Davids-Stede, s.v. *aṭṭaka*).

755 An allusion to an episode told in the Vinayas. According to its custom, the Mppś follows the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya, Che song liu, T 1435, k. 27, p. 195a: Knowing that the bhikṣus had many robes and that these numerous garments hindered their travel, the Buddha wanted to place a limit (*maryādā*) on them. He said to Ānanda: "I would like to travel to the land of Vaiśalī." Ānanda obeyed and followed the Buddha. It was in winter, during the nights [that precede and follow] the *aṣṭakā*; a cold wind was smashing the bamboos. Then the Buddha put on one robe (*cīvara*). During the first watch of the night (*yāma*), the Buddha walked in the desert. In the second watch, the Buddha was cold and said to Ānanda: "Give me a second robe." Ānanda gave a second robe to the Buddha who put it on and continued to walk in the desert. When the third watch came, the Buddha was cold and said to Ānanda: "Give me a third robe." Ānanda gave him a third robe which he put on and continued to walk in the desert. Then he thought: "The bhikṣus should have enough robes." When the saṃgha came together, he said to the bhikṣus: "Starting from today, I allow you to use three robes (*tricīvara)*, no more and no less. In having less, that will be a *duṣkita* transgression; in having more, that will be a *niḥsargika pātayantika* transgression."

The agreement in the details (cold wind smashing the bamboo, etc.) reveals the close interconnection between the Mppś and the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya. The other Vinayas tell the story in somewhat the same way:

In the Mahīśhāsaka Vinaya (Wou fen liu, T 1421, k. 20, p. 136a), the Buddha was travelling between Vaiśālī and the Cāpāla cetiya; in the Dharmagupta Vinaya (Sseu fen liu, T 1428, k. 49, p. 856c-857a), he was spending the night in the open air in a retreat, the name of which is not given. The Pāli Vinaya, I, p. 288 (tr. Rh.D. - Oldenberg, II, p. 210-212) tells that the Buddha, who had gone from Rājagṛha to Vaiśālī, spent the night in the Gotamaka cetiya, seated in the open air.

Buddha therefore underwent the small sufferings of this world. If the Buddha has immense miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*), if he dominates the trisāshramahāsāhasralokadhātu and universes as numerous as the sands of the Ganges in the ten directions (*diś-*), the east, south, west and north, in the four intermediate directions (*vidiś-*) and in the zenith and the nadir thus by his brilliance (*ābhā*), his color (*varṇa*), his beauty (*śrī)* and his splendor (*tejas-*), why does he submit to the retribution for his sins (*āpattivipāka*)?

Answer. - *1*) Dwelling among men, born from human parents, the Buddha has so much strength that one of his fingers (*aṅgulisaṃdhi*) surpasses the strength of a hundred thousand prabedakoṭi of white elephants (*pāṇḍaragaja*); the power of his superknowledges (*abhijñā*) is immense (*apramāṇa*), incalculable (*asamkyeya*) and inconceivable (*acintya*). The son of king Śuddhodana was revulsed by old age (*jarā*), sickness (*vyādhi*) and death (*maraṇa*), left home (*pravrajita*) and attained Buddhahood. Can we say that such a man will undergo the retribution of sins and be tormented by cold (*śīta*), heat (*uṣṇa*), etc? If the miraculous power of the Buddha is immense, if he possesses such miraculous qualities (*acintyadharma*), how could he suffer from cold, heat, etc?

2) Furthermore, the Buddha has two bodies (*kāya*): a body of essence (*dharmatākāya*) and a body born from father and mother (*pitṛmātṛjakāya*). The essential body fills the ten directions of space; it is immense (*apramāṇa*), infinite (*ananta*), handsome (*abhirūpa*), charming (*prasādika*), adorned with the major and minor marks (*lakṣaṇānuvyañjanālaṃkṛta*), with immense rays (*apramāṇaraśmi*) and with immense voice (*apramāṇasvara*); the assembly (*saṃgha*) that listens to his preaching also fills space (this assembly is also his essential body and is not [**122a**] visible to saṃsāric people. Ceaselessly he emits various bodies (*kāya*) with various names (*nāman*), of various births *(janmasthāna*), with various skillful means (*upāya*) to save beings. He is always seeking to save everybody, never stopping for a moment. It is by means of this essential body that the Buddha saves beings of the universes of the ten directions. To undergo the retribution of sins is the business of the Buddha's body of birth (*janmakāyabuddha*). The Buddha of birth body preaches the Dharma in stages as if it were a human body. Since there are two sorts of Buddha, it is not a mistake that the Buddha experiences the retribution for wrongdoings.

3) Furthermore, when the Buddha attains Buddhahood, he eliminates all the bad dharmas (*akuśaladharma*) within himself and acquires all the good dharmas (*kuśaladharma*). How then could he really suffer the punishment of the bad dharmas? It is only out of compassion (*anukampā*) for the beings of future generations (*anāgatajanmasattva*) that he resorts to this means (*upāya*) by pretending to suffer the retribution of sins.

Feeling cold, he put on four robes successively and not three as in the other sources. Nevertheless, he allowed the monks only three robes (*ticīvara*): the *saṃghāti*. the *uttarāsaṅga* and the *antaravāsaka*. Here are extracts from this Vinaya:
Atha kho bhagavā anupubbena cārikṃ caramāno yena Vesālī tad avasari, tatra suḍaṃ .... ekacciyaṃ uttarāsṅgaṃ ekacciyaṃ antaravāsakan ti.

756 The Buddha was often fanned by his disciples; the scene is always described in the following words: for example, Avadānaśataka, II, p. 194: *tena khalu amayenāyuṣmāñ Śāriputro bhagavataḥ pṛṣṭhataḥ shito 'bhūd vyajanaṃ gṛhītvā bhagavantaṃ vījayan*. Corresponding Pāli phrase, e.g., Majjhima, I, p. 501: *tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Sāriputto bhagavato piṭṭhito ṭhito oti bhaganataṃ vījamāno*.

4) Furthermore, *A ni lou teou* (Aniruddha) received an immense reward for having given food to a pratyekabuddha;757 whatever food he thought of he found at will.758 How then could the Buddha, who from one lifetime to the next has cut off his flesh (*māṃsa)*, dug into his marrow (*majjā*) to make a gift of it to others, find nothiing when he begged for his food and returned with an empty bowl (*dhautapātreṇa*)? This is why we know that it is the skillful means of the Buddha who [pretends] to undergo retribution for sins in order to save beings.

What is this skillful means (*upāya*)? In the future, in the fivefold assembly, there will be Buddhists (*Śākyaputra*) who, having acquired but little merit by their lack of generosity (*dānapuṇyahīnatvāt*), will get nothing when they go to beg for their means of livelihood (*ājīva*); the lay people (*avadātavasana*) will say to them: "You who cannot obtain robes (*āvara*) and food (*āhāra*), you cannot cure your own sicknesses (*vyādhi*)! How will you be able to find the Path (*mārga*) and care for the welfare of beings?" [Thanks to this skillful means of the Buddha], the fivefold assembly will be able to answer: "We have no means of existence, but that is of little importance; we have the meritorious qualities inherent in the practice of the Path (*mārgacaryā*). Our actual suffering is the punishment for sins of our past lifetimes, but the reward for our actual virtues will come later. Our great teacher, the Buddha himself, went into a brahmin village

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757 In a previous lifetime, Aniruddha had been a poor man named Annabhāra (in the Pāli sources); one day when he was cutting grass for his master Sumana (Pāli sources) or gathering dead wood to earn his living (Chinese sources), he saw a pratyekabuddha who was returning with an empty bowl and gave him some coarse broth. As a retribution for this generosity, he was reborn seven times among the Trāyastriaśa gods, was a cakravartin king seven times, and was finally reborn in his last lifetime in a wealthy Śakya family.

Pāli sources: Theragāthā, v. 910-911 (tr. Rh. D., *Brethren*, p.329-330); Theragāthā Comm., II, p. 65; Dhammapadaṭha, IV, p. 120-121 (tr. Burlingame, *Legends*, III, p. 264-265).

Sanskrit sources: Karmavibhaṅga, p. 66-67; Kośavyākhyā, p. 424, l. 29. Chinese sources: Tchong a han, T 26 (no. 66), k. 13, , p. 508c-509a (cf. P. Demiéville in BEFEO, XXX, 1920, p. 161); Kou lai che che king, T 44, p. 829b; Tsa pao tang king, T 203 (no. 50, p. 470c-471a (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, III, p. 51); Kośha, IV, p. 190; P'i p'o cha, T 1545, k. 20, p. 99b; King liu yi siang, T 2121, k. 13, p. 68a-b.

These various texts do not agree on the name of the pratyekabuddha: he is called *Tagaraśikhin* in the Kośavyākhyā, *Upariṣtha* in the Karmavibhaṅga, *Upariṭṭha* in the Threragāthā and the Dhammapadaṭṭha, *Wou houan* 'Without misfortune' (*Ariṣhṭa*) in the Kou lai che che king, *P'i li tch'a* (64 and 5; 75 and 6; 30 and 3) giving a possible Sanskrit *Prekṣa*) in the King liu yi siang. - According to the Tsa pao tsang king, this pratyekabuddha was the elder brother of the future Aniruddha.

758 In this regard, see the following story told by the Dhammapadaṭṭha, I, p. 134 (tr. Burlingame, *Legends*, I, p. 231): Aniruddha was raised in such luxury that he never heard the word: "There is no more" (*n'atthi*). One day when he was playing ball (*guḷa*) with six Śākya youths, he lost the game and had to pay for the cakes (*pūva*). He asked his mother to send him some. As he continued to lose, his mother's supply was exhausted and his mother had to say to him: "There are no more cakes" (*pūvaṃ n'atthi*). Aniruddha, who did not know the phrase "There are no more", thought that it meant a type of cake and he answered his mother: "Send me some 'there are no more' cakes." To make him understand, his mother then sent him an empty golden bowl (*tuccha suvaṇṇapāti)*, but the protector deities of the city, wanting to spare Aniruddha any deception, filled it with celestial cakes. After that, each time that Aniruddha asked for cakes, his mother sent him an empty bowl which the gods filled up in passing.

There is a pale reflection of this charming little story in the Tsa pao tsang king, T 203, , k. 4, p. 471a.

(*brāhmaṇagrāma*) to beg his food, got nothing, and returned with an empty bowl (*dhautapātreṇa*); he also was sick; at the massacre of the Śākyas, he suffered a headache. All the more reason that we, lesser people with little merit (*alpapuṇya*), [are exposed to the same inconveniences]." Hearing this answer, the lay people will not have any further bad feelings and will grant the bhikṣus the fourfold offering (*caturvidhā pūjā*); the bhikṣus will then enjoy peace (*yogakṣema*) and, seated in dhyāna, will find the Path. It is therefore by skillful means and not in actuality that [the Buddha] undergoes [the retribution] for wrongdoings.

Thus it is said in the P'i mo lo k'i king (*Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra*)759 that the Buddha, dwelling in the land of Vaiśalī, said to Ānanda:

" My body feels a little feverish; I would like to have some cow's milk. Take my bowl (*pātra*) and go to beg for some milk."

Ānanda took the bowl and went to the door of a vaiśya. Vimalakīrti himself was there and seeing Ānanda appear with a bowl, he asked: "Why are you standing there since morning with a bowl?"

Ānanda answered: "The Buddha is a little sick; he needs some cow's milk. That is why I have come here."

"Wait a moment!" cried Vimalakīrti, "Don't slander the Tathāgata. The Buddha, as [**122b**] Bhagavat, has gone beyond all bad dharmas (*sarvākuśaladharmasamatikrānta*). What sickness might he have? Take care that the heretics (*tīrthika*) do not hear such rude words; they would scorn the Buddha and say: 'This Buddha, who is unable to cure hs own illness, cannot save beings'."

Ānanda replied: "That is not my intention. Personally, I have received a request from the Buddha and I must get him some milk."

Vimalakīrti answered: "Despite the Buddha's order, it is a skillful means (*upāya*). If he does use the world of the five corruptions (*pañcakaṣāya*), it is in order to deliver all beings through this fiction. In future generations, when sick bhikṣus will go to ask the lay people (*avadātavasana*) for broths and medicines (*bhaiṣajya*) and the lay people will say to them: 'You cannot cure yourselves, how could you cure others?', the bhikṣus will be able to say: 'If our great teacher himself was subject to sickness, then why should we not be sick, we whose bodies are like the black mustard plant (*arṣapa*)?' And so the lay people will offer the bhikṣus broths and medicines and the bhikṣus will enjoy peace (*yogakṣema*) and tranquility, will practice the Path. If heretic ṛṣis can cure the illnesses of other people by medicinal herbs (*oṣadhi*) and spells (*mantra*), then why would the Tathāgata who is omniscient (*sarvajñā*) be unable to cure his own

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759 Vimalakīrtinirdeśa, tr. by Tche k'ien, T 474, k. 1, p. 523b-c; tr. Kumārajīva,T 475, k. 1, p. 542a; Tr. by Hiuan tsang, T 476, k. 2, p. 564a-b. - This Vimalakīrtinirdeśa is also known in a Tibetan translation entitled: *Dri ma med par grags pas bstan pa*, Mdo, XIV, 5 (cf. Csoma-Feer, p. 256; OKC, no. 843, p. 323) and some Sogdian fragments (ed. H. Reichelt, *Die soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*, I, Heidelberg, 1928, p. 1-13; annotated by F. Weller, *Zum soghdischen Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra*, Leipzig, 1937). Some metrical versions of the chapter on illnesses have been found at Touen houang and even in our times the sūtra has undergone some theatrical adaptations. See summary by P. Demiéville in Hobogirin, p. 324.

sickness? Then take this milk in your bowl in silence and be careful lest the unbelievers (*pāṣaṇḍa*) should learn about it."

This is why we know that the sicknesses of the Buddha are pretenses coming from skillful means and are not real sicknesses; it is the same for the [pretended] sins that are their cause. This is why the sūtra says that the Buddha dominates everything by his brilliance, his color, his berauty and his splendor.

ACT VII

Sūtra: Then the Bhagavat made his ordinary body (*prakṛtymatmabhāva*) appear to all the beings of the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu. At that moment, the Śuddhāvāsakāyika, Brahmakāyika, Paranirmitavaśavartin, Nirmāṇarati, Tuṣita, Yāma,Trāyastriṃśa, Caturmahārājika gods760, as well as the manuṣya and the amanuṣya of the trisāhasramāhasāhasralokadhātu, bearing heavenly flowers (*divya puṣpa*), celestial garlands (*divya mālya*), heavenly unguents (*divya vilepana*), celestial powders (*divya cūrṇa*), celestial lotuses, blue (*nīlotpala*), red (*kokanada*), white (*puṇḍarīka)*, purple (*padma*), and leaves of heavenly trees (*tamālapattra*), gathered around the Buddha (*Atha khalu bhagavān punar eva yādṛk trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātau sattvānām ātmabhāvaṃ prākṛtam upadarśayāmāsa. Atha khalu śuddhāvāsakmayikā devā brahmakāyikāś ca paranirmitavaśavartinaś ca nirmiāṇaratayaś ca tuṣitāś ca yāmāś ca trāyastriṃśāÔ ca cāturamhārājakāyikāś ca ye ca trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātau manuṣyāamanuṣyāś ca te puṣpamālyavilepanacūrṇāni divyāni nīlotpalakokanapuṇḍarikapadmāni divyāni ca tamālapattrāṇi gṛhitvā yena tathāgatas tenopasaṃkrāntāḥ*).

Śāstra: Why does the Buddha make his ordinary body (*prakṛtyātmabhāva*) appear to all the beings of the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu?

Answer. - *1*) Wishing to preach the Mahāprajñāpāramitā, the Buddha first enters the Samādhirājasamādhi. The wheels on the soles of his feet emit rays and [the other parts of his body], including the *uṣṇīṣa*, shine forth with brilliant light. Just as at the end of a kalpa, at the time of the great fire, the mountains such as Sumeru parvatarāja catch on fire and are successively consumed by the fire, so the Buddha's rays fill the entire trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu and reach to the universes of the ten directions as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, which all were illumined by them. The beings who saw these rays attained [**122c**]

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760 These are the gods of the kāmadhātu and rūpadhātu. In order to undestand the explanations that will follow, one must bear in mind the division of the gods into these two realms:

Kāmadhātu serves as dwelling for six groups of gods: Caturmahārājika, Trāyastriṃṣa, Yāma, Tuṣita, Nirmāṇarati and Paranirmitavaśavartin.

Rūpadhātu with its four dhyānas serves as dwelling place for seventeen groups of gods.

First dhyāna: Brahmakāyika, Brahmapurohita, Mahābrahmānas.

Second dhyāna: Parīttābha, Apramāṇābha, Ābhāsvara.

Third dhyāna: Parīttaśubha, Apramāṇaśubha, Śubhakṛtsna.

Fourth dhyāna: Anabhraka, Puṇyaprasava, Bṛhatphala and the five Śuddhavāsikas: Abṛha, Atapa, Sudṛśa, Sudarśana, Akaniṣṭha.

See the comparative study of the sources in Kirfel, *Kosmographie der Inder*, p. 191-192.

anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi in the end. Therefore, to preach the Prajñāpāramitā, the Buddha first manfests his miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*).

2) The Buddha smiles through all the pores of his skin (*sarvaromakūpa*).

3) The Buddha emits his ordinary light (*prakṛtiprabhā*), namely, his aureole which is one armspan in width (*vyāma*).

4) He covers the trisāsramahāsahāsralokadhātu with his tongue (*jihvā*) and begins to smile.

5) He enters into the Siṃhavikrīṣitasamādhi, and the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu shakes in six ways.

6) Seated on the siṃhāsana, the Buddha manifests his light, his splendor, his color and his lofty form. By this miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*), he touches beings profoundly and those who have faith reach anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi.

7) And finally here, for those who have doubts, he shows his ordinary body (*prakṛtyātmabhāva*) and those who hesitate then attain deliverance by faith (*śraddhāvimukti*) and say to one another: "What I am seeing now is the real body of the Buddha." By the power of the Buddha, these people of the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu, seeing the ordinary body of the Buddha, come near him without confusion; and then the beings of the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu, full of joy (*ānanda*), cry out: "This is truly the body of the Buddha." Indeed, the Buddha always had this body, when he was born, when he became Buddha and when he turned the wheel of Dharma. This is why beings say that that is truly the body of the Buddha.

Question. - What is meant by the Śuddhavāsika gods and the Brahmaloka gods?

Answer. - The fourth dhyāna has eight stages (*bhūmi*):761 five stages are the abodes (*sthāna*) of the anāgāmins and are called the pure abodes (*śuddhāvāsa*);762 three stages are the shared abode of ordinary people (*pṛthagjana*) and saints (*ārya*). Beyond these eight stages are the abodes of the bodhisattvas of the ten bhūmis (*daśabhūmibodhisattva*): these are also called pure abodes (*śuddhāvāsa*), [The Śuddhavāsikas] are called Maheśvaradevarāja.

The gods of the Brahmaloka have three places of birth (*janmasthāna*):763 *i)* the heaven of the Brahmakāyikas, the birthplace of the lesser Brahmās; *ii*) the heaven of the Brahmapurohitas, the birthplace of the noble Brahmās; *iii*) the heaven of the Mahābrahmās, also called the birthplace of intermediate dhyāna (*dhyānāntara*).764

Question. - Renunciation (*vairāgya*) is the same [in all the Brahmās]; why do they have abodes of different quality?

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761 Kośa, III, p. 2.

762 For these five classes of anāgāmin: antarāparinirvāyin, etc., see Dīgha, III, p. 237; Kośa, III, p. 38; VI, p. 210 and especially p. 223-225.

763 Kośa, III, p. 2-3.

764 Kośa, VIII, p. 180-183.

Answer. - The first dhyāna [where they dwell] is of three kinds: lesser (*avara*), medium (*madhya*) and higher (*agra*). If they cultivate the lesser dhyāna, they are reborn as Brahmākāyikas; if they cultivate the medium dhyāna, they are reborn as Brahmapurohitas; if they cultivate the higher dhyāna, they are reborn as Mahābrahmās. It is the same for the development of loving-kindness (*maitrībhāvana*). Thus the teacher *Miao yen* (Sunetra) said: "I have preached the Dharma to people and they have all been reborn among the Brahmakāyikas; I should not be reborn in the same place as my disciples; I am going to develop a higher loving-kindness (*uttarā maitrī*)."765 because he had developed higher loving-kindness, he was reborn

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765 Sunetra's thought. - Aṅg*uttara,* IV, p. 104*: Na kho pan' etaṃ paṭitūpaṃ .... mettaṃ bhāveyyan* '*ti.* - Tchong a han, T 26 (no. 8), k. 2, p. 420c9; ibid. k. 30, p. 619c10; P'i p'o cha, T 1545, k. 82, p. 425a20.

Sunetra is particularly known by two sūtras, the *Saptasūryodayasūtra* and the *Suṇetrasūtra*:

1) The story of Sunetra is told by the Buddha at the end of some versions of the Saptasūryodayasūtra: *a*. Aṅguttara, IV, p. 103-106; *b*. Tchong a han, T 26 (no, 8), k. 2, p. 429b-c;

c. Ta tche tou louen, T 1509, k. 31, p. 290b-c; *d*. Sa po to sou li yu nai ye king, T 30, p. 812c;

e. Extract of an anonymous sūtra, probably a version of a Saptasūryodayasūtra in the Vibhāṣhā, T 1545, k. 82, p. 424c-425a.

"In times past, there was a teacher named Sunetra, a ferryman (*tīrthakara*), who had renounced pleasures (*kāmeṣu vītarāgaḥ*). He had many hundreds of disciples to whom he taught the doctrine of participating in the world of Brahmā (*brahmalokasahavyatā*). Those who had completely understood his doctrine were reborn after death in the realm of Brahmā (*brahmaloka*); the others succeeded at least in being reborn among the gods of the kāmadhātu or in noble families. Not wanting to be reborn in the same world as his students, Sunetra meditated for seven years on the mind of loving-kindness (*maitrīcitta)*; thanks to this practice, for seven cosmic periods he avoided returning here and had a long series of rebirths among the Ābhasvara gods, the Mahābrahmāṇas, then as Śakra and finally as a cakravrtin king. Nevertheless, he did not escape from birth, old age and sickness because he had not understood the four noble dharmas, i.e., morality (*śīla*), samādhi, wisdom (*prajñā*) and deliverance (*vimukti*)."

We may note that Sunetra is not mentioned in the Saptasūryodayasūtra of the Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 34, p. 735b-738a, or in the extract which the Śhikṣhasamuchchaya , p. 247, gives of this sūtra.

Whereas the Aṅguttara and the Tchong a han do not establish any link between Sunetra and the Buddha, the Ta tche tou louen (k. 1, p. 290c) and the Sa po to sou li yu nai ye king , p. 812c18, have the Buddha say: "This tathāgata Sunetra of times gone by was not a pratyekabuddha; he was none other than me." Similarly the Kośa, IX, p. 271, and the Kośavyākhyā, p. 710, cite a Saptasūryodayasūtra where the Buddha says: "In the past, the teacher Sunetra was myself" (*Saptasūryodayasūtre 'yam eva bhagavān ṛṣiḥ Sunetra nāma babhūveti*).

2) The Sunetrasūtra which is in Aṅguttara, III, p. 371-372; ibid., IV, P. 135-136; Tchong a han, T 26 (no. 130), k. 30, p. 619b-c, lists six teachers (*satthā*), ferrymen, completetly renounced (*vītarāga*), having several hundreds of disciples to whom they taught the doctrine of participating in the world of Brahmā (*brahmalokasahavyatā*). To criticize or insult them would be a grave demerit (*bahuṃ apuññaṃ*). These six teachers are Sunetra, Mugapakkha, Aranemi, Kuddālaka, Hatthipāla Jotipāla.

Buddhaghosa does not comment on this passage, but these six teachers are probably earlier births of the Buddha.

Actually, Sunetra appears among others individuals in the lists of Jātakas of the Buddha: Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā, p. 23, l. 16; Laṅkāvatāra, p. 141; Karmavibhaṅga, p. 36-37, where Sunetra appeara as an incarnation of Sarvauṣadhivaidyarāja who is none other tha the Buddha: *Saptasūryopadeṣe Sunetro nāma mānavo bijñeyaḥ ahaṃ sa bhikṣavas tena kālena Sarvauṣadhivaidyarājo 'bhūt*.

among the Mahābrahmās. Moreover, it is by virtue of a mind of supreme purity (*paramaviṣuddhicitta*) that one is reborn among the Mahābrahmās.

Question. - When there are four dhyānas, why do we speak here only of the first [: abode of the Brahmā gods] and of the last [: abode of the Śuddhāvāsikas] and not say anything about the second or the third?

Answer. - *1*) We speak of the first dhyāna because renunciation (*vairāgya*), the gate to it, is difficult [to practice]; we speak of the fourth because its subtle beauty is difficult to obtain (*durlabha*). Nothing is said of the intermediate dhyānas because they are easy to enter.

2) Moreover, the brahmaloka is the start of the form realm (*rūpadhātu*), whereas the fourth dhyāna is its summit; this is why they are mentioned in particular (*pṛthak*).

3) Moreover, many are the people who know the Brahmā gods but do not know the other gods. This is why we speak here only of the Brahmā gods. We [**123a**] also speak of the Śuddhāvāsika gods who, out of compassion (*anukampā*) for beings, always invite the Buddhas.

4) Moreover, when the Buddha preaches, the sound of the Dharma (*dharmasvara*) reaches as far as the Brahmā gods. When the Buddha attained Buddhahood, these gods sent the news to the Śuddhāvasikas. This is why the first and the last [class of gods of rūpadhātu] are mentioned without saying anything about the two intermediate classes.

5) Moreover, the Brahmā gods who are close to kāmadhātu, [dwelling just above it,] and the Śuddhavāsika gods who are the chiefs of rūpadhātu should be mentioned here. Thus, when a gatekeeper (*dvārapāla*) knows that a guest (*āgantuka*) has arrived to see his master, the latter knows it also; the intermediaries being of no importance, they are not spoken of.

6) Finally, the second dhyāna is characterized by great joy (*mahāprīti*) and the third dhyāna by great bliss (*mahāsukha*). As joy and bliss imply carelessness, they are not spoken of.

Question. -What is meant by Paranirmitavaśavartin?766

Answer. - The gods who take hold of and enjoy desirable objects created by others are called Paranirmitavaśavartin 'Using that which has been created by another'.

The Nirmāṇarati gods create the five sense objects themselves and enjoy them. This is why they are called Nirmāṇarati 'Enjoying that which they have themselves created'.

The Tuṣita gods are the satisfied gods.

The Yāmas are the happy (*subhaga*) gods.

The second category [of gods of rūpadhātu] is that of the Trāyastriṃśa or Thirty-two gods.

Aśvaghoṣa mentions Sunetra is a verse of the Saundarānanda, XI, 57 which M. Johnson considers to be an interpolation: *maitrayā saptavārṣikyā .... garbhavāsam upeyivān.*

Along with Asama, Sunetra was the first disciple of the Buddha Śobhita: cf. Nidānakathā, p. 35; Buddhavaṃsa, VII, v. 21.

766 For these definitions, see Dīgha, III, p. 218.

The first class, starting from the bottom, is that of the Caturmahārājikas or the Four Great Kings.

Mount Sumeru has a height of 84,000 yojanas; at its summit is the city of the Trāyastriṃṣas.767 Beside Mount Meru is a mountain called Yugandhara, 42,000 yojanas high;768 it has four peaks on each of which is a city inhabited by a group of Caturmahārājikas. The lands of the other gods, Yāmas, etc., made of seven jewels (*saptaratnamaya*), are situated in space (*ākāśa*) where they are supported by wind.769 and so on up to the Pure Abodes (*śudddhavāsa)*.

Seeing the Buddha's body (*buddhakāya*), its purity (*viśuddhi*) and its great rays (*mahāraśmi*). these gods offer him aquatic and terrestrial flowers (*jalasthalajāni puṣpāni*). Of all the terrestrial flowers, jasmine (*mallikā*) is the most beautiful; of all the aquatic flowers, blue lotus (*nīlotpala*) is the most beautiful. Whether they grow on trees or on reeds, these are flowers having different colors and different perfumes. Each holding a celestial flower (*divyapuṣpa*), they gather around the Buddha. These flowers have a beautiful color, a rich perfume; they are soft (*mañju*) and flexible; this is why they are used as offerings.

Question. - What is a celestial flower?

Answer. - The celestial flower is one the perfume of which goes against the wind (*prativātaṃ vāti*).770 Celestial garlands (*divyamālya*) remain suspended above the Buddha; celestial unguents (*divyavilepana*) are spread out on the ground before the Buddha; celestial powders (*divyacūrṇa*) are scattered above the Buddha.

Question. - Celestial lotuses (*divyapadma*) are blue (*nīla*), red (*lohita*) pink (*rakta*) or white (*avadata*). Why are they not yellow (*pīta*)?

Answer. - Because yellow is an attribute of fire (*tejo 'pekṣate*) and fire is foreign to aquatic flowers. These precious celestial lotuses have a stem (*daṇḍa*) of jade (*vaiḍūrya*), a corolla (*vedikā*) of diamond (*vajra*), leaves (*pattra*) of golden sand from the Jambū river (*jāmbūnadasuvarṇa*). They are tender and perfumed. Taking also leaves from the celestial tree (*tamāla* or *Xanthochymus pictorius*), they gather around the Buddha.

Question. - The gods can get celestial flowers (*divypuṣpa*) as offerings, but how can men (*manuṣya*) and amanuṣhya get them?

Answer. - Thanks to the bases of his miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*), the Buddha emits great rays and the earth trembles in six ways; the gods rain down all sorts [**123b**] of marvellous flowers that fill the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu as offerings to the Buddha. The manuṣya and amanuṣya can gather these flowers and offer them in turn.

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767 Kośa, III, p. 161.

768 Ibid., p. 141-143.

769 These are the *vimāna* "aerial dwellings'; Kośa, III, p. 164.

770 Among the Trayastriṃṣa gods, the odor of the magnolia flower (*kovidāra*) called 'pārijātaka' is propagated for a hundred yojanas with the wind, for fifty yojanas against the wind. By contrast, the smell of flowers in the human world does not go against the wind. - Cf. Kośa, III, p. 162-163.

Moreover, it is customary in India to call celestial (*divya*) anything that is beautiful. Even though the flowers of the manuṣya and amanuṣya do not come from the heavens, they can, nevertheless, be described as 'celestial' because of their beauty. Thus it is not wrong to say that the manuṣya and the amanuṣya offer celestial flowers.

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Sūtra: They scatter (*avakiranti sma*) [all these offerings], from celestial flowers (*divyapuṣpa*) to leaves of the celestial tree (*tamālapattra*), over the Buddha.

Question. - Why do they scatter these flowers on the Buddha?

Answer. - As a sign of respect (*satkāra*) and as offering (*pūjā*). Moreover, when the Buddha's rays shine forth and they see the Buddha from afar, they feel great joy (*ānanda*) and want to pay homage to him; this is why they scatter flowers on him. Finally, the Buddha is the supreme field of merit (*paramapuṇyakṣetra*) in the threefold world (*traidhātuka*); this is why they strew fowers on him.

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Sūtra: These precious scattered flowers form a great belvedere high in the firmament having the dimensions of the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu (*Taiś cāvakīrṇaratnapuṣpair upary antarīkṣe trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātupramāṇam ekaṃ kūṭāgāraṃ saṃsthitam abhūt*).

Śāstra: Question. - How can [these few flowers] form such a belvedere in the firmament?

Answer. - These flowers that have been scattered were not numerous, but nevertheless they form a great belvedere. This teaches beings that a small cause (*hetu*) has great effects (*phala*).

Question.- How does this belvedere rest in the air without falling?

Answer. - By his miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*), the Buddha wishes to show beings that the Buddha is a field of merit (*puṇyakṣetra*), that the reward that he has received is imperishable and that even after having become Buddha, his merits are indestructible.

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Sūtra: From this belvedere hang garlands and bouquets of flowers of different colors (mixture of the five colors): these bouquets and garlands fill the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu (*tataś ca kūṭāgārāt tāni paṭṭadāmāni puṣpadāmāni miśravarṇāni lambante sma. taiś ca puṣpadāmbhiḥ paṭṭadāmabhiś cāyaṃ trisāhasramahāsāhasro lokadhātuḥ paripūrṇi 'bhūt*).

Question. - If the Buddha himself has miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*), why is it necessary that the flowers scattered [by beings] are transformed into a belvedere?

Answer. - The Buddha wishes that beings have pure faith (*śraddhāviśuddhi*); when these people see their offerings change into a belvedere, they feel great joy (*pramuditā*) and as a result of this joy, they gain great merit (*puṇya*).

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Sūtra: From the enchantment of these bouquets of flowers and garlands, the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu takes on a golden color; and it is the same in all the Buddha-universes of the ten directions as numerous as the sands of the Ganges (*taiś ca puṣpadāmabhiḥ paṭṭadāmabhiś cāyam trisāhasramahāsāhasro lokadhātuḥ suvarṇavarṇena atīvāśobhata. ye ca daśasi dikṣu gaṅgānadīvālukopamā lokadhātava te sphuṭāvabhāsitāś cābhūvan*).

Śāstra: Some say: "The noble cakravartin king is the chief of four universes [i.e., of a caturdvīpaka], Brahmādevarāja is the chief of a chiliocosm (*sāhasralokadhātu*), the Buddha is the chief of a trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu." That is not correct, for the creations (*nirmāṇa*) of the Buddha extend to universes of the ten directions as numerous as the sands of the Ganges.

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Sūtra: Then, among the beings of the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu and of the ten directions, [**123c**] each had the impression that the Buddha was preaching the Dharma for them alone and not for the other people (*atha khalu asmin trisāhasramahāsāhasre lokadhātau daśasu dikṣu ca teṣāṃ sattvānām ekaikasyaitad abhūt mama purato nānyeṣāṃ tathāgato dharmaṃ deśayatīti*).

Śāstra: Question. - The Buddha appeared simultaneously in the same form to all the beings of the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu and the ten directions; how then does each of these beings see a Buddha seated face-to-face and preaching the Dharma?771

Answer. - The miraulous power (*ṛddhibala*) of the Buddha is twofold: *1*) seated in the same place, he preaches the Dharma in such a way that all beings see him from far away (*dūrataḥ*) and hear from from far away; *2*) staying in the same place, he preaches the Dharma in such a way that each being in particular sees

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771 This is a classical miracle and the Buddha is not alone in being able to accomplish it. Thus, in the Janavasabhasuttanta (Dīgha, II, p. 211-212), Brahmā Sanaṃkumāra, going to visit the Tāvatiṃsa gods, created 33 forms of himself (*tettiṃse attabhāve abhinimminitvā)*, each sitting on the couch of one of the 33 gods, and he is expressing himself in such a way that each god has the impression that the form is on his own couch and is speaking to him alone (*yo 'yaṃ mama pallaṅke so yaṃ eko va bhāsatīti*).

a Buddha faceing himself (*tatpurataḥ*) preaching the Dharma. In the same way, at daybreak (*sūryodaya*), the shadows (*chāyā*) seem to be a mass of water.

Moreover, all beings are not the same: some find pure faith (*viśuddhaśraddhā*) by seeing the Buddha's body fill the trisāhasramahāsāsralokadhātu; others find pure faith, bliss (*sukha*) and joy (*muditā*) in seeing a particular Buddha preaching the Dharma face-to-face: this is why the Buddha preaches the Dharma facing each one of them.

ACT VIII

Sūtra: Then, seated on the lion-seat, the Bhagavat smiled with joy, and the light of this smile illumined the whole trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu. Thanks to this light, the beings of the trisāhasramahāsāsralokadhātu saw the Buddhas and the saṃghas in universes of the east as numerous as the sands of the Ganges; [conversely], the beings of the universes of the east, universes as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, saw the Buddha Śākyamuni and his great assembly which were in the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu. And it was the same for the south, the west and the north, the four intermediate directions and the directions of the zenith and the nadir (*atha khalu bhagavāṃs tasminn eva siṃhāsane niṣaṇṇaḥ punar evasmitam akarot. yena smitāvabhāsenāyaṃ trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātuḥ sphuto 'bhūt. yena ca smitāvabhāsena ye ca trisāsramahāsmasralokadhātau sattvās te sarve pūrvasyāṃ diśi gaṅgānadīvālukopameṣu lokadhātuṣu buddhān bhagavataḥ paśyanti sma saśrāvakasaṃghān, tasyāñ pūrvasyāṃ diśi gaṅgānadīvālukopameṣu lokadhātuṣu ye sattvās te sarve 'sminn eva trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātau buddhaṃ Śākyamuniṃ paśyanti sma amardhaṃ mahāsaṃghena. evaṃ dakṣiṇasyāṃ diśi paścimāyām uttarasyāṃ catasṛiṣuvidikṣv ūrdhvam adhah cābhūt*).

Śāstra: Question. - Several times already, previously, the Buddha has emited rays (*raśmi*); why does he again emit them now?

Answer. - Above, when he emitted rays, he had a particular reason each time as we have noted. But up to now the great assemblies were invisible to one another; now, by the miraculous power of his rays (*raśmiṛddhibala*), the Buddha allows all the great assemblies of these different universes to see one another.

Question. - The great arhat, the āyusmat *A ni lou teou* (Aniruddha), who was the first of the Buddha's disciples to possess the divine eye (*divyacakṣukānām agraḥ*), ordinarily saw a chiliomicrocosm (*sāhasracūḍikalokadhātu*) and exceptionally a dichiliomesocosm (*dvisāhasramadhyamalokadhātu*). A great pratyekabuddha normally sees a dichiliomesocosm and exceptionally a trichiliomegacosm (*trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu*).How can all beings here see the Buddha-universes of the east, universes as numerous as the sand of the Ganges?

Answer. - It is the miraculous power of the Buddha which allows them to see so far; it is not due to the power of the beings themselves. It is accepted that arhats, pratyekabuddhas, etc., also have an unlimited field of vision by the power of the Buddha. Thus, when a noble cakravartin king comes flying, his entire

army with its retinue of elephants and horses follow him in the air. Here, by the Buddha's miraculous power, beings, distant as they may be, see one another. Moreover, by the power of the concentration of wisdom (*prajñāsamādhi*), even those who do not have the divine eye (*divyacakṣus*) see the ten directions. The Buddha's eye [**124a**] (*cakṣus*) and ear (*śrotra*) are free of obstacles (*āvaraṇa*). In the same way that all beings attain samādhi, the divine eye (*divyacakṣus*) and the divine ear (*divyaśotra*) by themselves (*svataḥ)* at the end of a kalpa at the time of the great conflagration, so the Buddha, by his miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*), causes all beings to have the ability to see at a distance.

[The sūtra says]: "Then the Bhagavat, seated on the lion-seat, smiled with joy." We have spoken previously of this smile; here we are content to explain what has not yet been explained.

Question. - The fact that beings of this place see yonder direction over there is due to the Buddha Śākyamuni's miraculous power; but whose is the power by virtue of which beings of yonder place see this direction here?

Answer. - Again it is the Buddha Śākyamuni's power that allows those beings to see our trisāhasramahāsāshasralokadhātu and to contemplate the Buddha Śākyamuni with all his assemblies (*saṃgha*). It is the same also for the south, the west and the north, the four intermediate directions and the directions of the zenith and the nadir.

CHAPTER XV: THE ARRIVAL OF THE BODHISATTVAS OF THE TEN DIRECTIONS

ACT IX

Sūtra: Then in the east, beyond universes as numerous as the sands of the Ganges and at the limit of these universes, there is a universe called *To pao* (Ratnāvatī) where there is a Buddha called *Pao tse* (Ratnākara) who is now teaching the Prajñāpāramitā to the bodhisattva-mahāsattvas (*Atha khalu pūrvasyāṃ diśi gaṅgānadīvālukopamān lokadhātūn atikramya tebhyo yaḥ sarvāvasāniko lokadhātū Ratnāvatī nāma tatra Ratnākaro nāma tathāgatas tiṣṭhati. sa imām eva prajñāpāramitāṃ bodhisattvānāṃ mahāsattvānāṃ dharmam deśayati*).

Śāstra: Question. - It has been said by the Buddha that the universes are innumerable (*apramāṇa*) and infinite (*ananta*); how can you speak of a universe situated at the limits of the universe (*sarvāvasāniko lokadhātuḥ*)? To talk in this way is to fall into the [heretical theory] of a finite world (*anatavān lokaḥ*). If the universes were limited [in number], the total number of beings would [at length] be exhausted. Actually, each one of the innumerable Buddhas saves an immense (*aprameya*) and incalculable (*asaṃkhyeya*) number of beings and introduces them into nirvāṇa without residue (*nirupadhiśeṣanirodha*); if there were not always new beings, their number would finally be exhausted.

Answer. - The Buddhist sūtras do indeed say that the universes are infinite in number, but this is a statement of a practical order (*upāyokti*) and not a true doctrine. In the same way, although the saint (*chen* here translates 'tathāgata') does not exist [after death], in practice (*upāyena*) we say that the saint exists [after death]. All of this is in the fourteen difficult questions [on which the Buddha refused to comment]. To say that the world is finite (*antavān lokaḥ*) or to say that the world is infinite (*anantavān lokaḥ*) are both wrong views (*mithyādṛṣṭi*). If the universes were infinite [in number], the Buddha would not possess omniscience (*sarvajñāna*), for omniscience is a universal wisdom from which nothing can escape; if the universes were infinite, some things would escape him. On the other hand, if the universes were finite in number, you would run up against the difficulty you raised above [in your question]. Therefore both solutions are wrong. Why? Because by being based on the infinite, one destroys the finite. The Ratnāvatī universe is not the limit of all the universes, but the Buddha Śākyamuni abides in the extreme limit so that beings may be saved. Similarly, when one abides at the boundary of a country, one does not claim to be abiding at the boundary of Jambudvīpa. If the universes were infinite, the Buddha would not be omniscient; his wisdom being immense, he must know everything, for 'if the letter is big, the envelope also must be big.'

Question. - This universe is called Ratnāvatī 'Rich in Jewels'. There are two kinds of jewels: the [**124 b**] substantial jewel (*dhanaratna*) and the dharma jewel (*dharmaratna*). What are these jewels the abundance of which merits the name Ratnāvatī for this universe?

Answer. - Both kinds of jewels occur in this universe. Furthermore, the many bodhisattvas [who inhabit it] are also jewels who illumine the nature of things (*dharmatā*). [Note by Kumārajīva: These jewels, namely the great bodhisattvas, serve as a diadem (*ratnamukuṭa*); in the center of this diadem we see the Buddha and we penetrate the nature of all dharmas]. As these jewels are numerous, the universe in question is called 'Rich in Jewels' (*ratnāvatī*).

There is a Buddha there called Ratnākara 'Jewel Mine'. He is so called because he includes the pure faculties (*anāsaravendriya*), the powers (*bala*), the Path of bodhi and the other jewels of the Dharma (*dharmaratna*).

Question. - If that is so, all the Buddhas should be called Ratnākara. Why reserve the name Ratnākara for this Buddha alone?

Answer. - All the Buddhas have these jewels, but this Buddha is the only one to take his name from them. In the same way, *Mi lö* (Maitreya) is called 'Loving-kindness' (*maitreya*) although all the Buddhas have the same loving-kindness (*maitrī*), but Maitreya is the only one to have this as his name.

Furthermore, the Buddha Ratnapuṣpa was named Ratnapuṣpakumāra 'Prince of Precious Flowers' because at his birth, all the extremities of his body were adorned with various flowers of brilliant colors. The Buddha Dīpaṃkara was called Dīpaṃkarakumāra, 'Prince, Lighter of Lamps' because when he was born, all the extremities of his body were like lamps. When he became Buddha, he was still called Dīpaṃkara. It is the same for the Buddha Ratnākara: he was called 'Jewel Mine' because, when he was born, many precious substances appeared, whether produced from the earth or whether the gods rained down a whole collection of them.

OBJECTIONS TO THE PLURALITY OF BUDDHA

Objector. - Only the Buddha Śākyamuni exists; the Buddhas of the ten directions (*daśadigbuddha*) do not exist. Why?

Argument number 1. - The Buddha Śākyamuni with his immense power (*apramāṇabala*) and his immense superknowledges (*apramāṇābhijñā*) is capable of saving all beings [by himself]; there is no need of other Buddhas. It is said[772] that Ānanda, absorbed with one-pointed mind (*ekacittena manasikurva*), said to

[772] I [Lamotte] do not know where the following story was taken from, but the miracle of the multiplication of the Buddhas which the Mppś tells here and will tell again in two other places (k. 21, p. 220b, and k. 34, p. 312b) reproduces in several details the Great Miracle at Śrāvastī. The main sources are, in Pāli, the Sumaṅgalavilāsanī, I, p. 57; the Dhammapadaṭṭha, III, p. 213-216 (tr. Burlingame, *Legends*, III, p. 45-47) and the Jātaka, IV, p. 264-265; in Chinese, the Mulasarvāstivādin Vinaya, Kṣudrakavastu, T 1451, k. 26, p. 332a-b; parallel Sanskrit texts: Divyāvadāna, p. 161-162 (tr. Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 162-164). The reproductions of the Great Miracle on the monuments at Bhārhut, Gandhāra, Benares, Ajaṇtā, Magadha and Konkan have been minutely described by Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, p. 147-185. According to the Divya, the Great Miracle at Śrāvastī is broken down into two parts:

1) The twin miracle (*yamakarātihārya*). - The Bhagavat rose up into the air and appeared there in the four positions (*īryāpatha*), walking, sitting, standing and lying down. He attained the element of fire (*tejodhātu*) and his body emitted

himself: "The Buddhas of the past, Ratnapuṣpa, Dīpaṃkara, etc., were all born in marvelous times; their life was very long and they saved all beings. Then how could the present Buddha, born at a bad time and of short life, save all beings?" These were the questions he asked himself. At dawn (*sūryodaya*), the Buddha, who knew Ānanda's thoughts, entered into the Daybreak samādhi (*sūryodayasamādhi*); then he emitted rays (*raśmi*) from all the pores of his skin (*romakūpa*). Like the sun, he emitted rays the brilliance of which spread successively over Jambudvīpa, the four continents (*caturdvīpaka*), the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu and finally over all the innumerable universes of the ten directions (*daśadiglokadhātu*). Then the Bhagavat sent forth from his navel (*nābhi*) a precious lotus (*ratnapuṣpa*) described by the following stanzas:

The stem (*daṇḍa*) is of green jade (*vaiḍūrya*),

The petals (*pattra*), a thousand in number, are of yellow gold.

The corolla (*vedikā*) is of diamond (*vajra*)

The trimming is of coral (*musāragalva*).

The stem is flexible, without the usual curves,

Its height is ten armspans (*vyāma*);

[**124 c**] Having the color of green jade,

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various glows. Flames escaped from the lower part of his body and from the upper part there came a rain of cold water (*adhaḥ kāyaṃ prajvālayaty uparimāt kāyāc cītalā vāridhārāḥ standante*). The Bhagavat himself knew that the miraculous power that he was thus manifesting is shared by all the śrāvakas (*sarvaśravakasādhāraṇā ṛddhi*). And we have already seen that several saints have accomplished this twin miracle.

2) The Great Miracle proper. - This miracle is higher than any human can perform (*uttara manuṣyadharmaṛddhiprātihāryam*). The Dīvya, p. 162, describes it in the followjng way: *Nandopanandābhyāṃ nāgarājābhyāṃ Bhagavata upanāmitaṃ .... anye praśnān pṛcchanty anye visarjayanti*.

"The two nāga kings, Nanda and Upananda, created a golden thousand-petalled lotus the size of a chariot wheel with a diamond stem and came to present it to the Bhagavat who seated himself crosslegged on the corolla of this lotus, body upright in full awareness. Above this lotus, he created another and on this lotus, the Bhagavat was likewise seated. And similarly, in front, behind, all around him, appeared masses of blessed Buddhas, created by himself, rising up to the Akaniṣṭha heaven, forming a buddha-assembly created by the Blessed One. Some of these magical Buddhas were walking, some standing, some sitting, some lying down; some were attaining the fire element and producing miraculous flames, light rays and flashes of lightning; some were asking questions and some were replying." (tr. Burnouf).

There is a striking similarity between the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī and that of the multiplication of Buddhas told here by the Mppś. However, there is a difference in detail that is worth mentioning. At Śrāvastī, the central lotus is created and brought by Nanda and Upananda and in most of the reproductions, the two nāga kings can be seen holding the stem of a lotus. In the acount of the Mppś, there is no mention of the two nāga kings; the original lotus and the adventitious lotuses arise from the Buddha's navel. Without a doubt, the Buddhist legend has been contaminated by the myth of the birth of Brahmā who appears seated cross-legged on a golden thousand-petalled lotus arising from Viṣṇu's navel.

It is planted in the Buddha's navel.

Its leaves are broad and long,
White in color, striped with marvelous colors.
Infinitely precious ornament,
The thousand petalled lotus.

This marvelous lotus of such beautiful colors
Emerges from the Buddha's navel.
On the four petals of its corolla
Precious seats shine with divine light.

On each of these seats sits a Buddha;
One would call them four golden mountain summits.
Their light is equal as if one.

From the navels of these four Buddhas
Comes a magnificent precious lotus.
On each lotus there is a seat,
On each seat there is a Buddha.

From the navels of all these Buddhas,
Come in turn precious lotuses.
On each lotus there is a seat;
On each seat there is a Buddha.

These successive creations
Rise up to the Śuddhāvāsa heaven;
Whoever would like to know how far
Will have to resort to the following comparison:

An enormous rock

Having the size of a high mountain,

Thrown from the height of the Śuddhāvāsa

And falling straight down without meeting any obstacle

Would take eighteen thousand three hundred

And eighty-three years

To land on the earth;[773]

That is the number of years it would take.

In the intermediate space,

Emanated Buddhas, placed in the center,

Spread out a brilliant light

That surpasses the fires of the sun and moon.

Some Buddhas have bodies streaming with water,

Others have bodies emitting fire;[774]

Sometimes they appear to walk,

Sometimes they are seated in silence.

Some Buddhas go to beg their food

To make a gift of it to beings.

Sometimes they preach the Dharma,

Sometimes they shoot out rays.

Sometimes they go to visit the three bad destinies

And the hells of water, the shadows and fire.[775]

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[773] This is the number given by the Jñānaprasthāna, cf. Beal, *Catena,* p. 83.

Their warm breath warms up the cold water,

Their rays illumine the shadows,

In the fiery places, they breathe out a cooling breeze,

Skillfully they calm the torments [of the damned].

By pacifying them and calming them

They save them by the bliss of the Dharma (*dharmasukha*).

By all of these skillful means (*upāya*) [these apparitional Buddhas], all at the same time, wanted to save the innumerable beings of the ten directions. When they had saved them, they returned to their starting point and re-entered the navel of the Buddha.

[**125 a**] Then the Bhagavat, coming out of the Sūryodhayasamādhi, asked Ānanda: "Did you see the power of my abhjñā during this samādhi?" Ānanda relied: "Yes, I saw it", and added: "If it is sufficient for the Buddha to appear for just one day in order that the disciples converted by him (*vineyaśrāvaka*) fill space (*ākāśa*), what would not the number of those converted amount to if he remained in the world for eighty years?"

This is why we say that one single Buddha, whose qualities (*guṇa*) and miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*) are immense, suffices to convert the ten directions without the need for other Buddhas.

Argument number 2. - Furthermore, the Buddha said: "A woman cannot be a cakravartin king, Śakradevendra, or Māradevarāja, or Brahmādevarāja. Two cakravartin kings cannot reign together at the same place. Similarly, with regard to the Bhagavat with ten powers, there cannot be two Buddhas existing in the same world."

Argument number 3. - Finally, the Buddha said - and his words are not frivolous - that two Buddhas do not exist at the same time: "One thing that is difficult to find is a Buddha Bhagavat. It takes innumerable koṭi of kalpas to find one. In 91 kalpas, there have been only three Buddhas. Before the good kalpa (*bhadrakalpa*), during the 91st kalpa, there was a Buddha called Vipaśyin, 'Views of All Kinds'; during the 31st kalpa, there were two Buddhas; the first was called Śikhin, 'Fire', and the second Viśvabhū, 'Victorious Over All'. During the good kalpa, there were four Buddhas, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni "Golden Sage', Kaśyapa and Śākyamuni. Except for these kalpas, all the others were empty (*śūnya*), lacking Buddhas and miserable."[776]

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774 In other words, they are accomplishing the *yamakaprātihārya*.

775 For these Buddhist hells, see Kirfel, *Kosmographie des Inder*, p. 199-206.

776 *Mahāpadānasuttanta* in Dīgha, II, p. 2; Tch'ong a han, T 1, k. 1, p. 1c; Ts'i fo king, T 2, P. 150a; Ts'i fo fou mou sing tseu king, T 4, p. 159b: *Ito so bhikkhave ekanavuto kappo yaṃ Vipassī bhagavā ....ahaṃ etarahi arahaṃ sammāsambuddha loke uppanno*.

Other references about the seven Buddhas in Hobogirin, *Butsu*, p. 193-96.

If the Buddhas of the ten directions existed, how could [the Buddha] say that the other kalpas lacked buddhas and were miserable?

ANSWER TO THE OBJECTIONS

1. *Refutation of argument number 1*. - Although the Buddha Śākyamuni, endowed with immense miraculous power (*apramaṇaṛddhibala*), is able to create the apparitional Buddhas (*nirmāṇabuddha*) established in the ten directions, preaching the Dharma, emitting rays and saving beings, he is, however, not able to save beings without exception. [To claim the opposite] would be to fall [into the heresy] that assigns a limit to existences (*bhavānta*) and to deny the existence of the Buddhas of the past. Since the number of beings is inexhaustible (*akṣaya*), there must be other Buddhas [than Śākyamuni to work for their salvation].

2. *Refutation of argument number 2*. - You also object: "The Buddha has said that a female cannot be five things, that two cakravartin kings cannot appear in the world simultaneously and, likewise, that two Buddhas cannot exist in the same world at the same time." You do not understand the meaning of this text. The Buddhist sūtras have two meanings: Some have a meaning that is easy to undestand (*sulabha*), others have a profound (*gambhīra*) meaning, remote (*vipakṛṣṭa*) and difficult to grasp (*durvigāhya*). Thus, at the moment of entering Nirvāṇa, the Buddha said to the bhikṣus:[777] "Henceforth, you must rely on the truth in

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[777] This is the sūtra of 'the four reliances' (*catvāri pratisaraṇāni*) attested to only recently:

Kośa, IX, p. 246 and Kośavyākhyā, p. 704: *catvārīmāni bhikṣavaḥ pratisaraṇāni. Katamānī .... jñānaṃ pratisaraṇaṃ na vijñānam*.

Dharmasaṃgraha, ch. LIII: *catvāri pratisaraṇāni. tadyathā arthapratisaraṇatā na .... pudgalaprati-saraṇatā.*

Mahāvyutpatti, no. 1546-1549: *catvāri pratisaraṇāni. arthapratisaraṇana bhavitavyaṃ na .... neyārthasūtrapratisaranena*.

Sūtrālaṃkāra, ed. Lévi, p. 138: *prathame pratisaraṇe ārṣadharmapartikṣeptuḥ .... caturthe sābhlāṣasaya jñānasya pratyātmavedanīyasya*.

The Madh. vṛtti alludes to the four pratisaranas: p. 43. - *uktaṃ cāryakṣayamatisūtre. katame sūtrāntā neyārthāḥ katame nītārthāḥ .... na neyārthasūtrāntapratisaraṇatā iti*.- p. 533: *sa kiṃ vijñānena paricchinatti uta jñānena*.

The Bodh. bhūmi, p. 256, gives detailed explanations: *kathaṃ bodhisattaś caturṣu pratisaraṇeṣu prayujyate. 1. iha bodhisattvaḥ arthārthī parato .... 2. punar bodhisattvaḥ kālmapadeśaṃ bhavati mahāpadeśaṃ .... 3. punar bodhisattvas tathāgate niviṣṭaśraddho .... 4. punar bodhisattvaḥ adhigamajñāne sāradarśī bhavati .... na pratikṣipati nāpavadati*.

evaṃ ca punaḥ suporayukto bhavati tatraiṣu chaturṣu pratisaraṇeṣu .... cādigamajñānasasya.

Although to my [Lamotte's] knowledge the sūtra of the four reliances is later than the canonical literature, the theory of the *pratisaraṇa* is already hinted at in the Nikāyas. They make the distinctions between *dharma*, 'doctrine', and *pudgala*, 'authority' (cf. Majjhima, I, p. 265, where the Buddha advises his monks not to adopt the Dharma out of respect for the teacher (*satthugārvena*) but because they themselves have understood, seen and grasped the distinction between *artha*, spirit [or meaning], and *vyañjana*, letter (cf. Vinaya, I, p. 40, where Śāriputra says to Assaji: *appaṃ vā bahuṃ vā bhāsassu, atthaṃ yeva me brūhi, atthen' eva me attho, kiṃ kāhasi vyañjanaṃ bahun ti*; Majjhima, II, p. 240: *āyasmantānaṃ me attho, kiṃ kāhasi vyañjanaṃ bahun ti*; Majjhima, II, p. 240: *āyamantānaṃ kho atthato c'eva sameti byañjanato ca sameti;* between *suttaṃ nītatthaṃ* and *suttaṃ neyyatthaṃ* (Nettipakaraṇa, p. 21).

itself and not on any authority, whatever it may be (*dharmapratisaraṇena bhavutayaṃ na pudgalaprati-saraṇena*); you must rely on the meaning (spirit) and not on the letter (*arthapratisaraṇena bhavitavyaṃ na vyañjanaprtisataṇena*); you must rely on gnosis and not on discursive knowledge (*jñānapratisaraṇena bhavitavyaṃ na vijñānaprtisaraṇena*); you must rely on the sūtras of explicit meaning and not on the sūtras of indeterminate meaning (*nītārthasūtra-pratisaraṇena bhavitavyaṃ na neyārthasūtrapratisaraṇena*)."

a) Relying on the truth in itself (*dharmapratisaraṇena*) is keeping to the twelve categories of texts (*dvādaśāṅgadharma*)[778] and not keeping to the authority of a person.

b) Relying on the meaning (*arthapratisaraṇa*), since goodwill or malice, defect or merit, falsity or truth, cannot be attributed to meaning. It is the letter (*vyañjana*) that indicates the meaning (*artha*), but the meaning is not the letter. Suppose a man points his finger at the moon to people who doubt the moon's presence; if these doubters fixate on the finger but do not look at the moon, this man tells them: "I am pointing to the moon with my finger so that you may notice the moon. Why do you fixate on my finger instead of looking at the moon?"[779] It is the same here: the letter (*vyañjana*) is the finger pointing to the meaning (*artha*), but the letter is not the meaning. This is why one should not rely on the letter.

c) Relying on gnosis (*jñānapratisaraṇa*). - Gnosis (*jñāna*) allows one to appreciate and distinguish between good and evil; discursive knowledge (*vijñāna*) is always seeking pleasure (*sukha*) and does not penetrate the essence.[780] This is why one should not rely on discursive knowledge.

d) Relying on sūtras of explicit meaning (*nītārthasūtrapratisaraṇa*). - Those sūtras are of explicit meaning that say: "Of all the omniscient ones (*sarvajñā*), the Buddha is foremost; among all the texts, the Buddhist texts are foremost; among all beings (*sattva*), the bhikṣus are foremost."[781] "Through generosity one

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[778] The twelve categories of texts are *sūtra, geya, vyākaraṇa,* etc., which will be defined later, k. 33, p. 306c.

[779] Cf. Laṅkāvatārasūtra, p. 106 (quoted in Subhāṣitasaṃgraha, Muséon, 1903, p. 399): *Na cāñguliprekṣakena bhavitavyam tadyathā Mahāmate añgulyā kaścit .... hitvā paramārtha, āgamiṣyati*. - In order to understand this text more precisely, imperfectly rendered by D.T. Suzuki in his translation of the Laṅkāvatāra, London, 1932, p. 169, it is useful to look at the Tibetan text of the Laṅ kar gśegs paḥi mdo, Tib coll. of the Bibliotheque Nationale, No. 66, folio 146b6-8: *Sor mo la lta ba lta bur mu byaḥo [hdis lta ste] blo gros chen po .... du chud par bya ba ni mi byed do* /

"One must not do as the person who looks at the finger. Mahāmati, it is as if one were pointing out something with one's finger to somebody who persisted in looking only at the end of the finger. Similarly, O Mahāmati, stupid people, ordinary worldlings, like children, remain fixated on the end of the finger, which is called the literal interpretation, and they will die still attached to the end of the finger which is called 'the letter'. Because they have ignored the meaning designated by the end of the finger which they call the literal interpretation, they will never penetrate into the Absolute."

Cf. the Chinese versions of the Laṅkāvatāra, T 670, k. 4, p. 507a; Y 671, k. 6, p. 551c; T 672, k. 5, p. 616a.

[780] According to the extract from the Bodh. bhūmi cited above, *adhigamajñāna* is the wisdom coming from meditation (*bhāvanamaya)* while *vijñāna* is the wisdom coming from hearing and reflecting (*śrutacintāmaya*). - See in Kośa, IX, p. 248, the references gathered by de La Vallée Poussin that refer to the Bhagavadgītā, among other texts.

[781] This concerns the three *agraprajñapti* proclaiming the superiority of the Triratna. See the original Pāli in Itivuttaka, p. 87; Aṅguttara, II, p. 34; III, p. 35: *Yavatā bhikkhave sattā apadā vā dvipadā .... tathāgatasāvakasaṃgho tesaṃ akkhāyati*.

acquires great merit (*puṇya*)."[782] "Discipline (*śīla*) allows one to be reborn among the gods"[783], etc. - On the other hand, that sūtra is of indeterminate meaning which says: "By preaching the Dharma, the Dharma teacher (*dharmācārya*) is assured of five benefits: great merit, people's love, beauty, renown, final attainment of nirvāṇa."[784]

Why is this sūtra of indeterminate meaning? It is evident and easy to understand that generosity (*dāna*) involves great merit (*mahāpunya*), [but it is not so clear] that preaching the Dharma (*dharmadeśana*), which is not a material gift (*āmiṣadāna*), is meritorious, as this sūtra would have it. Nevertheless, it is meritorious; for the preacher, by praising generosity in every way, destroys the greed (*mātsarya*) of others and combats his own greed: this is why his preaching is meritorious. [But the sūtra's allegation being itself unclear], is called 'of indeterminate meaning (*anītārtha*)'. Many sūtras, out of skillful means (*upāya*), say things that [seem] to be inexact [at first sight and which require explanation].

Thus, a sūtra has said that "two Buddhas cannot appear together i*n the same world",* but by 'the same world' the sūtra does not mean to designate all the universes of the ten directions. The sūtra also says that "two cakravartin kings are not found in the world together"; it does not mean to say that two cakravartin kings cannot coexist in the same trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu; it says only that two cakravartin kings cannot coexist in the same *cāturdvīpaka* (universe of four continents). It is necessary to aquire very pure merit (*punyaviśuddhi*) in order to reign over the entire world without encountering a rival [as is the case for the cakravartins]. If there were two kings [in the same world]. that would mean that their merit was not pure. Similarly, although the Buddhas have no feeling of jealousy (*īrṣyā*) one against the other, over lifetimes they have accomplished such pure actions that they cannot both appear in the same world (*lokadhātu*), namely, in the same trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu consisting of a a million Mount Sumerus, a million suns and moons. In the ten directions, these trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātus are as numerous as the sands of the Ganges and each of them consitutes the universe of a Buddha (*ekabuddhalokadhātu*); only one Buddha is found there, never two. In one of these Buddha universes, the single buddha Śākyamuni incessantly creates emanated Buddhas (*nirmaṇabuddha*) who resort to preaching (*dharmaparyāya*), to apparitional bodies (*kāya*), to causes and skillful means (*upāya*) of all kinds in order to save beings. It is in this sense that it is said in many sūtras that two Buddhas cannot exist simultaneously in the same world. That does not mean that there are not [many] Buddhas in the ten directions [at the same time].

The corresponding Sanskrit phrase is in the Divyāvadāna, p. 155, and Avadānaśataka, I, p. 49-50; 329-330. *Ye kecit sattvā apadā vā dvipadā ..... Tathāgataśrāvakasaṃghas teṣam agra ākhyātaḥ*.

See development of the phrase in Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 12, p. 602a.

[782] See these five advantages in Aṅguttara, III, p. 41.

[783] ibid., III, p. 253: *Sīlavā sīlasampanno kāyassa bhedā parammaranā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ upapajjati.*

[784] This sūtra attributes the same benefits to preaching as to generosity; the latter are listed in Aṅguttara, III, p. 41: *Pañc 'ime bhikkhave dāne ānisaṃsā .... sugatiṃ saggaṃ likaṃ upapajjati*.

But if it is clear that these benefits result from generosity, it is less clear that they should also be attributed to preaching. Hence the necessity for an explanation that will lead the exegetists to place the sermon on the five advantages of preaching into the *neyārthasūtra* category.

Refutation of argument number 3. - You also made the objection: "The Buddha has said that it is hard to find a Buddha Bhagavat" and you said that in 91 kalpas, only three kalpas had a [**125 c**] Buddha and that the other kalpas were empty, lacking a Buddha, and were miserable.

The Buddha has in mind those guilty men who have not planted the roots of good needed to see a Buddha (*anavaropitakuśalamūlā buddhadarśanāya*) when he said: "The appearance of a Buddha is a rare thing, as rare as the appearance of a flower on the udumbara tree (*Ficus glomerata*)". Indeed, these sinners cycle through the three bad destinies (*durgati*), sometimes even being reborn among humans or among the gods; but when a Buddha appears in the world, they are unable to see him. It is said that among the 900,000 householders in the city of Śrāvastī, 300,000 saw the Buddha, 300,000 heard him speak but did not see him, 300,000 did not even hear him speak. Now the Buddha lived at Śrāvastī for 25 years and, if some citizens did not see him and some did not hear him speak, what can be said of people living far away?

One day, accompanied by Ānanda, the Buddha went to Śrāvastī on his alms-round. A poor old woman was standing at the roadside. Ānanda said to the Buddha: "This woman is worthy of compassion; the Buddha should save her." The Buddha replied: "This woman does not have the conditions required [to be saved]." Ānanda continued: "May the Buddha approach her. When she sees the Buddha with his major marks (*lakṣaṇa*) and minor marks (*anuvyañjana*) and his rays (*raśmi*), she will experience a joyful mind (*muditācitta*) and will thus fulfill the required conditions." Then the Buddha came near the woman, but she turned away and showed her back to him. The Buddha tried to approach her from four different sides; each time she turned her back to him in the same way. She looked up in the air, but when the Buddha came down to her, she lowered her head at once. The Buddha rose up from the earth [to make her see him], but she lowered her face with her hands and did not want to look at the Buddha.[785] Then the Buddha said to Ānanda: "What more can I do? Everything is useless; there are people who do not fulfill the conditions necessary for being saved and who do not succeed in seeing the Buddha." That is why the Buddha has said that it is as difficult to meet a Buddha as a flower on the udumbara tree. With the Buddha, it is like rain-water (*varṣajala*), easy to receive in folded hands, but which the pretas, ever thirsty, never get.[786]

You say that in 91 kalpas, only three times has there been a Buddha. This holds for one Buddha universe taken alone but does not hold for all the Buddha universes taken together. Similarly, the other affirmation which says that "the other kalpas were empty, without Buddhas, and miserable", applies only to one Buddha universe alone and not to all the others taken together. This is why we affirm the existence of the Buddhas of the ten directions.

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF THE PLURALITY OF BUDDHAS

Furthermore, the Buddhas of the ten directions do appear in the śrāvaka texts, but you do not understand these texts.

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785 We should note that there is no ill will on the part of the woman. The text does not say that she does not want to see the Buddha, but simply that she is incapable of seeing him because her merits are insufficient.

786 On the Tantalus-like torment of the pretas, see, e.g., Sūtrālaṃkāra, tr. Huber, p. 99-100.

1) In the *Tsa a han king* (Saṃyuktāgamasūtra),[787] it is said: "When it is pouring rain, the rain drops (*bindu*) are so close together that they cannot be counted. It is the same for the universes (*lokadhātu*). In the east (*pūrvasyāṃ diś)*, I see innumerable beings born, subsisting and perishing. Their number is very great, defying calculation. It is the same in the ten directions. In these universes of the ten directions, innumerable beings undergo the threefold physical suffering (*kāyaduḥkha)*, old age (*jarā*), sickness (*vyādhi*) and death (*maraṇa*); the threefold mental suffering, desire (*rāga*), hatred (*dveṣa*) and ignorance (*moha*); and the threefold suffering of rebirth (*punarbhavaduḥkha*), rebirth among the damned (*naraka*), the pretas and animals (*tiryagyoni*). All of these universes have three types of men, inferior (*avara*), middling (*madhya*) or [**126 a**] superior (*agra*). Inferior men are attached (*sakta*) to present happiness, middling men to future happiness, superior men seek the Path; they are filled with loving-kindness (*maitrī*) and compassion (*karuṇā*) and have pity for beings." When the causes and conditions [necessary for the coming of a Buddha] are present, why would the effect, [namely, the coming of a Buddha] not be produced? The Buddha has said: "If there were no sickness, old age and death, Buddhas would not appear." [788] That is because when one sees people tormented by old age, sickness and death, one makes the resolution (*praṇidhāna*) to become Buddha in order to save all beings, cure their mental illnesses and take them out of the pain of rebirths. Now, precisely these universes of the ten directions show all the causes and conditions required for the coming of a Buddha (*buddhaprādurbhāva*). How can you say that our universe is the only one to have a Buddha and the others do not? You merit as little credence as the person who says: "Here there is wood, but there is no fire; the ground is wet, but there is no water." It is the same for the Buddha. These beings suffer the pains of old age, sickness and death in their bodies; their minds are subject to the sicknesses of desire (*rāga*), hatred (*dveṣa*) and ignorance (*moha*); the Buddha appears in the world to destroy this threefold suffering and introduce beings into the triple vehicle (*yānaytraya*). How could the Buddha not appear in all the universes where this suffering exists? It would be wrong to say that s single remedy (*agada*) is enough to cure numberless blind people (*andhapuruṣa*) [and consequently, a single Buddha to cure numberless beings]. Therefore the Buddhas of the ten directions must necessarily exist.

2) Furthermore, a sūtra[789] in the *Tch'ang a han* (Dīrghāgama) says: "There was a king of the asuras, guardian of the north; during the last watch of the night, he went to the Buddha with many hundreds of koṭi of asuras, and having bowed down to the Buddha's feet, he stood to one side; emitting a pure light, he illumined the Jetavana with a great light. Joining his hands together, he praised the Buddha with the following stanzas:

Great hero, I take refuge in you!

Buddha, the greatest of those who walk on two feet.

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787 I [Lamotte] have not found this sūtra in T 99 where it should appear. Excepting error, it is lacking in the Pāli Saṃyutta.

788 Aṅguttara, V, p. 144: *Tayo bhikkhave dhammā loke na saṃvijjeyyuṃ. na Tathāgato loke uppajjeyya arahaṃ sammāsambuddho... Katame tayo? Jāti ca jarā ca maraṇañ ca*.

789 This is the start of the Āṭānāṭikasūtra in Sanskrit, the text of which has already been given above.

What you know with the wisdom-eye

The gods cannot understand.

Whether they be past, future, or present

I bow before all the Buddhas.

Taking refuge today in the Buddha

I also pay homage equally to the Buddhas of the three times."

In these stanzas, it is a question of the Buddhas of the ten directions; the asura king bows before the Buddhas of the three times; then, in particular, he takes refuge in the Buddha Śākyamuni. If the actual Buddhas of the ten directions did not exist, he would take refuge only in the Buddha Śākyamuni and he would not say anything about the other past (*atīta*), future (*anāgata*) or present (*pratyutpanna*) Buddhas. This is why we affirm the existence of the Buddhas of the ten directions.

3) Furthermore, if there were, in the past, innumerable Buddhas, if there will be, in the future, innumerable Buddhas, there must also be, in the present, innumerable Buddhas.

4) Furthermore, if, in the śrāvaka texts, the Buddha had spoken of incalculable (*asaṃkhyeya*) and innumerable (*apramāṇa*) Buddhas of the ten directions, beings would have said: "Since Buddhas are so easy to find, it is not necessary to seek deliverance (*vimokṣa*) zealouly. If we won't meet this particular Buddha, we'll meet another one later." Out of laziness (*kausīdya*) they would not diligently seek their salvation. A gazelle that has not been shot at by [**126b**] an arrow (*sara*) does not know fear; but once it has been shot at, it bounds away [at the approach of the hunter]. In the same way, people who know the sufferings of old age (*jarā*), sickness (*vyādhi*) and death (*maraṇa*) and who have heard that there is but one Buddha who is very hard to find, feel fear, make energetic efforts and quickly come to escape from suffering. This is why, in the śrāvaka texts, the Buddha has not spoken about the existence of the Buddhas of the ten directions but neither did he say they do not exist.

5) If the Buddhas of the ten directions exist and if you deny their existence, you are committing a sin of immediate retribution (*ānantaryāpatti*). On the other hand, if the Buddhas of the ten directions do not exist and, nevertheless, I affirm their existence merely to produce the notion of Buddhas infinite in number (*apramāṇabuddhasaṃjñā*), I gain the merit of paying homage to them (*satkārapunya*). Why is that? Because it is good intention (*kuśalacitta*) that makes great merit. Thus, in the samādhi of loving-kindness (*maitrīcittasamādhi*), one considers all beings and sees them all happy; even though there is no real benefit for the beings [to be considered as happy], the person who considers them in this way with loving-kindness gains immense merit. It is the same for [the person who sets out] the idea of the Buddhas of the ten directions.

If the Buddhas of the ten directions really exist and if one denies their existence, one commits the extremely grave sin of attacking the Buddhas of the ten directions. Why? Because one is attacking something true. The person does not see these Buddhas with his fleshly eye (*māṃsacakṣus*); but if he

affirms their existence out of faith (*cittaprasāda*), his merit (*puṇya*) is immense. On the contrary, if he mentally denies their existence, since these Buddhas actually exist, his sin (*āpatti*) is very grave. If, then, the person should believe in the existence [of the Buddhas of the ten directions] from their own lights, why should he not then believe in them when the Buddha in person has proclaimed the existence of these Buddhas in the Mahāyāna?

LARGE NUMBER OF SAVIORS, BUT SMALL NUMBER OF THE ELECT

Question. - In the ten directions, if there is an immense number of Buddhas and bodhisattvas, why do they not come [to the aid] of the beings who, at the present time, are falling into the three bad destinies (*durgati*)?

Answer. - *1*) Because the sins (*āpatti*) of these beings are too serious.[790] Even if the Buddhas and bodhisattvas come [to their aid], these beings would not see them.

2) Moreover, the dharmakāya Buddhas ceaselessly emit rays (*raśmi*) and ceaselessly preach the Dharma but, because of their sins, these beings neither see nor hear them. Thus, when the sun (*sūrya*) rises, blind people (*andha*) do not see it; when thunder (*vajra*) shakes the earth, deaf people (*badhira*) do not hear it; similarly, the dharmakāya emits rays ceaselessly and preaches the Dharma ceaselessly, but the beings who have accumulated sins (*āpatti*) and stains (*mala*) in the course of innumerable kalpas do not see it and do not hear it. If the mirror (*ādarśa*) is clear or if the water (*jala*) is limpid, one can see one's image in it; but if the mirror is dirty or the water disturbed, one sees nothing; in the same way, beings of pure mind see the Buddha, while those of impure mind do not see him. Although even today, the Buddhas and bodhisattvas of the ten directions come to save beings, they cannot see them.

3) Moreover, the Buddha Śākyamuni, born in Jambudvīpa, lived in Kapilavastu, but often traveled to the six great cities of eastern India.[791] One day he flew to southern India to the home of the vaiśya *Yi eul* (Koṭikarṇa), whose veneration he received.[792] Another day, he went to northern India to the kingdom of

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790 Cf. Saṃdhinirmocana, IX, st. 25: If the bodhisattvas have at their disposal inexhaustible wealth, if they are compassionate, how is it that there are still miseries in the world? This is solely the fault of the sins of beings. If there were not sins standing in opposition to their happiness, how would there be wretched people in the world since the bodhisattvas think only of helping others and have inexhaustible wealth? It is like the pretas tortured by thirst; they see the water of the ocean dry up in front of them. This torture cannot be imputed to the ocean; it is due to the retribution of the sins committed by the pretas. Similarly here, the suffering of wretched people cannot be imputed to this ocean which is the generosity of the bodhisattvas, but solely to the demoniacal actions that are the sins of beings.

791 The frequent visits of the Buddha to the six large cities of eastern India and especially to Rājagṛha and Śrāvastī has already been noted.

792 *The journey of the Buddha to southern India and his reception by Koṭikarṇa*. - The legend of Koṭikarṇa in the Vinayas has been studied by S. Lévi*, Sur la récitation primitive des textes bouddhiques,* JA, May-June, 1915, p. 401-417. The sources are Pāli Vinaya, I, p. 194 seq.; Udāna, p. 37 seq.; Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, T 1447, k. 1, p. 1048c-1053c

the *Yue tche*; there he subdued the nāga-king *A po lo* (Apalāla); then, going to the west of the *Yue tche* kingdom, he subdued the rākṣasī, stayed in her cave (*guhā*) and, even until today, the Buddha's shadow has remained there: those who go

[**126 c**] inside the cave see nothing, but when they come outside, they see the rays at a distance. Finally, the Buddha flew to *Ki pin* (Kapiśa?) on the mountain of the ṛṣi *Li po t'o* (Revata); remaining in space, he subdued this ṛṣi, who said to him: "I would like to stay here; would the Buddha please leave me one of his hairs (*keśa*) and one of his fingernails (*nakha*)?" The ṛṣi then built a stūpa to venerate them which still

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(corresponding exactly to the Koṭikarṇāvadāna in the Divya, p. 1-24); Sarvāstivādin Vinaya, T 1435, k. 25, p. 178a-182a; Mahīśāsaka Vinaya, T 1421, k. 21, p. 144a; Dharmagupta Vinaya, T 1328, k. 39, p. 845b.

In all these sources, Koṭikarṇa is a disciple of Mahākātyāyana. Teacher and disciple lived in the kingdom of Avanti, capital Ujjayinī, on the Mālva plateau. In the Pāli Vinaya and the Udāna, the kingdom is called *Avanti*; in the Dharmagupta and Mahīśāsaka Vinayas, *Aśpakāvati*; in the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya, *Aśmakāvanti*; in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, *Aśma Aparānataka*. - Koṭikarṇa went to visit the Buddha who was staying at Śrāvastī in the Jetavana (or, according to the Dharmagupta Vinaya, at Rājagṛha on the Gṛdhrakūtaparvata). He prostrated before the Buddha and sat down at one side. The Buddha welcomed him in the usual way. Ānanda prepared Koṭikarṇa's bed in the Buddha's cell. The Buddha came to his cell after midnight and Koṭikarṇa followed. At the request of the teacher, Koṭikarṇa recited the Arthavarga and the Buddha congratulated him. Koṭikarṇa informed the Buddha about the difficulties of observing the monastic precepts in remote countries; in southern countries and in Avanti, where monks were few, the Buddha allowed five monks to conduct ordination; he also permitted the constant use of baths and shoes.

Thus it is established from the texts that Koṭikarṇa once went from Avanti to Śrāvastī (or Rajāgṛha) to make the acquaintance of the Buddha. On the other hand, the sources do not say that the Buddha ever went to Avanti, or any other place to visit Koṭikarṇa. Nevertheless, the Mppś is explicit: "One day the Buddha flew to southern India to the home of the vaiśya Koṭikarṇa, who paid his respects to him." But the Mppś is wrong. Let us see what the error consists of and let us try to explain it.

a) It is wrong that the Buddha ever went to Koṭikarṇa in Avanti, but it is true that he visited southern India. On the invitation of Pūrṇa and his brothers, he went to Śūrpāraka, capital of Śroṇāparānta (southern Konkan). The voyage is described in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, T 1448, k. 3, p. 14b23-17a21; Divyāvadāna, p. 16-55 (tr. Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 234-245); Papañca, V, p. 90-92; Marattha, II, p. 378-379. The Buddha flew there with five hundred arhats. On the way, he converted five hundred widows, five hundred ṛṣi*s* and the sage Vakkalin. He landed in Śurpāraka in the sandalwood palace (*candanmāla prāsada*) which he changed into crystal. On returning, he converted the nāga kings Kṛṣṇa and Gautamaka and, according to the Pāli sources, he left the imprint of his foot on the bank of the Nammadā (actually the Nerbudda) river. From there, he went to the Marīcika heaven to convert Bhadrakanyā, Maudgalyāyana's mother. Finally at the speed of thought, he returned to Śrāvastī to the Jetavana.

b) There is no doubt that the Mppś is alluding to this voyage when it says that the Buddha flew to southern India. But why does it say that the Buddha went to the home of Koṭikarṇa when the Buddha was received by Pūrṇa? Probably because Śūrpāraka, Pūrṇa's city, is located in Śroṇāparānta and the surname of Koṭikarṇa is Śroṇa (in Pāli, Soṇa Koṭikaṇṇa). The Mppś is not alone in having brought together the name of the country and the surname of heroes, whereas in the other Vinayas which we have analyzed above, Koṭikarṇa is the disciple of Mahākātyāyana and a native of Avanti. The Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya, T 1425, k. 23, p. 415c, has it that he was a disciple of Pūrṇa and living at *Chou na* (Śroṇāparānta).

exists today; at the foot of this mountain is the monastery (*vihāra*) of *Li yue*, to be pronounced *Li po t'o* (Revata).[793]

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793 *The journey of the Buddha to the north-west of India*. - The Mppś briefly recalls only the more important incidents: the subjugation of the nāga Apalāla, the conversion of the rākṣasī, the miracle of the shadow, the conversion of Revata. - The cycle of Aśoka is hardly any more prolix; it mentions only four incidents:

Tsa a han, T 99, k. 23, p. 165b: "When the Buddha was about to enter into nirvāṇa, he converted the nāga-king Apalāla, the master-potter (*kumbhakāra)*, the caṇḍala, the nāga Gopāli; then he went to the kingdom of Mathurā."

Divyāvadāna, p. 348 (corrupt text): *Yadā Bhagavān parinirvāṇakālasāmaye 'parlālanāgaṃ vinīya kumbhkārīṃ Caṇḍālīṃ Gopālīṃ cha teṣāṃ Mathurām anuprāptaḥ*.

A yu wang tchouan, T 2042, k. 9, p. 102b, adds some geographical indications: "Once, when the Buddha was in the kingdom of *Ou tch'ang* (Uḍḍiyāna), he subdued the nāga, *A po po* (Apalāla). In the kingdom of K'i pin (probably Kapiśa, and not Kaśmir as Przyluski, *Aśoka*, p. 245, would have it) he converted the *fan tche* (*brahmacārin*) teacher. In the kingdom of *K'ien t'o wei* (Gandhāra), he converted the *tchen t'o lo* (*caṇḍāla*). In the kingdom of Gandhāra, he subdued the ox-nāga (*gonāga*, i.e., Gopālanāga). Then he went to Mathūra." The voyage is told in detail in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, Ken pen chouo... yao che, T 1448, k. 9, p. 40b6-41c1. The judicious comments of S. Lévi in *Catalogue géographique des Yakṣha,* JA, Jan.-Feb., 1914, passim should be added to the translation given by Przyluski, *Le Nord-Ouest de l'Inde*, JA, Nov.-Dec., 1914, p. 510-517.

With some goodwill, one may retrace the major stages of this journey by taking as an outline the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya and introducing into it the information provided by the Mppś, the Kouan fo san mei (T 643) and especially the Chinese pilgrims *Fa hien* (in Kao seng fa hien tchouan, T 2085), *Song yun* (in Lo yang k'ie lan ki, T 2092) and *Hiuan tsang* (in Si yu ki, T 2087 and Ta ts'eu ngen sseu san tsang fa che tchouan, T 2053), who visited north-west India in 399, 520 and 630 respectively. For greater objectivity, I [Lamotte] will refer to the sources directly and not the translations of Legge and Giles (for Fa hien), Chavannes (for Song yun), Sr. Julien, Beal and Watters (for Hiuan Tsang). Despite its late date, the Avadānakalpalatā, ch. 34-57 (ed. Mitra, II, p. 110-151) merits all the attention given to it by Demiéville in his study on *Versions chinoises du Milindapañha*, BEFEO, XXIV, 1924, p. 36-43. The splendid Greco-Buddhist discoveries of Foucher and the French archeological work in Afghanistan permit us to trace the Buddha's footsteps on the maps they have prepared. Cf. A. Foucher, *Notes sur la géographique ancienne du Gandhāra*, BEFEO, I, 1901, p. 322-369; *Notes sur l'itinéraire de Hiuan tsang en Afghanistan*, Études asiatiques, Paris, 1925; *De Kāpiśī a Puṣkaravatī*, BSOS, VI, p. 341-348; J. Barthoux, *Les Fouilles de Haḍḍa*, Paris, 1933., p. 4: map of the Jelāl-Ābad district.

According to the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (l.c.), after having crossed the Indus towards the west, the Buddha took eight stages to cross Uḍḍiyāna, the Lampāka, and arrived in the neighborhood of Peshawar.

1st stage. - In the kingdom of the *Yue tche* (Mppś, p. 126b), in Uḍḍiyāna (A yu wang tchouan, p. 102b), near the sources of the Swat (Si yu ki, p. 882b), he subdued the Nāga Apalāla. We have already studied the legends relating to this nāga and we have seen that except for the P'ou sa pen hing king, T 155, k. 2, p. 116b-c, which locates him in the pool of *Yeou lien*, near Rajāgṛha, the other sources locate him in the north-west.

The Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (l.c.) gives a detailed account of the struggle between the Buddha and the nāga: Accompanied by Vajrapāṇi, the Buddha arrives at Apalāla's palace. Furious, the nāga-king rises up in the air and rains down a deluge of hail and clods of earth. Having entered the meditation on loving-kindness, the Buddha changes the hailstones and the earthen clods into various perfumes. The nāga hastens to send weapons against him which are immediately changed into lotus flowers. Then Apalāla spreads a cloud of smoke which the Buddha counters with another cloud of perfume. On the Buddha's order, Vajrapāṇi with his club destroys the mountain crest which crumbles and fills up

the nāga's lake. To prevent the latter from fleeing, the Buddha sends out flames everywhere. Apalāla takes refuge close to the Buddha where the earth is quiet and cool. Subdued, he takes refuge in the Three Jewels.

The taming of Apalāla is represented on the Gandhāran bas-relifs (Foucher, *Art Gréco-bouddhique*, I, fig 270-275) and the Chinese pilgrims Fa hien (p. 858a), Song yun (p. 1020a) and Hiuan tsang (p. 882c) add further details: they note the place where the Buddha dried his kāṣāya wetted by the nāga, the rock where he left his foot-print, the spring where he chewed a willow twig which he planted and which immediately became a big tree.

2nd stage. - Conversions of the ṛṣi and the yakṣa in the villages of *Tsiu lou* (in Tib., *Yul gñis grags su*) and Kanthā, which must certainly be located on the upper Swāt.

3rd stage. - Sojourn in the rice-granary city which is none other than Mangalaor, in Sanskrit, Maṅgalapura, the *Mong kie li* of Hiuan tsang (p. 883b), capital of the Uḍḍiyāna kings. There, according to the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya and Hiuan tsang, the Buddha healed and converted the mother of king Uttarasena.

It seems that after this third stage, the Buddha, either walking or flying south-west, went directly to Lampāka (Lamghan) a district of Afghanistan located on the middle course of the Kubhā river, (Kābul). Its main cities are Nagarahāra (Jelāl-ābād) and Hadda (cf. J. Barthoux, *Les fouilles de Haḍḍa*, I and III, Paris, 1933). Its neighbor to the east is Gandhāra, cradle of Greco-Buddhist art, made famous by the works of Foucher; to the west, Kapiśa, capital Kāpiśī (Begram), illustrated by the French archeological works in Afghanistan (cf. J. Hackin, *Recherches archéologiques a Begram*, 2 vol., Paris, 1939; J. Hackin and J. Carl, *Recherches archéologiques au Col de Khair khanah*, Paris, 1936). Note that Lampāka, long a tributary of Kapiśa (cf. Hiuan tsang, Si yu ki, k. 2, p. 878b) is often confused with it in the texts.

4th stage. - City of Revata (Chin., *Ki yi to*, Tib., *Dbaṅ ldan*) where the Buddha converted the master potter (*kumbakāra*) as is told at length in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (l.c.). We have seen that the A yu sang tchouan locates the conversion of this brahmacārin teacher at *K'i pin*. Pryzluski, *Legende d'Aśoka*, p. 245, thinks that *K'i pin* means here the Kaśmir, but I [Lamotte] have good reason to think that is it rather Kapiśa-Lampāka. This is not impossible because if "it is certain that, in the translations of Buddhist texts prior to the year 600, *Ki pin* always corresponds, when we have a parallel Sanskrit text, to Kaśmir and not to Kapiśa-Lampaka, ... theoretically it is not impossible that *Ki pin* may have originally meant Kapiśī," (P. Pelliot, *Tokharien et Koutchéen*, JA, Jan.-Mar., 1934, p. 39 note). The Mppś tells us that here the ṛṣi Revata built a stūpa on a mountain, containing the hair and finger-nails of the Buddha and that, at the foot of this mountain, there was still at his time the vihāra called Revata.

Fa hien (p. 839a) found a stūpa 400 paces from the Cave of the Buddha's Shadow built over the hair and finger-nails of the Buddha, located a half-yojana from Nagarahāra, Hiuan tsang (Si yu ki, p. 879a) found this same stūpa at the north-west side of the cave; it contained, he said, the Buddha's hair and nails. Song yun (p. 1021c) also notes at Nagarahāra some famous relics containing the tooth and *the hair* of the Buddha. This can only be the stūpa built by Revata and the relics gathered by him after his conversion.

Therefore Revata's stūpa and vihāra are near Nagarahāra and the mountain of *K'i pin* in question here is to be found in Kapiśa-Lampāka and not in Kaśmir

The monastery of Revata (in Chinese *Li yue* or *Li po t'o*) was well-known. In the legend of Aśoka (Divyāvadāna, p. 399; Tsa a han, T 99, k. 23, p. 169a-b; A yu wang tchouan, T 2042, k. 2, p. 105a; A yu wang king, t. 2043, k. 3, p. 139c), the great emperor, in a mystical trance, invited the faithful wise men dwelling in the pleasant city of Kaśmīra or the vihāras of Tāmasavana, Mahāvana and Revataka. The pleasant city of Kaśmīra, as the name indicates, is in Kaśmir; the Tāmasvana and the Mahāvana (Sounigrām) are in Uḍḍiyāna (cf. Hiuan tsang, Si yu ki, T 2097, k. 4, p. 889b; k. 3, p. 883a); as for Revataka, we locate it in Kapiśa. The latter enjoyed great veneration by the faithful. The Sūtrālaṃkāra (tr. Huber, p. 429) mentions the case of a poor man and a poor woman from *K'i pin* (Kapiśa) who went so far as to sell themselves in order to make offerings to the monks of the Revata monastery.

We may add that there are many 'Revata's' in Buddhist hagiography; Malalasekara's dictionary of proper names (II, p. 751-755) counts no less than a dozen and the list is not complete. There was, notably in a monastery of Kaśmir, a Revata or rather a Raivataka, who was the hero of an avadāna told in chap. 103 of the Avadānakalpalatā, ed. S.C. Das, II, p. 979:

Purā Raivatako nāma Kaśmīreṣu śucivrataḥ /
Bhikṣuḥ Śailavihāre 'bhūt sarvabhūtadayāśraḥ //

"Among the Kasmirians in the Craggy Monastery, there once was a monk with pure vows, named Raivataka, the compassionate support of all beings."

The Vibhāṣā, T 1545, k. 125, p. 654c-655b, tells his misadventure at length: Once in the kingdom of *Kia chö mi lo* (Kaśmīra), there was a capital called *Pi lo tch'a* (Biratha). Not far from this city there was a monastery (*saṃghārāma)*, the *Che yai* (Śailavihāra) where there lived a bhikṣu-arhat. One day, he was about to dye his robe when a man approached and asked if he had seen his calf. When the monk replied in the negative, the man examined the inoffensive dye-vat; fate, or rather the law of karma, had it that the man mistook the robe for a cow's hide, the dye for its blood and the vat for the head of the cow. The bhikṣu was thrown into prison by the king and his pupils were not concerned about him. After many years, they came anyway to reclaim him from the king and to protest his innocence. When he was to be liberated, the bhikṣu had changed so much in appearance that nobody recognized him any; they had to shout aloud in the prison: "Where are you, O śramaṇa? By the royal favor you are free." The bhikṣu leapt out of prison and flew up into the air. At this sight, the king felt remorse and apologized to the bhikṣu who affirmed that he had never felt any anger towards the king and recommended that his students not hold it against the king. A young śramaṇera who had not heard this advice, inwardly cursed the evil city that had imprisoned his master for so many years. An amanuṣya, divining his thoughts, caused a rain of earth to fall that completely destroyed the capital of Kaśmir.

[Chavannes, who was unaware of the above-mentioned sources, knew the story of the bhikṣu Revata from two tales incorporated in the Kieou tsa p'i yu king, T 206, no. 32, k. 1, p. 516a, and Tsa pao tsang king, T 203, no. 19, k. 2, p. 457b. He translated them in his *Contes*, I, p. 395; III, p. 15-17.]

5th stage. - The city of Green Reeds (Chin. *Lou so*; Tib. *Gsiṅ ma can*] where the Buddha converted a yakṣa and his family.

6th stage. - The city of 'Shelter-heap′ (Sansk. Kūṭapāla) where the Buddha converted the cow-herder (*gopāla*) and the nāga-king *Sou tchö*. This passage from the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya is probably interpolated; it should read "where the Buddha converted the nāga-king Gopāla". Other sources tell us that the Buddha left his shadow in the nāga's cave; here is their content:

a. The Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya places the conversion of the nāga-king Gopāla at Kūṭipāla but does not mention the Cave of the Shadow.

b. Fa hien and Song yun describe the Cave of the Shadow at length which they locate at Nagarahāra but say nothing of the conversion of the nāga Gopāla.

c. Hiuan tsang places at Nagarahāra both the conversion of the nāga Gopāla and the Cave of the Buddha's Shadow.

d. The Kouan fo san mei hai king locates at Nagarahāta the conversion of a nāga whose name it does not mantion and that of five rākṣasī. It describes at length the circumstances that led to the Buddha leaving his shadow in the nāga's cave.

e. The Mppś places the conversion of the *female* rākṣasī and the Cave of the Buddha's Shadow in the west of the land of *Yue tche*.

No doubt the same legend lies hidden beneath the divergences of detail. Some citations from these sources will convince the reader:

Fa hien tchouan, T 2085, p. 859a3-7: "If one follows the mountain chain to the south-west, half a yojana south of the city of Nagarahāra, there is a rock cave where the Buddha left his shadow. When one looks at it at from a distance of more

than ten paces, it has the appearance of the true shape of the Buddha with his golden color (*suvarṇavarṇa*), his major marks (*lakṣaṇa*) and minor marks (*anuvyañjana*), his rays (*raśmi)* and his light (*prabhā*). The closer one gets, it becomes dimmer as if it were an illusion. When the kings of the neighboring regions sent their artists to make a copy of it, none of them succeeded. In this land there is a popular tradition that says that the thousand Buddhas must all leave their shadow there."

[The difficulties always experienced by artists trying to reproduce the Buddha's image are illustrated by a short tale told by the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, T 1442, k. 45, p. 874a-b; Divyāvadāna, p. 547 (tr. Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 304; San pao kan ying yao lio you, T 2084, k. 1, p. 827-828: Rudrāyaṇa, king of Roruk, made a gift to Bimbisāra, king of Magadhā, of a marvellous breastplate. The latter, in return, wished to send him a portrait of the Buddha, but the painters entrusted with this work were unable to take their eyes off their divine model and their hands remained inactive. The Buddha then projected his shadow onto a cloth; the painter then traced the outline and added the colors.]

Song yun, Lo yang k'ie lan ki, T 2092, k. 3, p. 1021c-1022a (according to the corrections and translations of E. Chavannes, *Voyage de Song yun*, BEFEO, III, 1903, p. 428): "I arrived in Nagarahāra where I saw the cave with the Buddha's shadow; there is a door facing west; if one penetrates the mountain to a depth of fifteen paces and one looks from afar, then all the distinctive marks [of the Buddha] appear clearly; if one touches the place with one's hand, there is nothing but the face of the rock; if one withdraws gradually, one begins to see the face appear again in a remarkable way; that is a very rare phenomenon in the world. In front of the cave there is a square rock on which is the imprint of one of the Buddha's feet. One hundred paces south-west of the cave is the place where the Buddha washed his garments."

A century later, Hiuan tsang also had the occasion to visit the cave, of which he gives ample detail. Cf. Si yu ki, T 2087, k. 2, p. 879a (tr. Beal, I, p. 93-95; Watters, I, p. 184) and *Vie de Hiuan tsang*, T 2053, k. 2, p. 229c-230a (tr. Beal, *Life of Huien tseng*, p. 61-62). He states that the Buddha's shadow, seen clearly at earlier times, was no longer visible except on rare occasions and to certain individuals. The *Vie* tells under what dramatic circumstances he himself was privileged to see the shadow; it is a fine page of religious literature which may be read in Grousset's *Sur les traces du Buddha*, Paris, 1929, p. 93-95.

According to Hiuan tsang, the cave had been inhabited formerly by the nāga Gopāla, a cow-herder who had been changed into a nāga in revenge. Converted by the Buddha, he had asked him for permission to remain in his cave always. Hiuan tsang confirms certain details already mentioned by his predessors: like Fa hien, he is aware of the tradition according to which the thousand Buddhas of the good kalpa must leave their shadow in this cave; like Song yun, he saw the place near the cave where the Buddha left the imprint of his feet and washed his clothes. He also notes, close to the cave, the presence of other caves "which the other noble disciples of the Buddha had occupied as their places of meditation." Now we know from the Kouan fo san mei hai king that the nāga king and his rākṣasīs had built five caves for the great disciples of the Buddha.

The Kouan fo san mei hai king, T 643, k. 2, p. 670b-681b (tr. J. Przyluski, *Le Nord-Oest de l'Inde*, p. 565-568), was translated by Buddhabhadra (died 429), perhaps a native of Nagarahāra (Bagchi, I, p. 341, n.3), thus in a good position to tell us the folklore of Lampāka. This very detailed work is perhaps the direct source of the Mppś. Here is a brief summary of it:

The Buddha came to the kingdom of *Na kie ho lo* (Nagarahāra), on the mountain of the old ṛṣi, in the flowering forest of Jambu, at the shore of a poisonous nāga's pool, north of the source of blue lotuses, in the cave of the rakṣas, south of the mountain *A na sseu* (Anāśin). There was, at that time in the cave, five rākṣas who had been changed into female nāgas and were the mates of a poisonous nāga. They caused famine and epidemics in the land. Puṣpabhūti, king of Nagarahāra, invited the Buddha to rid his kingdom of this scourge. Accompanied by Ānanda and four great disciples, the Buddha went to the mountain of the old ṛṣi and, with the help of Vajrapāṇi and Maudgalyāyana, vanquished the nāga and the five

If people who were born in the same country as the Buddha were unable to see him, then what can be said of strangers? Therefore, it is not because the Buddhas of the ten directions are unseen that one can say that they do not exist.

4) Furthermore, the bodhisattva *Mi lö* (Maitreya), despite his great loving-kindness (*maitrī*), stays in his celestial palace and does not come here. But, because he does not come, can it be said that he does not exist? If we find it strange that Maitreya, who is so close [to us], does not come, why should we be surprised that the Buddhas of the ten directions who are so far away do not come [to us]?

5) Furthermore, if the Buddhas of the ten directions do not come here, it is because beings are laden with very heavy wrong-doings (*āpatti*) and stains (*mala*), and do not fulfill the qualities (*guṇa*) needed to see the Buddhas.

6) Moreover, the Buddhas, [before coming], first must know it the roots of good (*kuśalamūla*) of beings are ripe (*pakva*) and their fetters (*saṃyojana*) light. It is only after that that they come here. It is said:

By a preliminary examination, the Buddhas recognize beings

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rākṣasīs. At their request, he agreed to stay for a time in the rock cave of the rākṣasīs. When he wanted to leave, the nāga-king asked him to stay with him forever. "If you leave me, I will never see the Buddha again," he lamented. "I will commit bad deeds again and fall back into my evil ways." The Buddha consoled him: "I accept; I will stay in the cave for fifteen hundred years." Then the Buddha performed a series of miracles; he leaped up and his body entered into the rock. The nāgas all saw the Buddha who remained in the rock and whose brightness was seen outside. Without leaving the pool, they constantly saw the sun of the Buddha seated cross-legged inside the rock. When living beings saw him, it was by looking from a distance; from close up he was not visible.... The shadow also preached the Dharma." (tr. J. Przyluski).
Finally, we may note that Foucher has identified the Cave of the Shadow near the village of Tchhār Bagh. The Buddha and bodisattvas have also left their shadows in several other places, notably at Kauśāmbī and at Gayā (cf. Kern, *Manual*, p. 90-91). In this latter city, the shadow is represented on a sculpted post: "A rock-hewn cell of the usual type, a stone bed inside shown in very low relief; on the right, two lay people richly clothed, approach with joined palms. Inside the cave, a small standing person had been painted, holding a monk's staff." (Coomarasawamy, *La sculpture de Bodhgayā*, p. 37 and pl. XLVII, 2).
7th stage. - The seventh stage brought the Buddha to the city of Nandivardhana. According to the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, the Buddha converted king Devabhūti and his family there, the seven sons of the caṇḍāli, the protector yakṣa of the lake, the nāgas Aśvaka and Punarvasu, for whom he left his shadow in a lake close to the city, and finally the two yakṣīs Nalikā and Naḍodayā.
S. Lévi, who has collected a series of references on the city of Nandivardhana (cf. *Catalogue géographique des Yakṣa*, p. 78), locates it between Jelāl-ābād and Peshawar. The A yu wang tchouan (T 2042, k. 1, p. 102b), for what it is worth, restricts the area of search, for it places the conversion of the caṇḍāli in Gandhāra. This event having occurred at Nandivardhana, the city of this name is somewhere between the western border of Gandhara and the city of Peshawar. It is likely that the Buddha, leaving Nagarahāra, crossed Lampāka in an easterly direction and entered Gandhara by the Khyber Pass (or more likely, by flying over the mountains) and arrived at Nandivardhana.
8th and 9th stages. - On leaving Nandivardhana, the Buddha went to the city of Kuntī, where he tamed the yakṣī of the same name; then to the village of Kharjūra where he foretold the building of the great caitya of Kaniṣka. Hiuan tsang (Si yu ki, T 2087, k. 2, p. 879c) tells us that the caitya was near Peshawar; archeologists have found its location in the *tumuli* at Shāh-ki-Dheri. '

Whom no skillful means (*upāya*) can save,

Those who are difficult to save or easy to convert,

Those whose conversion will be slow or fast.

By means of the rays, by the bases of miraculous power (*ṛddhibāla*),

By all kinds of means, the Buddhas save beings.

There are rebels whom the Buddha avoids,

There are rebels whom the Buddha does not protect.

He has hard words for the violent who are difficult to convert;

He has soft words for the gentle who are easy to save.

Despite his loving-kindness, his compassion and his equanimity,

He knows the favorable time and, in his wisdom, he uses skillful means.

This is why, although the Buddhas of the ten directions do not come here, it cannot be said that they do not exist.

7) Moreover, if the great arhats such as Śāriputra, etc., and the great bodhisattvas such as Maitreya, etc., cannot know the wisdom (*prajñā*), power (*bāla*), skillful means (*upāya*) and superknowledges (*abhijñā*) of the Buddha, how could worldlings (*pṛthaqgjana*) know them?

8) Finally, when, menaced by imminent danger, a being wholeheartedly invokes the Buddhas or great bodhisattvas, it sometimes happens that they do come to his aid.

a. Thus in the west of *Ta yue tche*, near the monastery (*vihāra*) of Buddhoṣṇīṣa,[794] there was a man suffering leprosy (*pāman, kuṣṭa*), a wind sickness (*vāyuvyādhi*). He went to the statue (*pratimā*) of the bodhisattva *Pien ki* (Samantabhadra); one-pointedly (*ekacittena*) he took refuge in him (*śaraṇaṃ gataḥ*) and, thinking of the qualities of the bodhisattva Samantabhadra, he asked him to remove his sickness. Immediately the statue of the bodhisattva rubbed the leper's body with the precious rays [that came] from his stoney hand and the sickness disappeared.

b. In a certain land, there was a forest bhikṣu (*araṇyabhikṣu*) who often recited the Mahayāna [sūtras]. The king of the land always gave him his hair (*keśa*) to trample under his [**127 a**] feet. A bhikṣu said to the king: "This man, O mahārāja, has not often recited the sūtras; why do you pay him so much homage?" The king replied: " Once in the middle of the night, I went to see this bhikṣu whom I found in a cave (*guhā*) reciting the *Fa houa king* (Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra). I saw another man with golden colored rays

[794] This is the precious relic of the Uṣṇīṣa, a bone formation on the skull of the Buddha; it was at *Hi lo* (Haḍḍa), about five miles south of Nagarahāra (Jelāl-Abād). The Chinese pilgrims never failed to visit it and they describe in detail the festivals that took place there: Fa hien tchouan, T 2085, p. 858c (tr. Legge, p. 36-38); Lo yang k'ie lan ki, T 2092, k. 5, p. 1021c (tr. Chavannes, BEFEO, III, 1903, p. 427-428); Si yu ki, T 2087, k. 2, p. 879a (tr. Beal, I, p. 96; Watters, I, p. 195-198); Yi tsing, *Religieux éminents*, tr. Chavannes, p. 24, 79, 105.

(*suvarṇavarṇaraśmi*) mounted on a white elephant who, with joined palms (*kṛtāñjali*), paid homage to the bhikṣu. When I approached, he disappeared. I then asked the venerable one (*bhadanta*) why the man with the rays had disappeared at my arrival. The bhikṣu answered: "That is the bodhisattva *Pien ki* (Samantabhadra); this bodhisattva has made the following vow: 'Each time someone recites the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, I will come on a white elephant to teach him (*avavāda*).'[795] As I was reciting the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, the bodhisattva Samantabhadra came in person." [Note by Kumārajīva: *Pien ki* in the *Fa houa king* is called *P'ou hien*, Samantabhadra].

c. Finally, in a certain country, there was a bhikṣu who recited the *A mi t'o fo king* (Amitābhabuddhasūtra) and the *Mo ho pan jo po lo mi* (Mahāprajñāpāramitā). When he was about to die, he said to his students: "Here comes the Buddha Amitābha with his great saṃgha"; his body shook, he took refuge and died at once. After his death, his students built a funeral-pyre and burned him. The next day, among the ashes (*bhasman*) they discovered the bhikṣu's tongue (*jihvā*) which had not burned up. Because he had recited the Amitābhabuddhasūtra, this bhikṣu had seen the buddha Amitābha come to him; because he had recited the Prajñāpāramitā, his tongue could not be burned.[796]

These are facts of the present day, and the sūtras tell of many cases of Buddhas and bodhisattvas appearing. Thus in many places there are people whose sins (*āpatti*), stains (*mala*) and bonds (*bandhana*) are light; they wholeheartedly (*ekacittena*) invoke the Buddha; their faith (*śraddhā*) is pure and free of doubt; they will necessarily succeed in seeing the Buddha and their efforts will not be in vain.

For all these reasons, we know that the Buddhas of the ten directions really exist.

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795 This promise was made by Samantabhadra when, leaving the buddhafield of the buddha Ratnatejobhyudgatarāja, he went to the Sahā universe to visit Śākyamuni on the Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata. It is recorded in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, p. 475-476: *ye ca bhagavan paścime kāle paścime samaye paścimāyāṃ pañcaśatyāṃ .... daṇḍaparihāraṃ kariṣyami viṣadūṣaṇaṃ kariṣyāmi*.

"If, at the end of time, in that last era during the last five hundred years [of the kalpa], O Bhagavat, monks or nuns or the faithful of both sexes, possessing, writing, researching, chanting this explanation of the Dharma, I will show my own body to them, the sight of which is pleasing to all beings. Mounted on a six-tusked white elephant, surrounded by a crowd of bodhisattvas, on the twenty-first day, I will go to the place where the Dharma teachers walk, and when I get there, I will teach these interpreters of the Dharma, I will make them accept the teaching, I will encourage them, I will fill them with joy and give them magical spells so that these interpreters of the Dharma will not be oppressed by anyone; so that not a single being, whether human or non-human, will have a chance to surprise them and so that women will be unable to seduce them. I will watch over them, I will ensure their safety, I will protect them from being beaten or being poisoned." (tr. Burnouf).

For the white elephant, the mount of Samantabhadra, cf. Kouan p'ou hien p'ou sa hing fa king, T 277, p. 390a.

796 Cf. Hobogirin, *Amida*, p. 25.

Sūtra: At that time. in that universe there was a bodhisattva called *P'ou ming* (Samantaraśmi) - (*Atha tatra lokadhātau Samantaraśmir nāma bodhisattvaḥ*).

Sāstra: For the meaning of the word 'bodhisattva' see Chapter VIII.

Why is this bodhisattva called Samantaraśmi? Because his rays (*raśmi*) illumine all the universes ceaselessly.

Sūtra: Seeing this great brilliance, this great trembling of the earth and the [ordinary] body of the Buddha, he went to the Buddha Ratnākara and said: "Bhagavat, what are the causes and conditions for this great brilliance that lights up the universe, for this great trembling of the earth and the appearance of the body of the Buddha?" (*mahāntum avabhāsaṃ dṛṣṭvā taṃ ca mahāntaṃ pṛthivīcālaṃ taṃ ca mahāntaṃ pṛthivīcālaṃ taṃ ca bhagavataḥ prākṛtam ātmabhāvaṃ dṛṣṭvā yena bhagavān Ratnākaras tenopasaṃkrāmad upasaṃkramya taṃ tathāgatam etad avocat. ko bhagavan hetuḥ pratyayo 'sya mahato 'vabhāsasya loke prādurbhāvāya, bhāvasya ca mahataḥ pṛthivīcālasya, asya ca tathāgatasya prākṛtātmabhāvasya saṃdarśanāya*).

Śāstra: For the trembling of the earth, the body of the Buddha and his brilliance, see Act V, above.

Question. - The bodhisattva Samantaraśmi, the most venerable and the foremost of the bodhisattvas, should himself know all that. Why does he question the Buddha on this subject?

Answer. - *1*) Great as he is, the bodhisattva Samantaraśmi is incapable of knowing the wisdom (*prajñā*) and the miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*) of the Buddha; it is like the moon (*candra*) whose light, great though it is, disappears at day-break (*sūryodaya*). This is why he asks the Buddha.

2) Moreover, the bodhisattvas always want to see the Buddha and their hearts are insatiable [**127 b**] (*asaṃtuṣṭa*). Even without any reason, they wish to see the Buddha; what then can be said when they have good reasons?

3) Moreover, Samantaraśmi's motivation [for asking Ratnākara] in unquestionable. It is not astonishing that the calf (*vatsa*) follows its mother; it is normal for kinglets to come to greet the great king. Similarly, the great bodhisattvas who have derived such great benefits from the Buddha always wish to follow the Buddha. Thus, when the bodhisattva SamantaraÔmi sees these things, his attention is awakened; [he says]: "This must be something very important." Seeing that the incalculable (*asaṃkhyeya)* innumerable (*aprameya*) universes become visible one to another, he questions the Buddha.

4) Finally, some say: The bodhisattva Samantaraśmi [knows the reasons for these miracles] because he himself has miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*) or because the Buddha Śākyamuni makes them known to him. If he asks the Buddha, it is intended only for the lesser bodhisattvas who do not know. These lesser bodhisattvas, out of fear of objections, do not dare to question the Buddha; this is why Samantaraśmi asks for them. The bodhisattva Samantaraśmi guides the [Ratnāvatī] universe with its youths (*dāraka*) and maidens (*dārikā*); therefore he knows that they cannot ask the Buddha. Just as when a big elephant (*mahāgaja*) uproots a big tree (*mahāvṛkṣa*) to allow the little elephants (*gajapota*) to eat its leaves, thus Samantaraśmi questions the Buddha [for the lesser bodhisattvas] and asks him: "Bhadanta, what are the

causes and conditions for this great brilliance, for this great trembling of the earth, and for the appearance of the body of the Buddha?"

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Sūtra: The Buddha Ratnākara answered Samantaraśmi: "O son of good family, in the west, beyond universes as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, is the universe called *So p'o* (Sahā). The Buddha named Śākyamuni is there who, at this time, is preaching the Prajñāpāramitā to the bodhisattva-mahāsattvas. These [marvels are caused] by his miraculous power" (*Evam ukte Ratnākaras tathāgataḥ Samantaraśmiṃ bodhisattvam etad avocat. asti kulaputra itaḥ paścimāyāṃ diśi gaṅgānadīvālukopamān lokadhātūn atikramya Sahā nāma lokadhātus tatra Śakramunir nāma tathāgatas tiṣṭati. sa bodhisattvānāṃ mahāsattvānāṃ prajñāpāramitāṃ saṃprakāśayati. tasyāyam īdṛṣo 'nubhāvaḥ*.)

Śāstra. - Question. - The Buddha is like Mount Sumeru which cannot be moved by the waves (*taraṅga*) of the great sea; why does he reply here to Samantaraśmi? That is a mark of agitation (*ijyānimitta*), for when the mind is concentrated, one does not talk; a certain agitation of the mind is necessary to talk. Preaching the Dharma comes from an arousal (*avabodhana*) which in itself is a coarse thing (*sthūladravya*). But the Buddha cannot have anything coarse.

[**127 c**] Answer. - *1*) Deep in samādhi, the Buddha is not disturbed (*iñjita*) by things of the world; nevertheless, as a result of hs great loving kindness (*maitrī*) and great compassion (*karuṇā*), he has compassion for beings and preaches the Dharma for them to destroy their doubts. Like Sumeru, king of the mountains, unshaken by gentle winds but which trembles strongly when the *Souei-lan* winds[797] blow, the Buddha, at the breath of the wind of his great loving-kindness and great compassion, is moved by compassion and constantly enters into the five destinies (*pañcagati*) in order to convert beings; to this effect he assumes [the five kinds of existence], from the god realm to the animal realm.

2) Actually, [even while he speaks], the Buddha is not disturbed and is always resting in samādhi; but as a result of his merits acquired in earlier existences (*pūrvajanma*), he utters sounds (*śabda*) and answers in the

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797 The reading *Souei lan* (170 and 13; 140 and 14) found in the Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 34, p. 736 under its homophone, *Souei lan* (170 and 13; 46 and 9), is probably in error and should be corrected to *P'i lan* (81 and 4; 140 and 14). It is actually the latter reading which is found in two other passages of the Mppś: 1) At k. 11, p. 139b-c: "The winds coming from the four cardinal directions cannot shake mount Meru, but at the end of the great kalpa, the *P'i lan* wind arises and blows [upon mount Meru] like a pile of straw." At k. 17, p. 188b: "The winds coming from the eight directions cannot shake mount Meru, but at the end of the kalpa, the *P'i lan* winds arise and blow on mount Meru like a pile of straw."

These *P'i lan* winds are the *vairambha* or *vairambhaka* of the Sanskrit texts (Divyāvadāna, p. 90, 105; Kośa, VI, p. 155) and the *verambha* of the Pāli texts (Saṃyutta, II, p. 231; Aṅguttara, I, p. 137; Jātaka, III, p. 255, 484; VI, p. 326). According to the Saṃyutta (l.c.), the *verambha* winds blow in upper space (*upari ākāsa*). When a bird encounters them, the *verambha* winds strike it and its claws, wings, head and body are scattered.

manner of an echo (*pratiśruta*). Like a heavenly musical instrument (*divyatūrya*) that emits sounds automatically *(svataḥ*), like a precious stone (*maṇi*) that automatically gives people everything they desire in the way of clothing (*cīvara*), food (*āhāra*) or music (*vādya*), the Buddha speaks automatically through all the pores (r*omakūpa*) of his body and preaches the Dharma according to the wishes [of his listeners] without any action, thought (*manasikāra*) or conception (*vikalpa*) on his part.

Thus it is said in the *Mi tsi kin kang king* (Guhyakvajrapaṇisūtra):[798] "There are three secrets (*guhya*) in the Buddha: the body secret (*kāyaguhya*), the speech secret (*vāgguhya*) and the mind secret (*cittaguhya*). Neither gods nor men can grasp them or understand them.

a. The members of a given assembly (*saṃgha*) see the body of the Buddha [with its changing aspects]: his color (*varṇa*) is yellow-gold, silver-white or a mixture of precious colors; his size is one arm-span and six feet, one *li*, ten *li*, a hundred *li*, a thousand *li*, ten thousand li or one hundred thousand *li*, sometimes even it is infinite (*ananta*), immense (*apramāṇa)* like space (*ākāsa*). Such is the secret of the body.

b. Secret of the voice. - They hear the voice of the Buddha at a distance of one *li*, ten, a hundred, a thousand, ten thousand, a hundred thousand *li*, or even at an incalculable (*asaṃkhyeya*) immense (*aprameya*) distance like space. In a given assembly, some hear the Buddha preach on generosity (*dāna*), others on morality (*śīla*), others on exertion (*vīrya*), *dhyāna* or wisdom (*prajñā*). And so the twelve classes of sūtra and the 80,000 *dharmaskandha*s are heard according to the wishes of everyone. Such is the secret of speech.

One day *Mou lien* (Maudgalyāyana)[799] had this thought: "I would like to know the range of the Buddha's voice." Then, by virtue of his base of miraculous powers (*ṛddhipāda*), he passed through innumerable thousands of millions of buddha-universes (*buddhalokadhātu*) and then he stopped; he still heard the voice of the Buddha as if he were quite close. In the universe where he had stopped, a Buddha was in the process of dining with his great assembly.[800] In that land, the people were large, and Maudgalyāyana [coming from the Sahā universe where people are small] was standing in a begging bowl (*pātra*). The disciples asked their Buddha: " Where does this insect-headed person come from? He is dressed like a śrāmaṉa." The Buddha replied: "Do not despise this man. In the west (*paścimāyāṃ diśi*), beyond innumerable buddha-lands, there is a Buddha named Śākyamuni and this man whom you see is a powerful disciple of this Buddha." Then the Buddha asked Maudgalyāyana: "Why have you come here?" Maudgalyāyana answered: "I have come to find out [the range] of the Buddha Śākyamuni's [**128 a**] voice." The Buddha said to him: "So you want to know the range of the Buddha's voice! If you distanced yourself [from him] for innumerable kalpas, you would never get to the limit of his range."

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798 Here the Mppś gives some extracts from the third part of the Ratnakūta, of which we have two Chinese and one Tibetan translations. Cf. Mi tsi kin kang li che houei, T 310, k. 10, p. 53b seq.; De b€in gśegs paḥi gsaṅ (Tathāgatacintyaguhyanirdeśa): cf. Csoma-Feer, p. 214; OKC, no. 760, 3, p. 231.

799 In the sources mentioned in the preceding note, Maudgalyāyana's experience is told in the following places: T 310, k. 10, p. 56c-57a; T 312, k. 7, p. 720c-721a. Later, the Mppś, k. 30, p. 284a, will refer to it also.

800 According to T 310 and T 312 (l.c.), the universe where Maudgalyāyana stopped was called *Kouang ming fan* (Raśmipatākā, 'Banner of Rays'); it was led by the Buddha *Kouang ming wang* (Raśmirāja).

3) Finally, the Buddha appeared in the world and preached the Dharma to destroy the doubts of beings (*sattvasaṃśayasamucchedana*): this cannot be denied. Just as one cannot ask the sun (*sūrya*) why it chases away the shadows (*andhakāta*), in the same say one cannot ask the Buddha why he responds [to questions that are asked of him].

Question. - Being alike one to another (*sama*), the Buddhas are said to be 'alike enlightened' (*saṃbuddha*); then why speak here about the miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*) of one [particular] Buddha?

Answer. - *1*) Having proclaimed the non-existence of self (*nairātmya*) and [the vanity of distinctions] between this and that, [the Buddhas] have destroyed envy (*īrṣyā*) and pride (*māna*).

2) Moreover, in the universe there are gods (*deva*) who claim superiority and, out of their pride (*abhimāna*), claim to be the creators of the beings and the things in heaven and on earth. Thus *Fan t'ien wang* (Brahmadevarāja) said to the Brahmā gods: "It is I who have created you"; and the god *P'i nieou* (Viṣṇu) said: "All the rich, noble and glorious men of the universe are parts of me. It is I who have created the universe and it is I who destroy it. Creation and destruction of the universe are my work."[801] [By speaking thus], these gods destroy the law of causation (*pratītyasamutpāda*). On the other hand, the truthful speech (*satyavāc*) of the Buddhas does not destroy the law of causation; this is why the sūtra speaks of the miraculous power of a particular Buddha.

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Sūtra: Then the bodhisattva Samantaraśmi said to the Buddha Ratnākara: Bhagavat, I will go [to the Sahā universe] to see the Buddha Śākyamuni, greet him and offer my services; I will also see the bodhisattva-mahāsattvas who will also accede to the state of buddhahood (*bhūyastvena kumārabhūta*), who have attained the dhāraṇīs and the samādhis and acquired mastery over all the samādhis (*Atha khalu Samantaraśmir bodhisattvo Ratnākaraṃ tathāgatuṃ etad avocat. gamiṣyāmy ahaṃ bhagavaṃs tāṃ Sahāṃ lokadhātum taṃ ca Śākyamuniṃ tathāgataṃ darśanāya vandanāya paryupāsanāya tāṃś ca bodhisattvān mahāsattvān bhūyastvena kumārabhūtān dhāraṇīsamādhipratilabdhān sarvasamādhivaśipāramitāṃ gatān*).

Śhāstra. - Question. - The Buddhas are all equal (*sama*) in regard to morality (*śīla*), samādhi, wisdom (*prajñā*) and skillful means. Why then does the bodhisattva Samantaraśmi want to go to see the Buddha Śākyamuni [when he is already at the side of the Buddha Ratnākara]?

Answer. - The bodhisattvas never tire (*asaṃtuṣṭa)* of seeing the Buddhas or hearing the Dharma; they never tire of seeing the assemblies (*saṃgha*) of bodhisattvas. The bodhisattvas who all experience disgust (*saṃvega*) for the things of the world (*lokadharma*) are never tired of the three things just mentioned.

801 For Brahmā and Viṣṇu whom the heretics consider to be creators of the world and of beings, see above.

Thus, leaving the pure abodes (*śuddhavāsa*), the vaiṣya *Cheou* (Hastaka),[802] came to see the Buddha; he

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[802] This is Hastaka Āṭavika (in Pāli Hatthaka Āḷavaka). He was called 'Hastaka' because he had been 'passed from hand to hand' (*hatthato hatthaṃ gatattā*); actually, when the yakṣa Ātavika was about to cut him to pieces, the Buddha intervened and the yakṣa surrendered him to the Buddha who gave him back to his family. The detailed story of this legend will be found in Manoratha, I, p. 388-393; on a bas-relief at Gandhara reproduced by Foucher, *Art Gréco-bouddhique*, I, fig. 252, p. 509, the yakṣa is seen 'with his hair standing on end and his terrifying eyes, giving the spared infant to the Buddha as a pledge of his recent conversion'. Other sources, such as the Avadānaśataka, II, p. 147-151, and the Siuan tsi po yuan king, T 200, no. 93, k. 19, p. 251, explain this strange name in another way: having been born for five hundred lifetimes without hands for having once refused to wash a vase for his preceptor, Hastaka was finally born "with hands" at the time of the Buddha Śākyamuni. As for the surname Ātavika-Āḷavaka, it refers to the hero's origin, born in the forest (in Sanskrit *aṭavī)*, or living in the city of the same name, Aḷavī (Newal in the Unao district of U.P., or Aviwa, 27 miles NE of Etwah).

Hastaka is a famous Buddhist lay-person (*upāsaka)* who appears in several sūtras:

1) *Sūtra of Āḷavī* (Anguttara, I, p. 136-138; Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 20, p. 650) where the Buddha declares that he is one of those who live happily in the world (*ye ca pana loke sukhaṃ senti ahaṃ desaṃ aññatro ti*).

2) Hatthakasutta no.1 (Aṅguttara, IV, p. 216-218; Tchong a han, T 26, no. 41, k. 9, p. 484c) where the Buddha praises the eight marvellous qualities (*āścaryādbhūtadharma*) of Hastaka.

3) Hatthakasutta no. 2 (Aṅguttara, IV, p. 218-220; Tchong a han, T 26, no. 40, k. 9, p. 482c-484b) where Hastaka explains that it is thanks to the practice of the four elements of loving-kindness (*saṃgrahavastu*) that he has succeeded in guiding his five hundred lay discipples.

4) Hatthakasutta no. 3 (Aṅguttara, I, p. 278-279; Tsa a han, T 99, no. 594, k. 22, p. 159a; T 100, no. 188, k. 9, p. 442a-b). It is to this last sūtra that the Mppś refers here. Here is the translation:

a. Tsa a han, T 99, k. 22, p. 159a: Thus have I heard. Once the Bhagavat was in the vihāra in the jungle (*aṭavī*, or the city of Āḷavī). At that time, the jungle *ayuṣmat* (Hastaka) died from a sickness and was reborn among the Avṛha gods [first goup of Śuddhāvāsika gods]. Born among these gods, he thought: "I must not stay here long; I do not see the Bhagavat here." Having thought thus, like a strong man extending his arm (*seyyathāpi nāma balavā puriso bāhaṃ pasāreti*), he left the heaven of the Avṛhas and reappeared in front of the Buddha. The celestial body of this devaputra bent down to the ground; he was unable to stand upright; like melted butter (*sarpis*) or oil (*taila*) creeps into the ground, he was unable to stand upright. It is because the heavenly body of this devaputra was subtle (*sūkṣma*) that he was unable to stand. Then the Bhagavat said to the devaputra: "You must change (*pariṇam-*) and make a coarse body (*audarika ātmabhāva*), then you will be able to stand on the earth." At once the devaputra changed his shape, made a coarse body for himself and was able to stand upright. Having bowed down to the Buddha's feet, he sat down to one side. Then the Bhagavat said to the devaputra Hastaka: "Do you still think about the texts (*dharma*) that you once learned (*udgṛhīta*) here? Have you not forgotten them?" The devaputra Hastaka answered the Buddha: "Bhagavat, what I once learned, I have not forgotten today. As for the teachings (*śrutadharma*) that I did not receive among men, today I recognize them also: they are harmonious with the holy discourse (*subhāṣita*) of the Bhagavat. The Bhagavat has said: The blissful abodes (*sukhavihāra*) where one can remember the Dharma are not places of unhappiness. This speech is true. When the Buddha dwells in Jambudvīpa, the four assemblies surround him and he proclaims the Dharma; the four assemblies that hear his words welcome them respectfully. It is the same for me in the heaven of the Avṛhas: when I preach the Dharma to the great assembly of gods, the gods accept my sermon and put it into practice." The Buddha then asked the devaputra Hastaka: "When you were among men, how many dharmas did you never weary of in order to have been reborn among the Avṛha gods?" The devaputra Hastaka answered the Buddha: "It is because I never tired of three things that after my

had a subtle (*sūkṣma*) body; he was flexible; like a straw, he could not stand upright. The Buddha said to the vaiśya Hastaka: "Make a coarse body (*audarikam ātmabhāvam abhinirmīhi*) appropriate to this realm for yourself." The vaiśya followed the Buddha's advice and made for himself a body of a size appropriate for the earth. Having bowed down to the Buddha's feet, he stood to one side. The Buddha asked: "Of how many things (*dharma*) have you never wearied in order to have been able to be reborn in the heaven of the pure abodes (*śuddhāvāsa*)?" He replied: "I took rebirth in the heaven of the Śuddāvāsa for never having tired of three things: *i*) I never tired of seeing the Buddhas (*buddhānām ahaṃ darśanāyātṛptaḥ*) or of paying homage to them; *ii*) I never wearied of hearing the Dharma (*saddharmaśravaṇayātṛptaḥ*); *iii*) I never tired of serving the community (*saṃghasyopasthānāyātṛptaḥ*). When the Buddha dwells in Jambudvīpa, the four assemblies always follow him, listen to his Dharma and question him on the subject. In the same way, the Śuddhāvāsa gods always follow me, listen to my sermons and question me [**128 b**] about them."

If the śrāvakas do not tire of hearing the Dharma, what then could be said of the dharmakāya bodhisattvas (*dharmatākāyabodhisattva*)? That is why the bodhisattva Samantaraśmi comes to see the Buddha Śākyamuni and the bodhisattva-mahāsattvas who will accede to the state of Buddhahood (*bhūyastvena kumārabhūta*) and who have obtained the dhāraṇis and the samādhis. In the chapter devoted to the praise of the bodhisattvas, we have said what should be understood by those who have "acquired mastery of all the samādhis".

Question. - The Buddha is the only one to have obtained mastery (*vaśita*) of all the samādhis. Why do you say here that the bodhisattvas also have obtained mastery of all the samādhis?

Answer. - There are two kinds of samādhi, those of the Buddha and those of the bodhisattva. The bodhisattvas in question have acquired mastery of the bodhisattvas samādhis and not those of the Buddha.

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death I took rebirth among the Avṛha gods. What are those three things? I never tired of seeing the Buddha, I never tired of hearing the Dharma, I never tired of serving the community. Because of that, after my death, I took rebirth among the Avṛiha gods." Then the devaputra Hastaka spoke these stanzas:

To see the Buddha
To hear the Dharma
To serve the community
I have never wearied of these things.

I have studied the holy Dharma
I have conquered the stains of avarice (*mātsarya*).
I am never weary of three things,
This is why I have been reborn among the Avṛha gods.

[It is evidently from this sūtra of the Sanskrit Saṃyuktāgama, of which the Tsa a han is the translation, that the Mppś has borrowed its citation. This sūtra is absent in the Pāli Saṃyuttanikāya; on the other hand, it is present in the Aṅguttaranikāya. The Pāli version shows slight differences; to allow some comparison, here is the text]:

b. Aṅguttara, I, p. 278-279: *Ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Sāvatthhiyaṃ viharati Anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme .... Tiṇṇaṃ dhammānaṃ atitto Hatthako Avihaṃ gato ti*.

Thus, in the *Tchou fo yao tsi king* (Buddhasaṃgītisūtra), [803] it is said: *Wen chou che li* (Mañjuśrī) wanted to see the assembly of the Buddhas (*buddhasaṃgīti*) but did not succeed because the Buddhas were each returning to their starting point. Mañjuśrī went to the place where the Buddhas were gathered; a woman was seated beside the Buddha, deep in samādhi.[804] Mañjuśrī bowed down to the Buddha's feet and asked: "Why should this woman be able to sit close to the Buddha when I cannot?" The Buddha replied: "Wake this woman, make her come out of samādhi and ask her yourself." Then Mañjuśrī snapped his fingers to rouse her but with no success. He shouted but did not succeed in rousing her; he pulled her by the hand but did not succeed in rousing her; by his bases of miraculous power (*ṛddhipāda*), he made the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu shake but still did not succeed in rousing her.

Then Mañjuśrī said to the Buddha: "Bhagavat, I cannot rouse her." Then the Buddha emitted great rays (*raśmi*) that illumined the universes at the nadir (*adhodiglokadhātu*) and at once a bodhisattva named *K'i tchou kai* (Apahṛitanīvaraṇa) arose from the direction of the nadir and, bowing down to the feet of the Buddha, stood to one side. The Buddha said to bodhisattva *K'i tchou kai*: "Wake this woman up." Then the bodhisattva *K'i tchou kai* snapped his fingers and the woman came out of her samādhi.

Mañjuśhī asked the Buddha: "Why was I, who made the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu tremble, unable to rouse this woman, whereas the bodhisattva *K'i tchou kai* made her come out of samādhi merely by snapping his fingers once?"

The Buddha said to Mañjuśrī: "It is because of this woman that you first produced the thought (*cittotpāda*) of anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi, whereas it is because of the bodhisattva *K'i tchou kai* that this woman has for the first time produced the thought of anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi.This is why you were unable to rouse her. In regard to the Buddha's samādhi, your power (*anubhāva*) is incomplete (*aparipūrṇa*); you have acquired mastery (*vaśita*) over the bodhisattva's samādhi.

[**128 c**] Since you have rarely entered the Buddha samādhis, you do not have mastery over them."

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Sūtra: The Buddha said to Samantaraśmi: "Go then; know that the right moment has come." Then the Buddha Ratnākara gave the bodhisattva Samantaraśmi golden lotuses with a thousand petals and said to him: "O son of noble family, scatter these lotuses over the Buddha Śākyamuni. The bodhisattva-mahāsattvas born in the Sahā universe are difficult to vanquish and difficult to attain; be careful when wandering about in this universe (*Bhagavān āha. gaccha tvaṃ kulaputra yasyedānīṃ kālaṃ manyase. atha khalu Ratnākaras tagāthagataḥ suvarṇāvabhāsānisahasrapattrāṇi padmāni Samantaraśmaye bodhisattvāya prādāt. etais tvaṃ kulaputra padmais taṃ Śākyamuniṃ tathagātam abhyavakireḥ. durjayā*

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[803] Tchou fo yao tsi king, T 810, k. 2, p. 765c-766c. - There is also a Tibetan translation of the Buddhasaṃgītisūtra entitled *Saṅs rgyas bgro ba*, Mdo, XVII, 9 (cf. Csoma-Feer, p. 264; OKC, no. 894, p. 343).

[804] In T 810, p. 766a14, this woman is called *Li yi* (172 and 11; 61 and 9).

durāsadā ca te bodhisattvā ye tatra Sahāyāṃ lokadhātāv utpannāḥ. saṃprajānakārī ca tvaṃ bhūyās tasmiṃ lokadhātau caran)

Śāstra: Question. - Why does the Buddha say: "Go now; know that the right moment has come"?

1) Because the Buddha has broken all fondness (*anunaya*) for his disciples and because his heart is free of attachment (*saṅga*) for his disciples.

2) Furthermore, the bodhisattva [Samantaraśmi] who has not yet acquired omniscience (*sarvajñāna*) or the Buddha eye (*buddhacakṣus*) feels some doubts about the qualities (*guṇa*), the worth and the power of the Buddha Śākyamuni. This is why the Buddha Ratnākara says to him: "Go and see him."

3) Furthermore, the bodhisattva [Samanataraśmi] perceives from afar that the Buddha Śākyamuni has a small body and he feels some pride *(māna)* in saying that his Buddha [Ratnākara] is not as small as that. This is why the Buddha [Ratnākara] tells him: "Go and see him without thinking about [the size] of his body or paying attention [to the ugliness] of the Sahā universe. Be satisfied with listening to the Buddha's sermon."

4) Furthermore, the [Ratnāvatī] universe where the Buddha Ratnākara and the bodhisattva Samantaraśmi] live is very far away from the Sahā [home of Śākyamuni] for it is located at the eastern borders. The bodhisattva Samantaraśmi heard the Buddha Śākyamuni preaching a Dharma exactly the same as that of Ratnākara and he had to confess that, although the universes were so far apart, the Dharma is the same. This will increase his faith (*śraddhā*) and his convictions will be confirmed.

5) Furthermore, because [of the actions] of his former lives (*pūrvajnma*), the bodhisattva Samantaraśmi is forced to go to hear the Dharma [in the Sahā universe] despite his distant birthplace. He is like a bird (*pakṣin*) tied by its feet: no matter how far it flies, the cord (*rajju*) restrains it and it must return.

6) Finally, the bodhisattvas of the Sahā universe, seeing Samantaraśmi coming so far to hear the Dharma, will think: If he has come from so far away, how could we not listen to the Dharma, we who are born in this universe?

For all these reasons the Buddha [Ratnākara] says: "Go then, know that the right time has come."

Question. - The Buddhas have the same power (*samabala*) and do not seek to [gain] merit (*puṇyakāma*). If they do not seek [to gain merit], why then does [Ratnākara] send lotuses [to Śākyamuni]?

Answer. - *1*) It is to conform to the worldly custom (*lokadharmānuvartana*). Thus, two kings mutually exchange gifts even though they are of equal power.

2) Moreover, he sends these lotuses instead of a letter (*pattra*) to express his friendship. According to worldly custom (*lokadharma*), when a messenger (*dūta*) comes from afar, he should have a letter. The Buddha, who conforms to worldly custom, sends a letter.

3) Finally, it is in order to honor the Dharma that the Buddhas make offerings to the Dharma for the Dharma is their teacher (*ācārya*). Why is that? The Buddhas of the three times have as their teacher the true nature of dharmas.

Question. - Why do they honor the Dharma of other Buddhas instead of honoring the Dharma which they themselves embody?

Answer. - It is in order to conform to the usage of the world (*lokadharmānuvartana*). Just as the [**129 a**] bhikṣus, in order to honor the Jewel of the Dharma (*dharmaratna*), do not honor the Dharma which they embody in themselves, but honor others. Guardians of the Dharma (*dharmadhara*), Knowers of the Dharma (*dharmajñā*) and interpreters of the Dharma (*dharmanirmocaka*), so the Buddhas, although they have the Dharma in themselves, only honor the Dharma of other Buddhas.

Question. - But the Buddha no longer seeks to [gain] merit (*puṇya*); why does he honor the Dharma?

Answer. - The Buddha, who has cultivated the qualities for innumerable incalculable periods (*asaṃkhyeyakalpa*), continues to practice the good always. It is not in view of any reward (*vipāka*), but out of respect for the [buddha] qualities that he venerates (*pūjā*) the Buddhas.

Thus, in the time of the Buddha, there was a blind (*andha*) bhikṣu whose eyes no longer could see.[805] One day he was mending his robes and he could not thread his needle (*sūcī*). He said: "May anyone who wants to gain merit (*puṇya*) thread my needle for me." The Buddha came and said to him: "I am a man who wants to gain merit; I am here to thread your needle." Recognizing the voice of the Buddha, the bhikṣu got up immediately, put away his robes and prostrated at the Buddha's feet, saying: "The Buddha fulfills all the qualities (*paripūrṇapuṇya*); why does he say that he wants to gain merit?" The Buddha answered: "Even though my merits are complete, I recognize the deep cause (read *yin* = *hetu*), fruit (*phala*) and power (*bala*) of these qualities. If I have obtained the foremost place among all beings, it is as a result of these qualities. That is why I love them." Having praised the qualities, the Buddha then preached the Dharma according to his wishes. The bhikṣu obtained the purity of the Dharma-eye (*dharmacakṣurviśuddhi)* and his fleshly eyes (*māṃsacakṣus*) recovered their sight.

Finally, the qualities are perfected in the Buddha; he has no further need of anything; but in order to convert disciples, he says to them: "If I have realized these qualities, why should you not be able to acquire them?" There was an old man of about a hundred years of age dancing in a variety theater. He was asked why he continued to dance at his age. The old man replied: "I have no need myself to dance; if I do it, it is only to teach dancing to my pupils." In the same way, in the Buddha, the qualities are perfected; it is in order to teach his disciples that he continues to practice these qualities and thus to venerate them.

Question. - If that is so, why does the Buddha [Ratnākara] not go in person to offer his lotuses on the Buddha Śākyamuni, but rather he sends someone in his place to venerate him?

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805 This anecdote, which the Mppś will repeat at k. 26, p. 249b, is taken from the Śibijātaka as it is told in the Avadānaśataka, I, p. 182-183 (tr. Feer, p. 124-125):

Buddha Bhagavan Śrāvastyāṃ viharati jetavane 'nāthapiṇḍadasyārāme. tena khalu samayena .... puṇyair labdharamo 'ham bhikṣo puṇyair ato me tṛptir nāsthiti.

In the Siuan tsi po yuan king, T 200, no. 33, k. 4, p. 218a, where the anecdote is also told, the blind bhikṣu is called *Che p'o* (44; 38 and 8), i.e., Śiva.

Answer. - So that the bodhisattvas of the [Sahā] universe may receive Samantaraśmi. Moreover, the messengers (*dūta*) sent by the Buddhas have no fear of water, fire, soldiers, poison or the hundred thousand other dangers.

Question. - Why not use precious jewels (*ratna*), profound sūtras (*gambhīrasūtra*), or Buddha or bodhisattva jewels as letter (*pattra*)? [Note by Kumārajīva: These jewels, invisible to the gods, produce all kinds of precious objects; thus the *cūḍāmaṇi* is called 'Buddha Jewel']. Why is Ratnākara content to use lotuses, objects of little value, as a letter?

Answer. - *1*) The Buddha Śākyamuni has no need of anything. He has no need of 'Buddha jewels' or divine jewels, or still less, human jewels. Since he has no need of them, [Ratnākara] does not send them. Since the Buddha Śākyamuni already has them, they are not sent to him. And it is the same for the profound sūtras (*gambhīrasūtra*).

[**129b**] *2*) Furthermore, these sūtras would have nothing profound for the Buddha [Śākyamuni]. The epithet 'profound' [applied to sūtras] concerns only ordinary people (*bālajana*). That which makes ordinary people hesitant is no obstacle for the Buddha; that which is difficult for ordinary people is easy for the Buddha.

3) Finally, by their perfume and their freshness, lotuses are very suitable as offerings (*pūjā*). It is as with human gifts where variety is desirable.

Question. - Why should lotuses be used and not other things?

Answer. - Worship (*pūjā*) uses flowers (*puṣpa*), perfumes (*gandha*) and banners (*dhvaja*) exclusively: flowers for a twofold reason, because of their color (*varṇa*) and their smell (*gandha*).

Question. - But other flowers also have color and smell; why does [Ratnākara] use only lotuses (*padma*) as offerings?

Answer. - In the *Houa cheou king* (Kuśalamūlasaṃparigrahasūtra)[806] it is said: "The Buddhas of the ten directions offer flowers to the Buddha Śākyamuni."

Moreover, there are three kinds of lotuses (*padma*), human lotuses, divine lotuses and bodhisattva lotuses. The human lotus is a big lotus with ten petals (*pattra*), the divine lotus has a hundred and the bodhisattva lotus has a thousand. In [Ratnākara's] universe, there are many golden lotuses with a thousand petals (*suvarṇavabhāsāni sahasrapattrāṇi padmāni*). In [Śākyamuni's] Sahā universe, there are indeed thousand-petalled lotuses, but they are artificial (*nirmita*) and do not grow in the water. This is why [Ratnākara] sends him thousand-petalled lotuses golden in color.

Question. - Why does the Buddha [Ratnākara] ask Samanataraśmi to scatter (*abhyavakṛ)* these flowers on the Buddha?

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806 Cf. T 657, k. 1, p. 130c. This sūtra is called Kuśalamūlasaṃparigrahasūta in Sanskrit. It was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva; this version bears different titles: *Houa cheou king* (Puṣpapāṇisūtra) as here, but also *Cheou chen ken king*, or *Cheou tchou fou tö king* (cf. Bagchi, I, p. 187). A Tibetan translation also exists, entitled *Dge baḥi rtsa ba yoṅs su ḥdzin pa*, Mdo IV, 1 (cf. Csoma-Feer, p. 234; OKC, no. 769, p. 275).

Answer. - These objects of worship (*pūjādharma*) are flowers (*puṣpa*), perfumes (*gandha*) and banners (*dhvaja*). Banners must be erected; powdered perfumes (*cūrṇa*) burned; wet perfumes (*vilepana*) spread on the ground; and flowers, thrown.

Question. - Why not present them instead of throwing them?

Answer. - Offering with the hand is a bodily action (*kāyakarman*); speaking in a gentle voice (*snigdhavāc*) is a vocal action (*vākkarman*). The action that gives rise to gesture and voice (*kāyavāksamutthāpakakarman*) is called mental action (*manaskarman*). These three actions produce the solid qualities that give rise to Buddahood.

Question. - Why does [Ratnākara] say: "Be careful; the bodhisattvas in the Sahā universe are difficult to reach (*durāsada*) and difficult to vanquish"?

Answer. - *1*) The Buddhas, pratyekabuddhas, arhats and all the āryas are all very mindful (*saṃprajānakārin*), for Māra, Māra's army (*mārajana*), the inner fetters (*ādhyātmikasaṃyojana*) and the multiform retribution of the sins of previous lifetimes (*nānāvidhapūrvajanmakarmavipāka*) are like many brigands (*caura*) of whom one must be careful when they are approached. Thus, when one goes among the brigands and one is not careful, one is captured by them. This is why [Ratnākara] advises Samantaraśi to be very careful while going about in this universe.

2) Moreover, the human mind (*citta*) is often distracted (*vikṣipta*): it is like a madman or a drunkard. Resolute mindfulness (*saṃprajānakāra*) is the entry way to all the qualities (*guṇa*). By concentrating the mind, one successively obtains dhyāna, real wisdom (*bhūtaprajñā*), deliverance (*vimokṣa*) and finally the destruction of suffering (*duḥkhakṣaya*): those are the advantages of mindfulness (*ekacitta*).

Thus, five hundred years after the Buddha's parinirvāṇa, there was a bhikṣu called *Yeou po* [**129 c**] *kiu* (Upagupta); he was an arhat with the six abhijñās; at that time he was the great teacher of Jambudvīpa.[807] At that time, there was a one hundred and twenty year-old bhikṣuṇī who had seen the Buddha when she

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[807] See the avadāna of Upagupta in the Tsa a han, T 99 (no. 640), k. 25, p. 177b; Divyāvadāna, p. 348 seq. (tr. Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 336 seq.); A yu wang tchouan, T 2042, k. 3, p. 111b (tr. Przyluski*, Aśoka*, p. 308; A yu wang king, T 2043, k. 6, p. 149b. – The Buddha foretold to Ānanda the birth of Upagupta five hundred years after the parinirvāṇa: *Asyām Ānanda Mathurāyāṃ mama varṣaśataparinirvṛitasya …arhattvaṃ sākṣātkariṣyanti*.

The Mppś has Upagupta as a patriarch *(ācārya*), calling him the great teacher of Jambudvīpa. However, Upagupta appears in the list of the patriarchs only in the Sarvāstivādin sources (Aśokāvadāna, Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, Fou fa tsang yin yuen king) where he is in fourth place, after Mahākāśyapa, Ānanda and Śāṇavāsa-Madhyāntika (cf. Przyluski, *Aśoka*, p. 46-48). The Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya and the Ceylonese chronicles do not include him in the succession of teachers. We may note once again that the Mppś is inspired by the Sarvāstivādin and northern sources.

Upagupta was from the north; his monastery was at Mathurā (cf. Watters, *Travels,* I, p. 306-309; Tāranātha, p. 17) where his relics were preserved.

It was noted a long time ago that Upagupta's role with regard to Aśoka in the Sanskrit sources is the same as that of Tissa Moggaliputta in the Pāli and Ceylonese sources. See Lav., *Histoire*, II, p. 137.

was young.[808] One day Upagupta went to her cell to ask her about the behavior of the Buddha when he was visiting. He had previously sent a pupil to the bhikṣuṇī and this pupil had announced to the bhikṣuṇī: "My great teacher Upagupta is coming to see you to ask about the behavior of the Buddha when he was visiting." Then the bhikṣuṇī filled a begging bowl (*pātra*) with oil (*taila*) and set it under the fan at her door; she wanted to test the behavior of Upagupta and his mindfulness. When Upagupta entered, he pushed the fan at the door and a little bit of oil spilled. Upagupta sat down and asked: "You knew the Buddha. Tell me: what was his manner when he was visiting." The bhikṣuṇī replied: "When I was young, I saw the Buddha entering a village (*grāma*) one day; the crowd shouted "There is the Buddha!" I followed the crowd outside and saw the Buddha's rays (*raśmi*). As I bowed before him, a gold pin (*suvarṇasūci*) that I had on my head fell to the ground into a thick bush. Immediately the Buddha illumined it with his rays and, as all the dark corners were visible, I found my pin. As a result of that I became a nun." Upagupta questioned her further: "And, at the time of the Buddha, what were the manners (*īryāpatha*) and courtesy of the bhikṣus?" She replied: "At the time of the Buddha, there was a group of six impudent, shameless, wicked monks (*ṣaḍvargīya bhikṣu*). But, in regard to their manners, they were better than you; I have noticed that today. When they passed through my door, at least they did not spill my oil. Depraved though they were, they knew the rules of monastic courtesy. Walking, standing, sitting or lying down, they missed nothing. Although you are an arhat endowed with the six abhijñās, you do not measure up to them on this point." Hearing these words, Upagupta was very ashamed.

This is why [Ratnākara] advises {Samantaraṣmi]: "Be careful." Mindfulness is the mark of an honest man.

Why does he advise him to be mindful? The bodhisattvas [of the Sahā] universe are difficult to vanquish, to attain, to destroy and to meet. Like the great king of the lions (*mahāsiṃharāja*), they are difficult to vanquish and destroy; like the king of the elephants (*pāṇdaragajarāja*) or the king of the nāgas (*nāgarāja*) or like a great fire, they are difficult to approach. These bodhisattvas actually have the great power of merit (*puṇya*) and (*prajñā*) wisdom. Those who wish to conquer them and destroy them will not succeed and will risk perishing themselves. This is why they are 'difficult to approach'.

Question. - Given their great qualities, their wisdom and their sharp faculties (*tīkṣnendriya*), all the great bodhisattvas are difficult to approach. Why does the sūtra attribute this difficulty of access to the bodhisattvas of just the Sahā universe?

Answer. - *1*) Because this comment refers only to a bodhisattva of the Ratnāvati universe, [namely, Samantaraśmi]. Coming from afar, he will notice that the Sahā universe, different from his own, is full of stones, sand and rubbish; that the bodhisattva is small; in short, that everything there is different; and he will necessarily have suspicions (*avamāna*). This is why his Buddha [Ratnākara] tells him: "Be very careful, for the bodhisattvas of the Sahā universe are difficult to approach."

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808 The A yu wang tchouan, T 2043, k. 5, p. 121b (tr. Przyluski, *Aśoka*, p. 371-372) and the A yu wang king, T 2043, k. 9, p. 163a, have an arhatī-bhikṣuṇī who constantly bothers Upagupta's disciples with her reprimands and who reproaches them for their wrong behavior. This is probably the bhikṣuṇī in question here. Nevertheless, I [Lamotte] have not found the source from which the Mppś has taken this story, surely taken from life.

[**130 a**] *2*) Furthermore, people born in the blissful abodes (*sukhasthānaja)* often lack exertion (*vīrya*), intelligence (*medhā*) and wisdom (*prajñā*). This is why people of *Yu yan lo wei* (Uttarakuru) are so happy that among them there are no monks (*pravrajita*) or followers of the precepts (*śīlamādana*). It is the same among the gods.

In the Sahā universe, the causes for happiness (*sukhahetupratyaya*) are rare; there are the three unfortunate destinies (*durgati*), old age, sickness, death (*jarāvyādhimaraṇa*), and the exploitation of the soil is arduous. This is why [its inhabitants] easily feel disgust (*nirveda*) for this universe; at the sight of old age, sickness and death, their minds are filled with distaste; at the sight of poor people (*daridra*), they know that their poverty is a result due to previous existences (*pūrvajanma*) and their minds feel great distaste. Their wisdom (*prajñā*) and thier keen faculties (*tīkṣṇendriya*) come from this [disgust].

By contrast, the [Ratnāvati] universe is made out of seven jewels (s*aptaratna*) and full of all kinds of precious trees (*ratnavṛkṣa*); the bodhisattvas have whatever food (*āhāra*) they desire at will. Under these conditions, it is hard for them to feel disgust (*nirvedacitta*); this is why their wisdom is not very sharp (*tīkṣṇa*). If a sharp knife (*tīkṣṇaśastra*) is left in good food, the knife becomes rusty because although these foods are good, they are not suitable for the knife; but if the knife is rubbed with a stone and scoured with grease and ashes, the rust disappears. It is the same for the bodhisattvas. Those born in a mixed (*miśra*) universe [like the Sahā universe] have sharp knowledge and are hard to approach (*durāsada*); on the other hand, for those who spare their efforts (*alpayatna*), suffering has too much power and too much effect. To feed a horse and not to ride it is to make it useless.

3) Finally, in the Sahā universe, the bodhisattvas abound in skillful means (*upāya*); this is why they are difficult to approach. This is not the case in other universes. Thus the Buddha said: "I remember that in the course of my previous existences (*pūrvajanma*) I offered a thousand human existences in order to save beings, but although I was endowed with qualities (*guṇa*), the six perfections (*ṣatpāramitā*) and all the Buddha attributes (*buddhadharma*), I was unable to do the work of a Buddha. Indeed, it was only by skillful means (*upāya*) that beings are saved." This is why the bodhisattvas in the Sahā universe are difficult to approach (*durāsada*).

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Sūtra: Then, taking these thousand-petalled golden lotuses from the hands of Ratnākara, the bodhisattva Samantaraśmi went away with innumerable monastic (*pravrajita*) and householder (*gṛhastha*) bodhisattvas and with youths and maidens (*Atha khalu Samanataraśmir bodhisattvo Ratnākarasya tathāgatasya sakāśāt tān saharapattrāṇi suvarṇāvabhāsāni padmāni gṛhīvā, asaṃkhyeyair bodhisattvaiḥ pravrajitair gṛhasthaiś ca dārakair dārikābhiś ca sārdhaṃ prakrāntaḥ).*

Śāstra. - Question. - The bodhisattva Samantaraśmi is able to travel by virtue of his great power (*mahābala*) and his abhijñās; but how can the monastic (*pravrajita*) and householder (*gṛhastha*) bodhisattvas, as well as the youths (*dāraka)* and maidens (*dārikā*), travel about? The Ratnāvati universe

[which they had to traverse in order to get to the Sahā universe] is large. [What power have they borrowed for that purpose?] Is it their own power? Or is it the power of the Buddha Ratnākara, or that of the bodhisattva Samantaraśmi, or that of the Buddha Śākyamuni?

Answer. - They use all of these four powers at the same time:

a. These monastics and householders can be non-regressing (*avaivartika*) bodhisattvas endowed with the five superknowledges (*pañcābhijñāsamanavāgata*). By means of the four bases of miraculous power (*ṛddhipāda*), they have cultivated the causes and conditions (*hetupratyaya*) that must be fulfilled during earlier lifetimes (*pūrvajanma*) in order to be able now to go to the Buddha Śākyamuni. Therefore they use their own power (*svabala*).

b. They also use the power of the bodhisattva Samanataraśmi. Why? Those whose power is too [**130 b**] weak travel by means of the power of the bodhisattva Samantaraśmi. Thus, when a cakravartin king wants to fly, his army (*caturaṅgabala*), his officers (*rājakulādhyakṣa*) and his stables accompany him in the sky; because his qualities (*guṇa*) are great, the cakravartin king can make his whole suite fly along with him. It is the same here: those whose power is too weak travel by way of the power of the bodhisattva Samantaraśmi.

c. They also use the power of the Buddha Ratnākara.

d. Finally, the rays of the Buddha Śākyamuni illumine them. If they had no other power, the rays of the Buddha Śākyamuni would be enough for them to be able to travel. What more can be said if they use the other three sources?

Question. - Why does the bodhisattva Samantaraśmi not come alone, instead of at the head of a numerous troupe?

Answer. - Because he needs a suite like a king who is traveling. Besides, the bodhisattva Samantaraśmi and the Buddha Śākyamuni choose among people. How is that? In the great assembly there are two groups: those who fulfill the causes and conditions [permitting them leave], go; those who do not fulfill the causes and conditions, stay.

Question. - Why is this bodhisattva accompanied by householder (*gṛhastha*) and monastic (*pravrajita*) bodhisattvas, youths (*dāraka*) and maidens (*dārikā*)?

Answer. - The Buddha's disciples (*buddhaśravaka*) are of seven categories: bhikṣu, bhikṣhuṇī, śaikṣa, śramaṇera. śramaṇerī, upāsaka and upāsikā. The upāsakas and upāsikās are the lay people (*gṛhastha*); the five other categories are monastics (*pravrajita*). Among the monastics and the lay people there are two kinds, the old and the young. The young are the youths (*dāraka*) and maidens (*dārikā*); the others are the old.

Question. - [Only] the old ones should go. Why do the young ones go also?

Answer. - It is a matter of worthiness (*guṇa*) and not of age (*āyus*). The person who lacks qualities (*guṇa*) and practices evil (*akuśaladharma*) is small despite their great age; the person who has the qualities and practices the good (*kuśaladharma*) is great despite their youth.

Furthermore, these young ones come from far away and those who see them admire the fact that, despite their youth, they are able to come from so far away to hear the Dharma.

This also proves that both young and old are capable of acquiring (*pratipad-*) the Buddhadharma, which is different from the heretical sects (*tīrthikadharma*) where the brahmins alone are able to follow the rules and those who are not brahmins cannot. In the Buddhadharma, there is no old or young, no insiders (*ādhyātmika*) and no outsiders (*bāhya*); everybody can practice the Dharma. In the same way, when medicine (*bhaiṣajya*) is given, it is the cure to be attained that rules everything; whether the sick person is noble or commoner, old or young, is of no importance.

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Sūtra: [Before leaving], they express their homage (*pūja*), their respects (*satkāra*), their esteem (*gurukāra*) and their veneration (*māna*) to the Buddhas of the east.

Śāstra: Question. - They pay all their homage to the Buddhas of the east. But these Buddhas are very numerous; when will they be finished and when will they be able to start off for the Sahā universe?

Answer. - These bodhisattvas do not pay homage in the manner of gods or men; they carry out the rituals (*pūjādharma*) current among bodhisattvas. Here is what it consists of: They enter into samādhi and they draw forth innumerable bodies from their own upright body (*ṛjukāyaṃ praṇidhāya*); they create all kinds of objects of worship (*pūjādravya*) and fill the Buddha [**130 c**] universes with them. They are like the nāga king who, at the moment of acting, raises his body from the water and causes rain to fall over an entire continent (*dvīpaka*).

Question. - These bodhisattvas wish to go to the Buddha Śākyamuni. Why do they pay homage to all the Buddhas on their way?

Answer. - The Buddhas are a supreme field of merit (*paramapuṇyakṣetra*); those who pay homage to them receive a great reward (*vipāka*). It is like the man who cultivates his field well and reaps a big harvest of grain. The bodhisattvas see the Buddhas and the worship (*pūjā*) which they pay to these Buddhas brings them the reward of the Buddhas. This is why they pay homage to them.

Furthermore the bodhisattvas always feel a respect (*satkāra*) towards the Buddhas comparable to that of a son for his parents; they have received instructions (*deśanadharma*) from them and they have received samādhis, dhāraṇīs and miraculous powers (*ṛddhibala)* of all kinds from them. Out of gratitude, they pay homage to them. Thus, in the *Fa houa king* (Saddharmapuṇḍarīka),[809] the bodhisattva *Yo wang*

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809 The bodhisattva Sarvasattvapriyadarśana, who would later become the Buddha Bhaiṣajya-rāja, had heard the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka from the mouth of the Buddha Candrasūrya-vimalaprahāsraśrī and acquired, thanks to this teaching, the *sarvarūpasaṃdarṣanasamādhi* "faculty of making all forms appear". Out of gratitude, he cremated his own body to pay homage to the Tathāgata and the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka. The legend is told in the Saddharmapuṇḍarika, chap. XXII, p. 415-418; here is the original text:

(Bhaiṣajyarāja) who had acquired the samādhi called 'Faculty of making all forms appear', had this thought: "How am I going to worship the Buddha and the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka?" At once, he entered into samādhi, rose up into the sky, and by the power of samādhi, caused a rain of lotuses made of seven jewels (*saptaratnapuṇḍarīka*), perfumes (*gandha*), banners (*patākā*) and bouquets (*dāma*) to pay homage to the Buddha. When he came out of samādhi, he felt that it was not enough, so for twelve hundred years he fed on [inflammable] perfumes and drank perfumed oil (*gandhataila*); then he clothed himself in divine white garments and burned his own body (*svaṃ kāyaṃ prajvālayāmāsa*). He made the following vow (*praṇidhāna*): "May the rays of my body illumine Buddha universes (*buddhalokadhātu*) as numerous as the sands of eighty Ganges (*aśītigaṅgānadīvalukāsama*)." In these Buddha universes as numerous as the sands of eighty Ganges, all the Buddhas congratulated him (s*ādhukāraṃ dadati sma*): "Good, good, O son of noble family: the offering of the body (*ātmabhāvaparityāga*) is the foremost offering. Abandoning royalty (*rājyaparityāga*), abandoning a wife and children (*bhāryāputyaparityāga*), does not equal a thousandth part of it." For twelve hundred years the body [of the bodhisattva] burned without, however, becoming consumed (*tasyātmabhāvasya dīpyato dvādaśavarṣaśatāny atikrāntāny abhūvan na ca praśamaṃ gacchati sma*).

Finally, the worship of the Buddhas (*buddhapūjā*) assures glory (*yaśas*), merit (*puṇya*) and immense benefits (*artha*); all the bad dharmas (*akuśaladharma*) disappear (*nirudyante*) and all the roots of good (*kuśalamūla*) show progress (*vṛddhim āpadyante*); in the present (*iha*) lifetime as in future (*paratra*) lifetimes, one is always rewarded for this worship; long afterwards, one comes to be able to do the Buddha's work. Thus, the worship of the Buddha assures all kinds of immense benefits. This is why the bodhisattvas pay homage to the Buddhas.

ACT X

Sūtra: With flowers (*puṣpa*), incense (*dhūpa*), garlands (*mālya*), powders (*cūrṇa*), perfumes, aromatics and unguents (*vilepana*), with robes (*cīvara*), flags (*dhvaja*) and banners (*patākā*), he went to the Buddha and, having approached him, bowed his head to the Buddha's feet (*bhagavataḥ pādau śīrasābhivandya*) and stood to one side (*ekānte 'tiṣṭhat*).

Śāstra: Question. - It should be said that "he saluted the Buddha"; why is it said that he 'bowed his head to the Buddha's feet"*?*

Answer. - *1*) The head (*śiras*) is the noblest part of the human body, for it is the seat of the five feelings (*ruci*) and is on top (*ūrdhvam*); the feet (*pāda*) are the lowest part, for they tread an impure soil and are below (*adhaḥ*). This is why, by saluting the lowest part to the noblest part, the homage is doubled.

[**131 a**] *2*) Moreover, there are three salutes, lower (*avara*), medium (*madhya*) and higher (*agra*). The lower salute consists of joining the hands (*añjalipāta*); the medium salute, of kneeling (*jānupāta*); and the higher salute, of prostrating (*śirasā praṇipatanam*). Saluting [someone's] feet with one's head is the highest

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Sa ca Sarvasattvapriyadarśana bodhisattvaḥ... sarvarūpasaṃdarśanaṃ sāma samādhiṃ pratilabhate sma .... sa paścad dvādaśānāṃ varṣaśatanām atyayāt praśānto 'bhūt.

homage (*pūjā)* there is. This is why, in the Vinaya, the newer bhikṣus (*navabhikṣu*) take the feet of their superior in their two hands and bow their head to them (*śirasābhivandanti*).

Question. - There are four bodily positions (*kāyeryāpatha*); sitting (*āsana*), standing (*sthāna*), walking (*gamana*) and lying down (*śayana*). Why does the bodhisattva stand (*tiṣṭhati*) to one side (*ekānte*)?

Answer. - Since he has arrived [near the Buddha], he does not have to walk; since he wants [to pay] his repect (*satkāra*) and his homage (*pūjā*), he cannot lie down before him. That is very clear; have you finished questioning me? The sitting position is not very respectful, whereas the fact of standing up is a mark of respect (*satkāra*) and homage (*pūjā*).

Moreover, in the Buddhadharma, mendicant heretics (*tīrthikaparivrājaka*) and all lay people (*avadātavasana*) sit when they come to the Buddha. The heretics, belonging to a foreign (*paradharma*) sect, sit out of suspicion (*avamāna*) of the Buddha; the lay people sit in their quality of hosts (*āgantuka*). But the five assemblies, attached to the Buddha by body and spirit, remain standing near him. The arhats in possession of the Path (*mārgaprāpta*), such as Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Subhūti, etc., have done what needed to be done (*kṛtakṛtya*); this is why they are permitted to sit down [before the Buddha]. The others, although they have obtained the threefold Path, are not permitted to sit down because their great work has not yet been completed and their fetters (*bandhana*) have not yet been cut. [The arhats] are like the king's ministers (*rājāmātya*) who, because of their great qualities, have the right to a seat. Even though there may be lay people (*avadātavasana*) amongst these bodhisattvas, they remain standing before the Buddha because they have come from far away to pay homage to him.

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Sūtra: [Samantaraśmi] said to the Buddha [Śākyamuni]: "The tathāgata Ratnākara asks you if you have but little anguish (*alpābādhatā*) and but little suffering (*alpātaṅkatā*), if you are healthy (*yatrā*) and alert (*laghūtthānatā*), if you are strong (*bala*) and if you are enjoying your ease (*sukhavihāratā*);[810] he offers to the bhagavat these golden thousand-petalled lotuses" (*Samanatarśmir bodhisattvo bhagavantaṃ Śākyamunim etad avocat: Ratnākaro bhagavān bhagavantaṃ alpābādadhatāṃ paripṛcchaty alpātaṅkatāṃ yātrāṃ laghūtthānatāṃ bālaṃ sukhavihārarāṃ ca paripṛcchati. imāni ca bhagavatā Ratnākarena tathāgatena suvarṇanirbhāsāni sahasrapattrāṇi padmāni preṣitāni bhagavataḥ*).

Śāstra: Question. - The Buddha Ratnākara is omniscient (*sarvajñā*); why does he ask if the Buddha Śākyamuni has but little anguish and but little suffering, if he is healthy and alert, strong and in a joyful state?

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810 Traditional form of greeting which is also found in the Pāli texts (e.g., Dīgha, I, p. 204; II, p.72; III, p. 166; Majjhima, I, p. 437, 473; Aṅguttara, III, p. 65, 103; Milinda, p. 14) as well as in the Sanskrit (e.g., Mahāvastu, I, p. 154; Avadānaśataka, I, p. 168, 325-326; II, p. 90, 93; Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, p. 429; Divyāvadāna, p. 156; Mahāvyutpatti, no. 6284-6288). In Pāli: *appābādhaṃ appataṅkam lahuṭṭhānaṃ balaṃ phāsuvihāraṃ pucchati*.

Answer. - *1*) It is customary for the Buddhas to ask about what they already know. It is told in the Vinaya[811] that the bhikṣu *Ta eul* (corr. *ni*) *kia* (Dhanika) had built a hut of red brick (*lohitakaṭhalla*). The Buddha, who had seen it and knew about it, nevertheless asked Ānanda: "Who did that?" Ānanda replied: "It is the son of the potter (*ghaṭabhedanaka*), the monk (*pravrajita*) called Dhanika. He had made a hut of leaves which was destroyed over and over again by the cowherders (*gopālaka*); he built it three times, three times it was destroyed. That is why he made this brick house." The Buddha said to Ānanda: "Destroy this brick house. Why? Because if the heretics [see it], they would say: When the Buddha, the great teacher, lived here, the Dharma came from a dirty place."[812] Similarly, in many other places, the Buddha asks about what he already knows.

2) Moreover, although the Buddha is omniscient, he conforms to worldly customs (*lokadharmānuvartana*). Like men, the Buddha asks questions. Born among men, the Buddha takes on the conditions of human life: like them, he suffers cold (*śīta*), heat (*uṣna*), birth *(jāti*) and death (*maraṇa)*; like them, he has the habit of asking questions.

3) Moreover, in the world, it is not suitable for nobles to have dealings with the peasantry, but [**131 b**] the Buddhas, who are of equal power (*samabala*), can question one another.

4) Finally, the Ratnāvati universe is a pure fairy-land (*viśuddhavyūha*); the Buddha [Ratnakara] who governs it has a big body (*kāya*), his color (*varṇa*), his aspect (*saṃsthāna*) and his rays (*raśmi*) are large. If he did not ask Śākyamuni, people would think that he scorned him. Besides, Ratnākara wants to show that although he surpasses Śākyamuni in various points, in his Buddha universe, the color of his body and his rays, yet he is absolutely identical with him in regard to wisdom (*prajñā)* and miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*). That is why he questions him.

Question. - Why does he ask him if he has but little anguish (*alpābādhatā*) and but little suffering (*alpātaṅkatā*)?

Answer. - There are two kinds of torments (*alpābādatā*), those having an external cause (*bāhyahetupratyaya*) and those having an internal cause (*ādhyhātmikahetupratyaya*). The external torments are cold *(śīta*), heat (*uṣna*), hunger (*kṣudh*), thirst (*pipāsā*), armies (*caturaṅgabala*), swords (*asi*), knives (*śastra*), clubs (*daṇḍa*), catastrophes (*patana*), ruins (*avamardana*); all these external accidents of this kind are called torments (*ādādha*). The inner torments are the 404 illnesses (*vyādhi*) that come from improper food or irregular sleep; all the sicknesses of this kind are called inner sicknesses. Corporeal beings (*dehin*) all have to suffer from these two kinds of illnesses. This is why [Ratnakāra] asks Śākyamuni if he has but little torments and suffering.

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[811] The story of Dhanika (in Pāli Dhaniya) is told in all the Vinayas in respect to the second pārājikadharma: Pāli Vinaya, III, p. 40-41 (tr. Horner, I, p. 64-67); Wou fen liu, T 1421, k. 1, p. 5b; Mo ho seng k'i liu, T 1425, k. 2, p. 238a; Sseu fen liu, T 1428, k. 1, p. 572b; Che song liu, T 2435, k. 1, p. 3b; Ken pen chou... p'i nai yo, T 1442, k. 2, p. 633c. As always, it is the Che song liu or the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya that the Mppś follows here.

[812] The Buddha forbade the construction of brick huts because the baking of the bricks, which involved the death of small insects, made the hut impure. What Buddha reproaches Dhanika for is cruelty: cf. Pāli Vinaya, III, p. 41: *na hi nāma tassa moghapurisassa pāṇesu anuddayā anukampā avihesā bhavissati*.

Question. - Why does he not ask him if he has *no* torment and suffering instead of asking if he has *but little* torment and *little* suffering?

Answer. - The wise (*ārya*) know very well that the body (*kāya*) is a source of suffering (*duḥkhamūla*) and that it is never without sickness.[813] Why? Because the body is an assemblage (*saṃghāta*) of the four great elements (*caturmahābhūta*) and the earth (*pṛthivī*), water (*āpas*), fire (*tejas*) and wind (*vāyu*) that compose it are naturally in disharmony and struggle with one another. Thus an ulcer (*gaṇḍa, visphoṭa*) is never without pain, but it can be improved, not cured, by a medicinal unguent. It is the same for the human body: always sick, it requires constant care; with care, it can live; deprived of care, it dies. This is why [Ratnakāra] cannot ask [Śākyamuni] if he has no suffering because [he knows that Śākyamuni] is a victim [as everyone is] of these eternal outer torments (*bāhyābādha*) which are wind (*anila*), rain (*varṣa*), cold (*śīta*), heat (*uṣṇa*). Moreover, there are the four bodily positions (*kāyeryāpatha*), sitting (*āsana*), lying down (*śayana*), walking (*gamana*) and standing (*sthāna*), [which Śākyamuni is obliged to take up like everyone else]. To stay sitting for a long time is a great torment; prolonging the other three positions is also painful. This is why Ratnākara asks him if he has but little torment and suffering.

Question. - It would be enough to ask if he has but little torment and suffering; why does he also ask if he is healthy (*yātrā*) and alert (*laghūtthānatā*)?

Answer. - Although he is convalescing, the sick person has not yet recovered his health; this is why he asks if he is healthy and alert.

Question. - Why ask him if he is strong (*bala*) and enjoying his ease (*sukhavihārarā*)?

Answer. - There are convalescents who can walk, sit and rise, but whose strength is not sufficient to allow them to fulfill their occupations, to work, to carry light (*laghu*) objects and to lift heavy (*guru*) things; this is why he asks if he is strong. There are people who, although convalescent and able to lift heavy things and carry light things, do not, however, enjoy their ease (*sukhavihāratā*); this is why he asks if he is enjoying his ease.

Question. - If one is well and strong, why would one not enjoy one's ease?

Answer. - There are poor people (*daridra*), frightened people and sad people who do not enjoy their ease; this is why he asks if he is enjoying his ease.

Moreover, there are two ways of asking: asking about the physical (*kāya*) and asking about the mind (*citta*). Asking someone if they have but little suffering or torment, if they are healthy, alert and strong, is asking about the physical; asking if they are enjoying their ease is asking [**131 c**] about the mind. All the inner (*ādhyāytmika*) and outer (*bāhya*) sicknesses are called bodily sicknesses (*kāyavyādhi*); desire (*rāga*), hatred (*dveṣa*), envy (*īrṣyā*), avarice (*mātsarya*), grief (*arati*), fear (*bhaya*), etc. as well as the 98 *anuśayas*, the 500 *paryavasthānas* and all types of wishes, hopes, etc., are called sicknesses of the mind (*cittavyādhi)*. In order to ask someone about each of these sufferings, we ask them if they have but little torment and little suffering, if they are healthy and alert, if they are strong and if they are enjoying their ease.

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[813] See Hobogirin, *Byô*, p. 232: "The body, this illness."

Question. - We can ask a man (*manuṣya)* these questions but not a god (*deva*), and still less, a Buddha.

Answer. - The body of the Buddha is of two types: *1*) the body of emanation (*nirmāṇakāya*), created by the superknowledges (*abhijñā*), *2*) the body born from father and mother (*pitṛmātṛjakāya*). Since the body born from father and mother takes on *(ādadāti*) the conditions of human life, it is not like the gods (*deva*) and we can question it according to human customs.

Question. - All noble individuals (*ārya)* have a detached mind (*nirāsaṅgacitta*); they do not cherish their body and do not hope for a long life, do not fear death and do not hope to be reborn; under these conditions, what use is it to ask about their health?

Answer. - It is in order to conform to worldly customs (*lokadharmānuvartana)* that [Samantaraśmi] borrows the rules of human etiquette to question [Śākyamuni]. Sending someone to ask, [as Ratnākara] does], also conforms to human etiquette.

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Sūtra: Having taken these golden thousand-petalled lotuses, the Buddha Śākyamuni then threw them to the Buddhas of universes of the east as numerous as the sands of the Ganges (*Atha khalu bhagavāñ Śākyamunis tathāgatas tāni sahasrapattrāṇi suvarṇanirbhāsāni padmāni gṛhītvā yena te pūrvasyāṃ diśi gaṅagānadīvālukopameṣu lokadhātuṣu buddhā bhagavantas tena prākṣipat*)

Śāstra: Question. - The Buddha is unsurpassable; why does he throw flowers as offering to the Buddhas of the east? When the Buddha had found the Path, he said to himself: "Men are not worthy of reverence; their capacities are imperfect (*asiddha*). Indeed, who has the right to veneration in heaven and on earth in the ten directions? I, who would like a teacher (*śāstṛ*), will follow him." Then Brahmā devarāja and the other gods said to the Buddha: "The Buddha has no superior (*anuttara*), no-one surpasses the Buddha." The Buddha himself also saw with his divine eye (*divyacakṣus*) that in the three times (*tryadhvan*), in the ten directions (*daśasiś*), whether in heaven or on earth, that no-one surpassed the Buddha; and he said to himself: "I shall practice the Mahāprajñāpāramitā; now that I have become Buddha that is what I will venerate, that is what will be my teacher. I must respect, honor and serve its Dharma." - There was a tree called *Hao kien* (Sudṛḍha ?); this tree was at the center of the earth and had hundreds of branches and leaves; in one day it grew a hundred cubits (*vyāma*). When this tree was fully grown, it sought out [another] big tree to take shelter under it. There was, at that time in the forest, a deity (*devatā*) who said to the *Hao kien* tree: "There is no tree in the world bigger than you; all the trees should take shelter in your shadow." It is the same for the Buddha; for innumerable incalculable periods (*asaṃkhyeyakalpa*), he dwelled in the bodhisattva levels (*bodhisattvabhūmi*); one day when he was seated under the tree of enlightenment (*bodhivṛkṣa*) on the diamond throne (*vajrāsana*), he discovered the true nature of all dharmas (*sarvadharmalakṣaṇa*) and attained the state of Buddha. Then he said: “Who is the venerable individual who can serve [**132 a**] me as teacher? I wish to honor him, respect him and serve him." Then Brahmā devarāja and the other devas said to the Buddha: "The Buddha has no superior (*anuttara*); nothing surpasses the Buddha."

Question: [If Śākyamuni is truly the greatest of beings], why does he want to worship (*pūjā*) the Buddhas of the east?

Answer. - *1*) The Buddha is without superior (*anuttara*); in the three times (*tryadvan*), the ten directions (*daśadiś*), in heaven and on earth, no-one surpasses him; nevertheless, the Buddha can pay worship (*pūjā*) [to what he considers good]. Pūja is higher (*agra*), medium (*madhya*) and lower (*avara*). Lower pūjā consists of honoring someone who is beneath oneself; higher pūjā consists of honoring someone who is above oneself; medium pūjā consists of honoring someone who is one's equal. The pūjā performed by Śākyamuni with regard to the other Buddhas is medium pūjā. [But Śākyamuni has also practiced the lower pūjā in the following circumstance]:

When the bhikṣuṇī *Ta ngai tao* (Mahāprajāpatī) and her five hundred arhatī-bhikṣuṇīs entered nirvāṇa all at the same time,[814] the upasakas in possession of the threefold Paths set up five hundred beds (*khaṭvā*) for the bhikṣuṇīs and the Cāturmahārājikas set up a bed for Mahāprajāpatī, Buddha's step-mother and nurse (*dhātrī*). The Buddha himself placed before her body an incense-burner to burn perfumes in her honor. He said to the bhikṣus: "Help me to pay homage to the body of my nurse." Immediately, these arhat-bhikṣus, each by virtue of his bases of miraculous power (*ṛddhipāda)*, went to Mount *Mo li* (Malaya) to gather 'cows'-head'(?) sandalwood (*gośīrṣacandana*) and other aromatics and helped the Buddha build the funeral pyre. [For the Buddha,] this was a lower pūjā; in this way, without looking for any reward, the Buddha practices the pūjās.

2) Moreover, the Buddha alone can pay [suitable] pūjā to the Buddhas, for other people do not know the qualities (*guṇa*) of the Buddhas. A stanza says:

> [Only] the wise can esteem the sciences,
>
> The books of the sciences and the joy of of the sciences.
>
> [Only] the wise know the sciences
>
> Like the snake [alone] knows the snake's feet.

This is why the Buddhas, who are omniscient (*sarvajñā*), can render [suitable] pūjā to the omniscience [of the other Buddhas].

3) Finally, the Buddhas of the ten directions (*daśadigbuddha*) from age to age have aided (*upakaroti*) the Buddha Śākyamuni:

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814 Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī, the Buddha's aunt, hearing the Buddha sneeze, wished him a long life. The Buddha remarked that wishing harmony in the saṃgha would be preferable. Then Gautamī made the resolution to enter nirvāṇa before anyone could leave the saṃgha. Five hundred nuns entered nirvāṇa along with her. Gautamī's nirvāṇa is told in the Pāli Apadāna, II, p. 529-543; Tseng yi a han, T 125, k. 50, p. 822b-823b; Ta ngai tao pan ni yuan king, T 144, p. 867a-869b; Fo mou pan ni yuan king, T 145, p. 869b-870c; Ken pen chou... tsa che, T 1451, k. 10, p. 248a-249a (tr. S. Lévi, *Aśvaghoṣa, le Sūtrālaṃkāra et ses sources*, JA, Jul.-Aug. 1908, p. 161-163); Ta tchouang yen louen king, T 201 (no. 68), k. 14, p. 333a-338a (tr. Huber, *Sūtrālaṃkāra*, p. 386-402). - The scene is located either at Kapilavastu in the Nyagrodhārāma (T 1451) or at Vaiśalī in the Kūṭāgāraśalā (T 125, T 144, T 145, and Hiuan tsang, Si yu ki, T 2087, k. 7, p. 908b28.

a. When Śhākyamuni was a bodhisattva of the seventh bhūmi (*saptamabhūmi*),[815] he saw that all dharmas are empty (*śūnya*), nonexistent (*asat*) without birth and cessation (*anutpannāniruddha*); seeing this, his mind became detached from all the universes (*lokadhātu*), he wanted to abandon the practice of the six virtues (*ṣaṭpāramitā*) and enter into nirvāṇa. He was like a man who, in a dream (*svapna*), builds a raft (*kola*) to cross over a big river and who feels sick because his arms are tired; in the middle of the stream, he wakes up out of his dream and says to himself: "Why do I imagine there is a river and that I must cross it?", and at once his worries have disappeared. In the same way, the Bodhisattva, having reached the seventh bhūmi, acquired acceptance of the teaching of nonarising (*anupattikadharmakṣānti*), the course of his mind (*cittapravṛtti*) stopped and he wanted to enter into nirvāṇa, [When Śākyamuni was at this stage], the Buddhas of the ten directions emitted rays (*raśmi*) that illumined the Bodhisattva's body, and with their hands caressing his head, they said to him: "O son of good family (*kulaputra*), do not make that decision; remember your previous vow (*pūrvanidhāna*) which was to save beings. Without any doubt, you know emptiness (*śūnya*), but beings are not liberated (*vimukta*) nevertheless. You must again gather the qualities (*guṇa*) necessary ro convert them. [**132 b**] Do not enter (read *mo jou*) into nirvāṇa. You have not yet acquired the golden-colored body (*suvarṇavarṇakāya*) or the thirty-two major marks (*lakṣaṇa*) or the eighty minor marks (*anuvyañjana*) or the immense rays (*apramāṇaraśmi*) or the thirty-two acts [producing the marks]. You have just attained the Dharma relating to non-production (*anutpādadharmaparyāya*). Do not rejoice too much." Then, hearing the encouragement of the Buddhas, the Bodhisattva returned to his first decision, practiced the six virtues and set himself to save beings. Such was the help (*upakara*) that he received from the Buddhas when he reached Buddhahood.

b. Moreover, when the Buddha had attained enlightenment, he had this thought: "This Dharma is very profound (*gambhīra*); beings are stupid (*mūḍha*) and of little merit. What can I do, I who have also been born into the world of the five poisons (*kaṣāya*)?" Having had this thought, [he said to himself]: "Within this single Dharma, I will make three parts (*bhāga*), and these parts will be the three Vehicles (*yāna*) by means of which I will save beings."[816] When he had thought thus, the Buddhas of the ten directions (*daśadigbuddha*) caused rays to appear and they congratulated him, saying: "Good, good! When we were in the world of the five poisons, we too divided the single Dharma into three parts to save beings." Then hearing the voices of the Buddhas of the ten directions, the Buddha felt great joy (*ānanda*) and cried: "Homage to the Buddhas (*namo buddhānaÎ*)." This is how the Buddhas of the ten directions rendered him great services by encouraging him and helping him several times, and [now], out of gratitude for all these benefits, [Śākyamuni] offers flowers to the Buddhas of the ten directions.

The highest [Buddha] qualities do not exceed those of these lotuses. Why? Because these precious lotus bouquets (*padmaratnasaṃcaya*) are the result of the same Buddha qualities; these are not ordinary lotuses born on the water. Samantaraśmi, a dharmakāya bodhisattva dwelling on the tenth bhūmi, had brought these lotuses and scattered them on the Buddha Śākyamuni. The latter, knowing that the Buddhas of the ten

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[815] The story of the Bodhisattva in the seventh bhūmi is told in the Mahāvastu, I, p. 127-136.

[816] It is the rule that the Buddhas preach the three Vehicles if they appear when the human life-span is decreasing from one hundred to ten years, i.e., when the five poisons are very strong (cf. Kośa, III, p. 193).

directions are a supreme field of merit (*paramapuṇyakṣetra*), in turn offers [these same lotuses] whose value is thus doubled. Why? Because it is a Buddha who is offering them to the Buddhas.

Actually, in the Buddhadharma, there are four types of gifts (*dakṣiṇā*); *1*) The donor (*dāyaka*) is pure and the recipient (*pratigrāhaka*) impure; *2*) The donor is impure and the recipient is pure; *3*) Both the donor and the recipient are pure; *4*) Both the donor and the recipient are impure.[817] Here the gift is made to the Buddhas of the east; it is doubly pure, both [in its donor and its recipient]; its merit (*puṇya*) is very great. This is why Śākyamuni offers flowers to the Buddhas of the ten directions.

Question. - But the noble individuals [who make such meritorious gifts] will receive no reward because they will not be reborn; why do you say that the merit of this gift is very great?

Answer. - Although there is no-one to enjoy this merit, it is great in itself; if anyone enjoyed it, the reward (*vipāka*) would be infinite (*apramāna*). But the noble individuals (*ārya*) who renounce entering into nirvāṇa because they know that conditioned dharmas are transitory (*anitya*) and empty (*śūnya*), also renounce this merit. It is like a glowing bubble of molten gold (*hemapiṇḍa*) the beauty of which the eye perceives but which cannot be touched because it would burn the hand.

Those who have an ulcer (*gaṇḍa, visphota*) need an unguent (*vilepana*); those who do not have an ulcer do not need a remedy. Similarly, corporeal beings (*dehin*), ever tormented like an ulcer by hunger (*kṣudh*), thirst (*pipāsā*), cold (*śīta*) and heat (*uṣṇa*), use clothing, coverlets, food and [**132 c**] a temperate climate, which are like the unguent spread on an ulcer. If, out of love for the remedy, they do not use it to get rid of their ulcer, they would be stupid (*mūḍha*), for when one does not have an ulcer, the remedy is useless. The Buddhas think of the body as an ulcer and, because they have rejected this body-ulcer, they do not rejoice over the reward [for their merits]. This is why, although they have great merits, they do not receive the reward (*vipāka*).

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Sūtra: These lotuses thrown [by Śākyamuni] filled the Buddha universes of the east as numerous as the sands of the Ganges (*taiś ca padmair ye pūrvasyāṃ diśi gaṅghanadīvālukopamā buddhalokadhātavas te paripūrṇā abhūvan*).

Śāstra: Question. - How can these few lotuses fill so many universes?

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[817] Here the Mppś is reproducing a well-known canonical formula, without any reference, which may be found with some variations in Dīgha, III, p. 231-232; Majjhima, III, p. 256; Aṅguttara, II, p. 80; Ta tsi fa men king, T 12, k. 1, p. 228c27: Tchong a han, T 26, (no. 180), k. 47, p. 722b28. - Here, acc. to Dīgha (l.c.) is the Pāli formula: *Catasso dakkhiṇāvisuddhiyo. Atth' āvuso dakkhiṇā dmayakato visujjhati .... visujjhati paṭiggāhakato ca*. - The Majjima and Aṅguttara explain that, in order to be pure, the donor and the recipient must be moral and of good quality (*sīlavā kalyāṇadhammo*).

Answer. - *1*) This is due to the Buddha's abhijñās; by virtue of the first eight, he can transform the dharmas at will, make small that which is big, make big that which is small, make heavy that which is light, make light that which is heavy, freely move at will without hindrance, shake the great earth, realize wishes. The great arhats possess all these eight masteries (*vaśita*); this is why the Buddha is able to fill the universes of the east that are as numerous as the sands of the Ganges with just a few flowers.

2) Moreover, he wants to show beings that the future reward of their merits (*anāgatapuṇyavipāka*) is comparable to these few lotuses that succeed in filling the universes of the east.

3) Finally, he encourages the bodhisattvas of the east by saying to them: "Plant your merits in the Buddha-field (*buddhakṣetra*) and the reward you will receive will be like these lotuses that fill innumerable lands. Although you come from afar, you will have joy (*ānanda*). The reward for encountering this great field of merit (*puṇyakṣetra*) is immense.

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Sūtra: On each of these lotuses there were bodhisattvas[818] sitting cross-legged preaching the six virtues. Those who heard them were settled in supreme perfect enlightenment (*teṣu ca padmeṣu bodhisattvāḥ paryaṅkaṃ baddhvā niṣaṇṇā abhūvan ṣaṭpāramitādharmadeśanāṃ deśayantaḥ. yaiś ca sattvaiḥ sa dharmaḥ śrutas te niyatā abhūvan anuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau*).

Śāstra: Question. - The Buddha had previously created thousand-petalled lotuses of precious stones by the rays of his tongue; on each of them there was a seated Buddha; why are there bodhisattvas now seated on each lotus?

Answer. - Previously, it was a question of lotuses created by the Buddha; this is why there were Buddhas seated on them. Here it is a matter of lotuses offered by the bodhisattva Samantaraśmi; this is why there are bodhisattvas seated on them. Previously, beings had to see the seated Buddhas in order to be saved; here they must see bodhisattvas in order to be saved. These bodhisattvas, seated cross-legged, are preaching the six virtues, and those who hear them are settled in supreme perfect enlightenment.

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Sūtra: These monastic (*pravrajita*) and lay (*gṛhasta*) bodhisattvas, youths (*dāraka*) and maidens (*dārikā*), bow their heads down to the feet of the Buddha Śākyamuni. Each of them express their worship (*saṃpūjā*), obedience (*satkāra*), veneration (*saṃmāna*) and respect (*gurukāra*). These bodhisattas, monastic and lay, youths and maidens, one after another, by the power of their roots of good (*kuśalamūla*) and their merits (*puṇya*), pay homage to Śhākyamuni, Buddha, [**133a**] arhat, samyaksaṃbuddha.

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818 In the Sanskrit text of the Pañcaviṃśati (p. 14), it is Buddha forms (*buddhavigraha*) that are seated on the lotuses.

Śāstra: Here are the stanzas which they spoke:

The Path which the arhats have travelled
The Buddha has followed in the same way (*tathā - āgata*).
True nature and point of arrival
Are the same for the Buddha and not otherwise.
The āryas speak the truth
The Buddha also speaks the truth.
This is why the Buddha is given
The epithet of *Tathāgata*: "Speaking the Tuth".
With patience as breast-plate, his mind is firm;
With exertion as bow, his strength is bent [like the bow]
With the sharp arrow of his wisdom
He slays his enemies (*ari* + *han*), pride, etc.

He has the right to the complete worship
Of gods and men;
The is why we give to the Buddha
The epithet of *Arhat:* "Having the Right".
He knows full well the true nature of suffering,
He also knows the origin of suffering,
He knows the true nature of the cessation of suffering
He knows also the Path of cessation of suffering.

Completely (*samyak*) understanding the four truths,
He dwells in equanimity (*sama*) and is immovable.
This is why, in the ten directions,
He is call *Samyak - sam- buddha*.
He has obtained the three subtle sciences (*vidyā*).
He is also endowed with pure practices (*caraṇa*);
This is why we call this Bhavgavat

Vidyā - caraṇa - saṃpanna: "Endowed with the Sciences and Practices."

Knowing all the dharmas

He has followed (*gata*) the marvellous Path.

At the desired time, he preaches skillfully

Because he has compassion for all.

He has destroyed old age, sickness and death,

To arrive at the place of safety (*yogakṣema*):

This is why we give to the Buddha

The epithet of *Sugata*: "Well-Gone".

He knows the origin of the world

And also knows its cessation;

This is why we give the Buddha

The epithet of *Lokavid*: "Knower of the World".

In regard to samādhi, śīla, prajñā and saṃpaśyanā,

He has no equal and, still less, no superior;

This is why we give to the Buddha

The epithet of *Anuttara*: "Without Superior".

He saves beings with his great compassion,

He guides them with his good Dharma;

This is why we give to the Buddha

The epithet of *Puruṣasamyasārathi*: "Guide of Beings to be Converted".

With wisdom free from the passions (*kleśa*),

He preaches supreme deliverance (*vimokṣa*);

This is why we give to the Buddha

The epithet of *Śāstā devamanuṣyāṇām*: "Teacher of Gods and Men".

[**133 b**] That which is mobile or immobile in the threefold world,

Perishable or imperishable,

He learned under the bodhi tree;

This is why we call him *Buddha*.

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Sūtra: In the south (*dakṣiṇasyāṃ diśi*), beyond universes as numerous as the sands of the Ganges (*gaṅgānadīvālukopamān lokadhātūn atikramya*) and at the extreme limit of these universes (*tebhyo yaḥ sarvāvasānikaḥ*), there is the universe called *Li yi ts'ie yeou* (Sarvaśokāpagata); its Buddha is named *Wou yeou tö* (Aśokaśrī) and its bodhisattva *Li yeou* (Vigataśoka). - In the west (*paścimāyāṃ diśi*), beyond universes as numerous as the sands of the Ganges and at the extreme limit of these universes, there is a universe called *Mie ngo* (Upaśantā); its Buddha is called *Pao chan* (Ratnārcis) and its bodhisattva *Yi pi* (Cāritramati). - In the north (*uttarasyāṃ diśi*), beyond universes as numerous as the sands of the Ganges and at the extreme limits of these universes, there is the universe called *Cheng wang* (Jayendra) and its bodhisattva *Tö cheng* (Jayadatta). - In the region of the nadir (*adhastād diśi*), beyond universes as numerous as the sands of the Ganges and at the extreme limit of these universes, there is the universe called *Houa* (Padma);[819] its Buddha is called *Houa tö* (Padmaśrī)[820] and its bodhisattva *Houa chang* (Padmottara). - In the region of the zenith (*upariṣṭād diśi*), beyond universes as numerous as the sands of the Ganges and at the extreme limit of these universes, there is the universe called *Hi* (Nandā); its Buddha is called *Hi tö* (Nandaśrī) and its bodhisattva *Tö hi* (Nandadatta).

In these universes everything occurred just as it did in the east.

Śāstra: Question. - According to the Buddhadharma, the directions (*diś*) do not really exist. Why? Because they are not included (*saṃgṛhīta*) in the list of the five aggregates (*skandha*), the twelve bases of consciousness (*āyatana*) and the eighteen elements (*dhātu*) [that embrace the totality of existent things]. Neither is there any mention of the directions in the four baskets of the Dharma (*dharmapiṭaka*).[821] Similarly, one would search in vain for the causes and conditions (*hetupratyaya*) that would make these directions into real things. Then why speak here about the Buddhas of the ten directions and the bodhisattvas of the ten directions?

Answer. - It is in order to be in harmony with the traditions of conventional language (*lokasaṃvṛti)* that we speak of directions; but regardless of the search, their reality cannot be demonstrated.

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819 This universe is called *Chan* "Good" in the Chinese text, but *Padmā* "Lotus" (Chin. *Houa*) in the original Sanskrit of the Pañcaviṃśati, p. 17. This last reading is the proper one (note that the names of all the universes are feminine; this is why *Padmā* ends with '*ā*').

820 This Buddha is called *Chan tö* "Beauty of the Good" in the Chinese text (Chin. *Houa tö)*, but Padmaśrī "Beauty of the Lotus" (Chin. *Houa tö*) in the Sanskrit text of the Pañcaviṃśati, p. 17. This last reading is the proper one.

821 Understand: there is no mention of these directions as truly existent things (*dharma*).

Question. - How can you say that they do not exist? If the directions are not in your four baskets of the Dharma (*dharmapiṭaka*), they are mentioned in my six baskets of the Dharma;[822] if they are not contained in your list of skandhas, āyatanas and dhātus, they are contained in my own dhāraṇīs.

Moreover, by virtue of its nature of existence, the dharma 'direction' exists and is eternal. Thus it is said in a sūtra: "The place where the sun rises is in the eastern direction; the place where the sun sets is in the western direction; the place where the sun travels to is in the southern direction; the place where the sun does not travel to is in the northern direction." The sun has a threefold conjunction (*saṃyoga*): prior conjunction, actual conjunction and later conjunction. It is divided according to direction. The first direction with which it enters into conjunction is the east, then the south, and finally the west. The place where the sun does not travel is not counted. The specific nature (*lakṣaṇa*) of the direction is the distinction between 'there' and 'here', between 'here' and 'there'. If the directions did not exist, these distinctions would be wrong and, since these distinctions constitute the specific nature of the direction, there would be no directions.

Answer. - That is not correct. Mount Sumeru is situated at the center of the four continents; the sun makes a circuit around Sumeru and [successively] lights up the four continents (*dvīpaka*). When it is noon (*madhyāhna*) in Uttarakuru (northern continent), the sun is rising in Pūrvavideha (eastern continent) because, for the inhabitants of Pūrvavideha, [Uttarakuru] is east. - When it is noon in Pūrvavideha (eastern continent), the sun is rising in Jambudvīpa (southern continent) because, for the inhabitants of Jambudvīpa, [Pūrvavideha] is east.[823] Therefore there is no initial term. Why? Because according to the course [of the sun], all directions are [successively] east, south, west and north.[824] Therefore it is not true, as you said, that "the place where the sun rises is the eastern direction, the place where the sun sets is the western direction, the place where the sun travels to is the southern direction and the place where the sun does not travel to is the northern direction." Moreover, the place with which the sun does not enter into conjunction [namely, north] is not a direction because it is lacking the specific characteristic (*lakṣaṇa*) of direction [namely, conjunction].

Question. - I was speaking of 'direction' in reference to one single country and you are basing your objection on four countries [namely, the four continents]. This is why the direction of the east is not without initial term.

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[822] We know from k. 11, p. 143c that these four dharmapiṭakas are the Sutrapiṭaka, the Vinayapiṭaka, the Abhidharmapiṭaka and the Mixed Basket (*Tsa tsang*); for this last one, see Przyluski, *Concile*, p. 119-120. As for the six Baskets, this is the first time I [Lamotte] have heard of them.

[823] These facts are taken from the Cosmology of the Dīrgha, Tch'ang a han, T 1 (no. 30), k. 22, p. 147c: "When it is noon in Jambudvīpa, the sun is setting in Pūrvavideha, rising in Godānīya, and it is midnight in Uttarakuru. - When it is noon in Uttarakuru, the sun is setting in Godānīya, rising in Pūrvavideha and it is midnight in Jambudvīpa. - When it is noon in Pūrvavideha, the sun is setting in Uttarakuru, rising in Jambudvīpa and it is midnight in Godānīya." - See also Kośa, III, p. 157.

[824] Tch'ang a han, T 1 (no. 30), k. 22, p. 147c: When Jambudvīpa is east, Pūrvavideha is west. When Jambudvīpa is west, Godānīya is east. When Godānīya is west, Uttarakuru is east. When Uttarakuru is west, Pūrvavideha is east."

Answer. - If, in one single land, the sun enters into conjunction with the east, that is limited (*antavat*); if it is limited, it is not eternal (*anitya*); if it is not eternal, it is not univerasl (*vyāpin*). This is why the directions have only nominal existence and are not realities.

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Sūtra: Then this trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu was transformed into jewels; it was strewn with flowers, decorated with fabrics, banners and bouquets, adorned with perfume-trees and flowering arbors (*Atha khalo ayaṃ trisāhasramahāsāhasro lokadhātū ratnamayaḥ saṃsthito 'bhūt puṣpābhikīrṇaḥ. avasaktapattadāmakalāpo gandhavṛkṣaiḥ puṣpavṛṣaiś copaśobhita 'bhūt)*.

Śāstra: Question. - What is the miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*) that transforms the earth into jewels?

Answer. - This transformation (*pariṇāma*) is brought about by the immense miraculous power of the Buddha. People versed in spells (*mantra)* and magic (*māya*), the asuras, the nāgarājas, the devas, etc., are able to transform small objects, but no-one other [than the Buddha], including Brahmā devarāja, has the power to transform the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu into precious jewels. When the Buddha is in the fourth dhyāna, the four minds of metamorphosis (*nirmāṇacitta*) adorn (*alaṃkṛta*) the trisāhasaramahāsāhasralokadhātu, with its flowers, perfumes and trees, in all its superiority. All beings in perfect agreement [at this sight] turn their minds to the good.

Why does the Buddha adorn this universe? In order to preach the Prajñāpāramitā and also to honor the bodhisattvas of the ten directions who have come to visit him accompanied by gods and men. When the master of a household invites a noble individual, he adorns his home; if it is the leader of a country, he adorns his kingdom; if it is a cakravartin king, he adorns the four continents (*caturdvīpa*); if it is Brahmā devarāja, he adorns the trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu. The Buddha himself adorns his universe for the chiefs of the universes of the ten directions - universes as numerous as the sands of the Ganges - i.e., for the foreign bodhisattvas (*deśantarabodhisattva*) and for the gods and men who have come to visit him. He also wants people, on seeing the fairyland of the metamorphoses (*pariṇāmavyūha*) that he has produced, to produce the great thought of enlightenment (*mahābodhicitta*), feel pure joy (*viśuddhamuditā*), be inspired by the thought of enlightenment to accomplish the great acts (*mahākarma*), obtain a great reward (*mahāvipāka*) from these great acts, profit from this great reward by producing the great thought once more, and thus, successively (*paraṃparavṛdhi*) they succeed in attaining supreme perfect enlightenment (*anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*). This is why the Buddha adorns this universe and transforms it into jewels.

Question. - What is meant by jewels (*ratna)*?

Answer. - There are four types of jewels: *1*) *Kin* (suvarṇa), gold; *2*) *Yin* (rajata, rūpya), silver; *3*) [**134 a**] *P'i lieou li* (vaiḍūrya), lapis-lazuli; *4*) *P'o li* (sphaṭika), crystal.

There are four more kinds of jewels:[825] *1*) gold; *2*) silver; *3*) lapis-lazuli; *4*) crystal; *5*) *Tch'ö k'iu* (musāragalva) cat's-eye; *6*) *Ma nao* (aśmagarbha) emerald*;* *7*) *Tch'e tchen tchou* (lohitamukti), red pearl. [Note by Kumārajīva: This pearl is very precious; it is not *Chan hou* (pravāḍa, vidruma), coral].

There are yet other jewels: *1*) *Mo lo k'ie t'o* (marakata), emerald [this pearl is extracted from the beak of the golden-winged garuḍa bird; it is green in color and it counteracts poisons); *2*) *Yin t'o ni lo* (indranīla), sapphire [pearl of celestial azure]; *3*) *Mo ho ni lo* (mahānīla) 'great blue' pearl; *4*) *Po mo lo k'ie* (padmarāga), ruby [bright red pearl]; *5*) *Yue chö* (vajra) diamond; *6*) *Long tchou* (nāgamaṇi), nāga pearl; *7*) *Jou yi tchou* (cintāmaṇi), precious stone that grants all the wishes of its owner; *8*) *Yu*, jade; *9*) *Pei* (śaṅkha) conch; *10*) *Chan hou* (pravāḍa, vidruma), coral; *11*) *Hou p'e* (tṛiṇamaṇi) amber, etc. All these are called jewel (*ratna*).

These jewels are of three types, human jewels (*manuṣyaratna*), divine jewels (*divyaratna*) and bodhisattva jewels (*bodhisattvaratna*).

Human jewels have minimum power and have merely a bright pure color; they combat poisons (*viṣa*), demons (*piśāca),* and shadows (*tamas*); they also combat all the sufferings of hunger (*kṣudh*), thirst (*pipāsā*), cold (*śīta*) and heat (*uṣṇa*).

Divine jewels are larger and more powerful; they always accompnay the gods; one can give orders to them and communicate with them; they are light and not heavy.

Bodhisattva jewels surpass the divine jewels; they combine the benefits of human and divine jewels. They allow all beings to know the place of their death and birth, their history (*nidāna)*, their beginning and their end (*pūrvāparānta*): it is like a clear mirror (*pariśuddādarśa*) where a person can contemplate their reflection. Moreover, the bodhisattva jewels can emit the various sounds of the Dharma (*dharmasvara*). As for the crown jewel (*ratnamukuta*) that adorns their head, it rains down flags (*dhvaja*), banners (*patākā*), bouquets of flowers (*puṣpadāma*) and all kinds of offerings (*pūjāpariṣkāra*) onto the Buddhas of the innumerable universes of the ten directions; it is a way of paying homage to the Buddhas. It also rains down clothing (*vastra*), coverlets, beds (*śayana*), seats (*āsana*) and means of livelihood (*ājīva*): it causes everything that answers the needs of beings to rain down and gives them to beings.

These various jewels remove the poverty (*dāridrya*) and the suffering (*duḥkha*) of beings.

Question. - Where do these marvellous jewels come from?

Answer. - Gold (*suvarṇa*) comes from rocks, sand and red copper. - [Red] pearls (*lohitamukti*) come from fish stomachs, bamboo and snakes' heads. - Nāga pearl (*nāgamaṇi)* comes from the heads of nāgas. - Coral (*pravāda, vidruma*) comes from petrified trees found in the sea. - Conch (*śaṅkha*) comes from insects. - Silver (*rajata, rūpya*) comes from burned rocks. - The other jewels, lapis-lazuli (*vaiḍūrya*), crystal (*sphoṭika*), etc., all come from caves. - The *Cintāmaṇi* comes from the Buddha's relics (*buddhaśarīra*);

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825 Classic list of seven jewels, occurring in, e.g., Milinda, p. 267; Divyāvadāna, p. 297; Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, p. 151; Sukhāvatīvyūha, v. 16; Saṃgraha, p. 318; Mahāvyutpatti, no. 5943 seq. - See Burnouf, *Lotus,* p. 319-321; Finot, *Les lapidaires indiens*, Paris, 1896.

when the Dharma will have disappeared, all the Buddha's relics will change into *cintāmani*. Similarly, at the end of a thousand years, water will change into crystal (*sphoṭika*) pearls.

All these jewels are the usual jewels found among mankind; but the universes adorned (*alaṃkṛta*) by the Buddha have far more value and cannot be obtained even by the gods. Why? Because they come from the great qualities of the Buddha.

The perfumed trees (*gandhavṛkṣa*) are: *1*) the *A k'ie leou* (agaru),[826] Agalloche [tree with the perfume of honey]; *2*) the *To k'ie leou* (tagaru),[827] *Tabernaemonatana coronaria* [very perfumed tree]; *3*) the *Tchan t'an* (candana), sandalwood, and other species of perfumed trees.[828]

The flowering trees (*puṣpavṛkṣa*) are: *1*) the *Tchan p'ou* (jambhu), *Eugenia jambolana* [tree with white flowers]; *2*) the *A chou kia* (aśoka) *Jonesia asoka* [tree 'without a care']; *3*) the *P'o ho kia lo* [tree with red flowers], and others.

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Sūtra: The universe *Houa tsi* (Padmāvati) has been mentioned which belongs [to the Buddha] *P'ou houa* (Samantakusuma), where the bodhisattva *Miao tö* (Mañjuśrī), the bodhisattva *Chan tchou yi* (Susthitamati) and other very powerful bodhisattvas dwell (*tadyathāpi nāma Padmāvatī* [**134 b**] *lokadhātuḥ Samanatakusumasya tathāgatasya buddhakṣetraṃ yatra Mañjuśrīḥ kumārabhūtaḥ prativasati Susthimatiś ca bodhisattvaḥ anye ca mahaujaskā bodhisattvāḥ*).

Śāstra. - Question. - Why compare [the Sahā universe thus transformed] with the Padmāvatī universe?

Answer. - Because the [Padmāvatī] universe always has pure lotuses and the [Sahā] universe, after it has been transformed, resembles it. In making comparisons (*upamāna*). we customarily compare the smallest with the biggest; in this way we compare the beauty of a man's face with the full moon (*pūrṇamāsa*).

Question. - But in the ten directions, there are other pure universes (*pariśuddhalokadhātu*) such as the *Ngan lo* (Sukhāvatī) of the Buddha *A mi t'o* (Amitābha), etc. Why take only the Padmāvatī universe as comparison?

Answer. - The universe of the Buddha Amitābha is not like the Padmāvatī universe. Why? Although the Buddha [Lokeśvararāja] guided the bikṣu *Fa tsi* (Dharmākara) in the ten directions to contemplate the pure

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826 In Sanskrit, *agaru* or *aguru* (cf. Avadānaśataka, I, p. 24; Divyāvadāna, p. 158, 315, 327); in Pāli, *akalu* or *agal*u (cf. Milinda, p. 338). The word also occurs in Hebrew and Greek.

827 Most likely Tagara, attested in Vinaya, I, p. 303; Itivuttaka, p. 68, Milinda, p. 338, Divyāvadāna, p. 158, 327.

828 These *gandhavṛkṣa* furnish precious essences used as perfumes. Milinda, p. 338, tells of a man whose body is anointed with agaru, tagara, tālīsaka (*Flacourtia cataphracta*) and red sandalwood (*akalutāgaratālīsakalojitacandānulittagatto*).

universes, the qualities (*guṇa*) and the power (*bala*) of this bhikṣu were [too] weak and he was unable to see the supremely pure universes.[829] This is why the universes are not alike.

Furthermore, when the Buddha [Śākyamuni] transforms the [Sahā] universe, he gives it a resemblance (*sādṛśya*) to the Padmāvatī universe. This is why it is compared here to the Padmāvatī universe.

Question. - There are other great bodhisattvas such as *P'i mo lo k'i* (Vimalakīrti), *Kouan che yin* (Avalokiteśvara), *Pien ki* (Samanatabhadra), etc. Why mention only the bodhisattvas who reside in the [Padmāvatī] universe and be limited to citing the bodhisattvas *Wen chou che li* (Mañjuśrī) and *Chan tchou yi* (Susthitamati)?

Answer. - From all the pores of his skin (*ekaikaromakūpa*), the bodhisattva Samantabhadra ceaselessly emits buddha-universes with Buddhas and bodhisattvas who fill the ten directions; as he transforms beings, he has no fixed residence. Dividing and transforming his body, the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī penetrates into the five destinies (*pañcagati)* and sometimes acts as a śrāvaka, sometimes as a pratyekabuddha and sometimes as a Buddha. It is said in the *Cheou leng yen san mei king* (Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra):[830] "The bodhisattva Mañjuśrī in the past was the Buddha *Long tchong tsouen* (Nāga...); for 72 koṭi of lifetimes, he was a pratyekabuddha"; his previous abodes [can be listed and described]. But for the bodhisattva Samanatabhadra, it is impossible to count, describe and know his [successive] abodes because, if he abides anywhere, it is in all the universes [without distinction]. This is why the sūtra does not mention him here.

Besides, by speaking of 'other very powerful bodhisattvas', the sūtra refers to Samantabhadra and all the great bodhisattvas as a whole (*sāmānyataḥ*).

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[829] See Mppś, k. 50, p. 418a-b: "The Buddha *Che tseu tsai wang* (Lokeśvararāja) led the bhikṣu *Fa tsi* (Dharmakara) in the ten directions and showed him the pure universes." This bhikṣu is none other than the future Buddha Amitābha whose births are told in the Sukhāvatīvyūha (ed. M. Müller and B. Nanjio in *Anecdota Oxoniensis*, vol. I, part II, Oxford, 1883; tr. M. Müller, *Buddhist Mahāyana Sūtras*, SBE, vol. 49, part II) and its six Chinese translations (T 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 310[5]). The Hobogirin, *Amida*, p. 26, summarizes this work as follows: At the time of the Buddha Lokeśvara, the 53rd Buddha after Dīpaṃkara, a king had the thought of enlightenment from having heard the sermons of this Buddha. He abandoned his throne and became a monk under the name of Dharmākara. Upon the prayer of this monk, the Buddha Lokeśvararāja showed him the good and the evil of gods and men and the merits and demerits of the different realms of the 210 million Buddha realms which he showed him. The monk spent five kalpas reflecting in order make a choice and to acquire the pure practices with which one can adorn a Buddha realm; then he went again to the same Buddha and pronouced the 48 vows, the main one of which is the 18th, formulated by T 360 as follows: "Supposing that I succeed in becoming Buddha, if beings of the ten directions, believing in me and loving me wholeheartedly, make the wish to be reborn in my realm to the extent of ten thoughts, if they are not reborn there, may I not receive supreme perfect enlightenment, except only for those guilty of the five sins of immediate retribution and slander against the holy Dharma." [In the Sanskrit text, this vow is the 19th and is formulated in v. 8, no. 10 as follows: *Sa can me bhagavān bodhiprāptasyāprameyāsaṃkhyeyeṣu buddhakṣetreṣu .... samyaksaṃbodhim abhisaṃbuddheyam*. Then he accumulated the practices so that his vows were realized and he became the perfect Buddha Amitāyus in his western paradise where he he has already reigned for ten kalpas.

[830] Chou leng yen san mei king, T 642, k. 2, p. 644a.

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Sūtra: Then the Buddha knew that all the universes, with the world of the gods (*devaloka*), the world of Brahmā (*brahmaloka*), the śramaṇas and the brāhmaṇas, the gods (*deva*), the gandharvas, the asuras, etc., and the bodhisattva-mahāsattvas who are to accede to the state of Buddhahood (*kumārabhūta*) were all gathered together (*saṃnipatita*).

Śāstra: Question. - The miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*) of the Buddha is immense (*apramāṇa*). If the beings of the ten directions all came to the assembly, all the universes would be empty (*śūnya*); on the other hand, if they did not all come, the immense power of the Buddha would betray its powerlessness.

[**134 c**] Answer. - It is impossible that they all come. Why? Because the Buddha universes are infinite (*ananta*) and limitless (*apramāṇa*). If all [their inhabitants] came [to the assembly], they would be limited.

Besides, the ten directions each have their Buddhas who also preach the Prajñāpāramitā. Thus, in the 43rd chapter of the Prajñāpāramitā, a thousand Buddhas appear in each of the ten directions and they each preach the Prajñāpāramitā.[831] This is why it is impossible that all beings come [to Śākyamuni's assembly.]

Question. - If the Buddhas of the ten directions each preach the Prajñāpāramitā, why do the bodhisattvas of the ten directions [visit Śākyamuni]?

Answer. - As we have already said in the chapter on the coming of bodhisattva Samantaraśmi, these bodhisattvas come on account of Śākyamuni.

Moreover, these bodhisattvas were bound by their previous vow (*pūrvapraṇidhāna*): "If there is a place where the Prajñāpāramitā is being preached", [they had said], "we will go there to listen and pay homage"; this is why they come from afar to accumulate the qualities (*guṇa*) themselves. They also want to give a teaching (*deśana*) to beings, [saying to them]: "We have come from afar to pay homage (*pūjā)* to the Dharma; why do you, who live in this universe, not pay homage to it?"

Question. - The Buddha does not cling (*sakta*) to the Dharma. Why then does he manifest his miraculous power (*ṛddhibala*) seven times to guide beings to come together as a crowd?

Answer. - The Prajñāpāramitā is very profound (*gambhīra*), difficult to know (*durjñeya*), difficult to understand (*durvigāhya*) and inconceivable *(acintya*). And so, [when the Buddha wants to preach it], he gathers the great bodhisattvas together around himself. Thus the beginners (*navayānasaṃprasthita*), [seeing these grave bodhisattvas listening to the Buddha], are led to have faith in his teaching, for if people do not believe the words of ordinary men, they should have faith [in the evidence] of grave important people.

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831 This concerns the 43rd chapter of the Pañcaviṃśati by Kumārajīva, T 223, k. 12, p. 310a: "By his miraculous power, the Buddha saw in the east a thousand Buddhas who were preaching the Dharma. Having such and such characteristics and such and such names, they were preaching this chapter of the Prajñāpāramitā..... In the south, the west, and the north, in the four intermediate directions and at the zentih and the nadir, there were groups of a thousand Buddhas of this kind in each of the directions.

Question. - [When the sūtra describes the assembly surrounding the Buddha], why does it mention the world of gods (*devaloka*), the world of Māra (*māraloka*) and the world of Brahmā (*brahmaloka*)? It should simply say "the world of gods and men": that would be enough. Among the ten [traditional] epithets [of the Buddha], there is one that calls him 'Master of Gods and Men' (*śāstā devamanuṣyāṇām*); this is why gods and men should be mentioned here.

Answer. - The gods who have the divine eye (*divyacakṣus*) the divine ear (*divyaśrotra*), keen faculties (*tīkṣnendriya*) and wisdom (*prajñā*) have flocked together voluntarily. This is why the sūtra mentions the world of gods (*devaloka*) here.

Question. - The 'world of gods' already includes the Māras and the Brahmās. Why does the sūtra mention the Māras and the Brahmās separately?

Answer. - There are three great leaders[832] among the gods:

1) Śakra devānām indraḥ is the leader of two classes of gods, [the Cāturmahārājika and the Trāyastriṃśa].

2) King Māra is the leader of six classes of gods of the world of desire or kāmadhātu: [Caturmahārājika, Trayastriṃśa, Yāma, Tuṣita, Nirmāṇarati and Paranirmitavaśavartin].

3) Mahābrahma is the leader of the Brahmaloka.

Question. - The Yāma, Tuṣita and Nirmāṇarati gods also have leaders; why are there only three leaders of the gods?

Answer. - [A special mention is reserved for these three great gods because they are the best known]:

Śakra devāṇām indraḥ resides above ground like the Buddha; he is constantly near the Buddha; he is very famous (*yaśas*) and people know him well.

King Māra constantly comes to bother the Buddha and he is leader of the whole world of desire (*kāmādhātu*); the Yāma, Tuṣita and Nirmāṇarati gods all depend on him. Moreover, the gods of the threefold world (*traidhātuka*) are included (*saṃgṛhita*) in 'the world of gods', and as Māra is leader of [the first of these worlds], namely, the world of desire (*kāmadhātu*), the sūtra mentions [**135 a**] him separately (*pṛthak*). Finally, Māra usually torments the Buddha, but today he has come to listen to the Prajñāpāramitā so that the other people may progress (*vṛdh-*) in their faith (*śraddhā*).

Question. [The second world, i.e.,] the form realm (*rūpadhātu*), involves a large number of heavens; why does the sūtra mention only the brahmā heaven (*brahmaloka*) here?

Answer. - The gods who surpass [the Brahmaloka] are without awareness and do not like distractions (*cittavikṣepa*); they are less well-known. On the other hand, the Brahmaloka, which does involve the four kinds of consciousness (*vijñāna*), is easily known. Besides, the Brahmaloka is closer. Furthermore, Brahmā

832 In order to understand the following discussion, the division of the gods into the six heavens of kāmadhātu nd the seventeen heavens of rūpadhātu should be remembered. See, e.g., Kośa, III, p. 1-2; Kirfel, *Kosmographie des Inder,* p. 190-198.

is synonymous with the purity of renunciation (*vairāgyaviśuddhi*); by speaking of Brahmaloka here, we include all the gods of the form realm as a whole (*sāmānyataḥ*).

Furthermore, the other gods have no entourage. At the beginning of the kalpa, when he was born, Brahmā devarāja was dwelling alone in the palace of Brahmā (*brahmavimāna*) without any companion. Feeling bored, he thought: "Why should I not give birth to some companions?" At this moment, some Ābhāsvara gods whose life had come to an end, were reborn surrounding him as he had wished. King Brahmā then thought: "These gods previously did not exist; they are born according to my wish; I am able to engender these gods." At the same moment, the Ābhāsvara gods also on their part had this thought: "We are born from king Brahmā; king Brahmā is our father."[833] - This is why the sūtra limits itself to mentioning the Brahmaloka here.

Finally, the gods of the second, third and fourth dhyānas [i.e., the gods higher than the Brahmaloka who are identified with the first dhyāna], see the Buddha, hear the Dharma or assist the bodhisattvas in the desire realm (*kāmadhātu*), whereas visual consciousness (*cakṣurvijñāna*), auditory consciousness (*śrotravijñāna*) and tactile (*kāyavijñāna*) exist in the Brahmaloka.[834] This is why the brahmaloka is mentioned separately.

Question. - Why does the sūtra mention only śramaṇas and brāhmaṇas and not speak about kings (*rājan*), householders (*gṛhapati*) and other kinds of people?

Answer. - Wise people are of two kinds, śramaṇas and brāhamaṇas. The monastics who have left home (*pravrajita*) are śramanas; the lay people who remain at home are called brāhmaṇas.[835] Other people give

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833 This episode which illustrates the naive pride of Brahmā is drawn from the Brahmajālasutta: Dīgha, I, p. 17-18, retold in Dirgha, III, p. 28-29); Tch'ang a han, T 1, no. 21, k. 14, p. 90b-c; ibid. no. 30, k. 22, p. 143a; Fan wang lieou ch eul kien king, T 21, p. 266b. Here are some extracts from the Pāli text:

Hoti kho so, bhikkhave, samayo yaṃ kadmaci karahaci dīghassa addhuno .... mayaṃ pana amhā pacchā upapannā ti."

The corresponding Sanskrit text is cited in full in the Kośavyākhyā, p. 448; here are some extracts:

Bhavati, bhikṣavaḥ, sa samayo yad ayaṃ lokaḥ saṃvartate. Saṃvartamāna loke .... nirmitāḥ. Eṣo 'smākaṃ asya sattva Èśvaro yāvat pitṛbhūto bhāvanām."

For a discussion of this sūtra, see P'i p'o cha, t 1545, k. 98, p. 508 seq.

834 The six gods of kāmadhātu and the gods of the first dhyāna (the world of Brahmā) who are "different in body and concept" (*nānātvakāyasaṃjñin*) are directly in contact with the desire realm by means of their faculties. This is not the case for the higher gods who must change their level in order to communicate with material beings. See the theory of *vijñānasthiti* in Kośa, III, p. 16. In agreement with these ideas, it should be recalled that, according to the Vijñaptimātratā school, Sanskrit, the language of the gods, is spoken only among the gods of the first dhyāna; from the second dhyāna on, there is no longer any reasoning, therefore no language either (cf. Hobogirin, *Bon*, p. 119).

835 The expression 'śramaṇa-brāhmaṇa' is often used in Buddhist texts; sometimes the śramanas are contrasted with the brāhmaṇas, sometimes the two words are used together to designate, in a general way, the 'leaders in religious life'. On this subject, consult the note by T.W. Rhys-Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, p. 165, the study of R.O. Franke, *Dīghanikāya in Auwahl,* p. 305 seq., the information collected in Hobogirin, *Baramon*, p. 52-54, and the bibliography on this subject in Lav., *Dogme et Philosophie,* p. 165-166. Nowadays we have a tendency to think of the śramaṇas as dissidents and heretics and the brāhmaṇas as orthodox. Actually, - and the present passage of the Mppś nears this out, -

themselves up to worldly pleasures (*lokasukha*); this is why the sūtra does not speak of them. The brāhmaṇas use wisdom *(prajñā*) and look for merit (*puṇya*) those who have left home all seek the Path (*mārga)*; this is why the sūtra limits itself to talking about the śramaṇas and brāhmaṇas. We call those of pure family up to seven generations and who have taken the precepts (*śīlasādana)* at the age of six years brāhmaṇas. - The qualities of the Path and wisdom are found among the śramaṇas and the brāhmaṇas; this is why they are spoken of here.

Question. - Why does the sūtra, which sometimes speaks of 'the realm of the gods' (*devaloka*), again speak of 'the gods' (*deva*) here?

Answer. - The 'realm of the gods' designated the heaven of the Cāturmahārājika and Śakra gods; 'Māra' designated the Paranirmitavaśavartin and 'Brahma' gods, the form realm (*rūpadhātu*). Here the words 'gods' (*deva*) means the gods of the desire realm (*kāmadhātu*) [who have not yet been mentioned], namely, the Yāmas, Tuṣitas, Nirmāṇaratis, the *Ngai chen* (?), etc. The *Ngai chen* reside at the top of the six classes of gods; as their shape and color are very fine, they are called *Ngai chen* "Admirable Form".[836]

Question. - Why does the sūtra menion only the gandharvas and not the other asuras or the nāgarājas?

Answer. - The gandharvas are divine artists who accompany the gods;[837] their predispositions are gentle (*mañju*) but their merits, their qualities and their power are minimal;[838] they are lower than the devas and the asuras.[839] They are classed in the asura destiny (*asuragati)*, wheras the nāgarājas, 'dragon-kings', are classed in the animal destiny (*tiryaggati)*.[840] The kiṃnaras also are divine artists who depend on the gods. The king of the gandharvas is called *T'ong long mo* (Druma)[841] [in the Ts'in language, 'Tree']. Gandharvas

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what distinguishes them are less the opinions which they profess than the style of life they adopt. The śramaṇas are the wandering mendicants (*pravrajita*) while the brāhmāṇas are the pious lay people residing at home (*gṛhasta*); both groups come into the category of wise people (*prajñāvat*).

836 To my [Lamotte's] knowledge, these *Ngai chen* are not mentioned elsewhere. It must be remembered that originally Buddhism knew only six levels of heavens, occupied by the Cāturmahārājika, Trāyastriṃśa, Yāma, Tuṣita, Nirmaṇarati and Paranirmitavaśavartin gods respectively. In order to reach the auspicious number of seven, the Brahmakāyika gods of the Brahmaloka were added, sometimes followed by the Taduttarideva "the gods who are superior to them" (cf. Kirfel, *Kosmographie der Inder*, p. 190-191). No doubt the addition of the *Ngai chen* responds to a concern of this kind. It was only later that the seven celestial stahges were mulriplied by three and even by four.

837 They include in their ranks the heavenly musicians, Pañcasikha and Sūriyavaccasā, the daughter of Timbarū (Dīgha, II, p. 264).

838 In order to be reborn among the gandharvas, it is enough to have practiced a lower form of *śīla* (Dīgha, II, p. 212, 271).

839 The gandharvas form the lower group (*sabbanihīna kāya*) of gods (Dīgha, II, p. 212); they are the subjects of Dhṛtrarāṣtra, one of the four Cāturmahārājikadevas (Dīgha, III,p. 197)

840 The Aṅguttara, IV, p. 200, 294, 207, places them together in the great ocean: *Puna ca paraṃ bhante mahāsamuddo .... asurā nāgā gandhabbā*.

841 Druma, king of the kiṃnaras and not of the gandharvas, is completely ignored in the Pāli sources, but well-known in the Sanskrit sources. He appears in the Drumakiṃnararāja-paripṛcchā, of which there are two Chinese translations due respectively to Tche tch'an (T 624) and Kumārajīva (T 625) and one Tibetan translation entitled *Mi ḥam ciḥi rgyal po ljon*

and kiṃnaras habitually reside in two places: their usual residence is on the Ten-Jewel Mountain (*daśaratnagiri*); but sometimes in the heavens, they play music for the gods. These two types of beings are not subject to the alternations of high and low. [By contrast], the people who inhabit the four continents (*caturdvīpaka)* have four different lifespans: those who have a very long life (*atidīrghāyuṣa*) can live an incalculable number of years, those who have a very short life (*atyalpāyuṣa*) live only ten years.[842]The asuras are malevolent (*duṣṭacitta*) by nature and quarrelsome, but they do not break the precepts (*śīla*) and cultivate merit.[843] They are born in dwellings at the edge of the ocean and also have cities and palaces.[844] The asura kings are named *P'i mo tche to p'o li* (Vemacitra asurinda)[845] and *Lo heou lo* (Rāhu).[846]

It is said[847] that once Rāhu asurinda wanted to swallow *Yue* (Candima, god of the moon). The devaputra Candima, frightened, went at once to the Buddha and spoke this stanza:

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pas €us pa, Mdo XII, 6 (Csoma-Feer, p. 3*253;* OKC, no. 824, p. 314). The Saddharmapuṇḍarika, p. 4, knows four kiṃnara kings: Druma, Mahādharma, Sudharma and Dharmadhara. - But Druma is best known from the adventures of his daughter, the kiṃnarī Manoharā, captured by the hunters of king Sucandrima, wed by prince Sudhanu (Sudhana), pursued by her father-in-law Subāhu, retrieved in the Himālaya by her husband and finally brought back in triumph to Hastiāpura. This story, where Druma plays a very minor rôle, occurs in the following sources:

Sanskrit sources: Mahāvastu, II, p. 94-115; *Śrīkiṃnarījātaka*; - Avadānakalpalatā, ch. LXIV, vol. II, p. 318-413: Sudhanakiṃnaryavadāna; - Bhadrakalpāvadāna, chap. XXIX.

Chinese sources: Lieou tou tsi king, T 152, no. 83, k. 8, p. 44b-46b (tr. Chavannes, *Contes*, I, p. 292-304); - Ken pen chou ... yao che, T 1448, k. 13-14, p. 59b16-64c25.

Tibetan sources: Schiefner-Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 44-74.

Iconography: Barabudur: A Foucher, *Notes d'archeologie bouddhique*, BEFEO, IX, 1909, p.12-18 and fig. 6-9; - Nāgārjunikoṇḍa: J. Ph. Vogel, *The Man in the Well and some other Subjects illustrated at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa,* RAA, XI, 1937, p. 119-121 and pl. XXXVI.

842 In Uttarakuru, the human life is a thousand years; in Godānīya, five hundred years; in Pūrvavideha, two hundred and fifty years; in Jambudvīpa, it is incalculable at the beginning of the cosmic age, but diminishes progressively down to ten years at the end of the kalpa. Cf. Kośa, III, p. 172.

843 On the rôle of the asuras in Buddhism, see Hobogirin, *Ashura*, p. 172.

844 Their dwellings are described in Tch'ang a han, T 1, k. 20, p. 129b-130a.

845 Asurinda is a common name designating a chief or a king of the asuras; it is sometimes applied to Vemacitra, sometimes to Rāhu.

846 The last character, *lo*, is superfluous and should be removed.

847 Here the Mppś is quoting the Candimasutta, but its text differs both from the Chinese version of the Tsa a han, T 99 , no. 583, k. 22, p. 155a-b) cf. T 100, no, 167, k. 9, p. 436a) and the Pāli version of the Saṃyutta, I, p. 50 (tr. *Kindred Sayings*, I, p. 71-72; Geiger, I, p. 80-81). To faciliate the comparison, here is the translation of Tsa a ham and the Pāli text of the Samyutta:

Tsa a han, T 99, k. 22, p. 155a: Thus have I heard. Once the Buddha was dwelling at Śrāvastī in the Jetavana, in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍada. At that time, Rāhu, king of the asuras, was blocking Candima, the devaputra. Then full of terror, Candima devaputra came to the Buddha and having bowed his head to the Buddha's feet, stood aside and spoke these stanzas of praise to the Buddha:

"Homage to you, great hero
Who triumphs over all your obstacles.

I am exposed to suffering,
That is why I take refuge [in you].
I, the devaputra Candima
Take refuge in the Sugata;
May the Buddha, who has compassion for the world
Liberate me from the asura."

Then the Bhagavat replied with these stanzas:

"[The moon] chases away the shadows,
Its rays illumine space
Its brightness (*vairocana*) is pure
And its rays brilliant.
Rāhu conceals you in space:
Quickly release that which has the appearance of a flying hare (*śaśāṃka*)."
Rāhu, the asura,
Immediately released the moon and went away,
Body sweating
Terrified and ill at ease.
Spirit dimmed, mind troubled,
One might have said like a very sick man.

At that time, an asura named *P'o tche* (Vemacitra), seeing the asura Rāhu release the moon quickly and return, said the following stanza to him:

Asura Rāhu,
Why do you release the moon?
Body all asweat
You are like a very sick man.

The asura Rāhu answered with this stanza:

Gautama cursed me with a stanza.
If I did not release the moon immediately,
My head would break into seven pieces,
I would suffer the pain of near death.

The asura Vemacitra continued with this stanza:

That is extraordinary that the Buddha
Knows how to protect the world.
By speaking one stanza, he has forced
Rāhu to release the moon.

When the Buddha had finished this sūtra, Candima devaputra rejoiced at the words he had heard from the Buddha and, having bowed to him, he went away.

Saṃyutta, I, p. 50: *Sāvatthiyaṃ viharati. Tena kho pana asamayena Candimā dvaputto Rāhunā asurindena gahito .... no ce muñceyya Candimanti //*

The Tibetan Bkaḥ gyur contains two translations of this sūtra entitled 'zha baḥi mdo'. The first is in Mdo XXVI, 28 (cf. Csoma-Feer, p. 281; OKC, no. 997, p. 384): it is from the Sanskrit and almost corresponds to the translation given by the

Endowed with great wisdom, Buddha Bhagavat,

I take refuge in you. Homage to you!

This Rāhu is tormenting me;

I would like to ask the Buddha to grant me his protection out of his compassion.

The Buddha spoke to Rāhu with this stanza:

The moon (*candra*) is resplendent in illumining the shadows,

In space (*ākāśa*) it is a great lamp.

Its color is pure white; it has a thousand rays.

Do not swallow the moon; let it go immediately.

Then Rāhu, sweating with fear, let go of the moon at once. Vemacitra asurinda, seeing Rāhu frightened and releasing the moon, spoke this stanza:

O Rāhu, why then

Do you release the moon in your fear?

You are sweating drops of sweat like a sick man.

What is this fear and this anxiety?

Then Rāhu replied with this stanza:

The Bhagavat has given me this commnd with a verse:

If I do not release the moon, my head would split into seven pieces.

As long as I live, I would have no rest.

This is why I release the moon.

Vemacitra spoke this stanza:

The Buddhas are very difficult to meet,

It is only at distant intervals that they appear in the world.

Since [the Buddha] has spoken this pure stanza

Rāhu has released the moon.

Tsa a han above; L. Feer has made a French translation in *Extraits*, p. 411-413. The second is translated from the Pāli and occurs in Mdo XXX, 24 (cf. Csoma-Feer, p. 290; OKC, no. 738, p. 228).

Question, - Why does the sūtra not mention the damned (*naraka)*, the animals (t*iryagyoni*) and the pretas?

Answer. - The damned (*naraka*), whose minds are distracted (*vikṣepa*) by their great suffering, are not able to receive the Dharma; the animals (t*iryagyoni)*, who are stupid (*mūḍha*) and of closed mind (*āvṛicitta*), are not able to undergo conversion; as for the pretas who are burned by the fire of hunger (*kṣudh*) and thirst (*pipāsā*), they do not succeed in receiving the Dharma.

[**135 c**] Moreover, among the animals and the pretas, a few come to hear the Dharma; they conceive meritorious sentiments but are unable to embrace the Path (*mārga*). This is why the sūtra does not mention them.

Question. -If that is so, then the sūtra should not speak of the gandharvas or the asuras either. Why? Because these beings have already been included (*saṃgṛhita*) in the preta destiny.[848]

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[848] In order to understand the discussion which follows, it should be noted that the 'Questioner' assumed here represents the side of Kātyāyanīputra and defends the theories of the Sarvāstivadin Abhidharma. The latter accept only five *gati* or destinies (see, e.g., the Saṃghītiparyāya, T 1536, k. 11, p. 415c); doing this, they are faithful to the canonical teachings which, with a few exceptions (Dīgha, III, p. 264) recognize only five *gati* (cf. Dīgha, III, p. 234; Majjhima, I, p. 73; Saṃyutta, V, p. 474; Aṅguttara, IV, p. 459); these are first the three bad destinies (*durgati*) - the damned (*naraka*), the animals (*tiryagyoni*) and the pretas - which must be placed among the eight *akṣaṇa*, the conditions in which it it is difficult, if not impssible, to see the Buddha or hear the Dharma; these are the two good destinies (*sugati*) , of the gods (*dev*) and of men, humans (*manuṣya*), where it is easy to acquire the Path.

The scholars who accept only five gati find it difficult to place the asuras. Here, our 'Questioner' places them, along with the gandharvas, in the preta gati, and the Vibhāṣā (T 1545, k. 172, p. 867a-c) does the same. Others, such as the author of the Yogacaryābhūmi (T 1570, k, 4), places them among the gods. But most often the asuras belong to several gati at the same time, either the preta and the animal (Saddharmasaṛtyupasthāna, T 721, k. 18-21) or preta, animal and gods (Gāthāsūtra, cited in T 1723, k. 2), or preta, human, gods and animal (Śūraṃgamasūtra, T 945, k. 9). These referencxes are from Hobogirin, *Ashura*, p. 42. See also P. Mus, *La lumiere sur les six Voies*, p. 155, 175, etc.

The position adopted by the Mppś is quite different. It criticizes the Sarvāstivādin Kātyānīputra for wanting to put into the lower destiny of the pretas an asura as pious as Punarvasu's mother, a yakṣa as famous as Vajrapāṇi, a kiṃnara as powerful as Druma. Then it comments, wrongly it is true, that the Buddha had never fixed at five the number of the *gati* and that such a limitation is the doing of the Sarvāstivādin school. Finally, calling on the Vātsīputrīyas as witness, it proclaims the need for a sixth *gati* where the asuras and gandharvas "whose merits are many" are placed and which cannot be confused with the damned, the animals and the pretas who populate the lower *gati.* Returning later (k. 39, p. 280a) to this subject, it will conclude: "Previously, five *gati* were spoken of; today we must add the asura *gati*."

Yet other texts accept six *gati* in place of five: an isolated passage of the Dīgha (III, p. 264); Petavatthu, IV, 11: the Andhaka and Uttarāpathaka of the Kathāvatthu, VIII, p. 360 (cf. Rh. D., *Points of controversy*, p. 211); the Ṣaḍgatikārikā, stanza 94, which accepts the asura *gati* (cf. P, Mus, *Six voies*, p. 282; T 726, p. 457b); the Dharmasaṃgraha, v. 135, 346, 372 (but five gati on p. 131).

It may be asked if Nāgārjuna of the Mppś, who here shows himself to be a strong partisan of six gatis, is the same as the nihilist Nāgārjuna, author of the Madh. kārikā who accepts only five (cf. Madh. vṛtti, p. 269, l. 9; p. 304, l. 4). On the other hand and contrary to the assertion of Poussin in Kośa, III, p. 11, the Nāgārjuna of the Suḥrillekha lists six gatis (cf. T 1673, p. 750c1).

Answer. - The Buddha did not say that; why do you claim that they are included in this destiny? That is an [unwarranted] statement by *Kia tchan yen tseu* (Kātyāyanīputra), etc. The asuras have a power equal to that of the gods, sometimes in their battles, they even win over the gods. [849] The gandharvas are the divine artists who enjoy happiness equal to that of the gods; they have wisdom (*prajñ*ā) and can distinguish the beautiful from the ugly. Why could they not receive the Dharma of the Path? See for example, in the *Tsa a han* (Saṃyuktāgama), in the chapter about the gods (*devasaṃyukta*), the story of the mother of the asura *Fou na p'o seou* (Punarvasu).[850] In the course of his travels, the Buddha spent the night in her home; when the Bhagavat was preaching the ambrosia (*amṛta*) of the holy Dharma, her two children, daughter and son, began to cry. The mother quieted them with this stanza:

Do not cry, *Yu tan lo* (Uttarikā),

Do not cry, *Fou na p'o seou* (Punarvasu),

So that I can hear the Dharma and find the path.

You too should find it like me.

This is why we know that, even among the asuras, there are some who obtain the Path.

Furthermore, in the Mahāyāna, the hero (*vīra*) *Mi tsi kin kang* (Guhyaka Vajrapaṇi)[851] prevails over all the bodhisattvas and all the more, over all men.

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[849] The battles between the asuras and the gods are a banal theme told in steretypical fromulas: Dīgha, II, p. 285; Majjhima, I, p. 253; Saṃyutta, I, p. 216, 223; IV, p. 201; V, p. 447; Aṅguttara, IV, p. 432. - References to Chinese sources in Hobogirin, *Ashura*, p. 43.

[850] The beginning of the *Punabbasusuttanta* of which we have the Pāli version (Saṃyutta, I, p. 209-210) and two Chinese translations: Tsa a han, T 99, no. 1322, k. 49, p. 362c-363a; T 100, no. 321, k. 15, p. 481a. There are a few diffrences between these sources:

Saṃyutta, I, p. 209: *Ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Sāvatthīyaṃ viharati JetavaneAnāthapiṇḍaikassa ārmam .... dhammaṃ sossāmi satthuno //*

Tsa a han, T 99, k. 49, p. 362c: Thus have I heard. Once the Buddha was travelling among the people of the Magadha kingdom with his great assembly. He came to the place where the mother of the young yakṣa Punarva was dwelling and spent the night there. Then the Bhagavat preached a sermon about the noble truths (*āryasatyapratisaṃyuktadharma*) to his bhikṣus: the noble truths of suffering (*duḥkha*), the origin of suffering (*duḥkhasamudaya*), the cessation of suffering (*duḥkhanirodha*) and the path leading to the cessation of suffering (*duḥkhanirodhagaminī pratipat*). At that time, the two young children of the yakṣinī, her son Punarvasu and her daughter Uttarā, began to cry during the night. Then the mother of Punarvasu scolded her son and daughter with these stanzas:

"You, Punaravsu, and you, Uttarā, do not cry

So that I may be able to hear the Dharma preached by the Tathāgata".

Other details may be found in Sārattha, I, p. 309-311.

[851] Vajrapaṇi, of the yakṣa clan, thunder (*vajra*)-bearer and tutelary spirit of the Buddha (cf. Lalitavistara, p. 66, 219). He has already appeared in the canonical sources (Dīgha, I, p. 95; Majjhima, I, p. 231) and his importance increases with time. See Foucher, *Art Gréco-bouddhique*, II, p. 48-64.

When *T'ouen louen mo* (Druma), king of the kiṃnaras and gandharvas, came to the Buddha to play the lute and praise the Buddha, three thousand universes were shaken; even Mahākāśyapa was uncomfortable on his seat.[852] How could such individuals be unable to obtain thePath?

When the asurarājas and the nāgarājas come to the Buddha to question him about the profound Dharma (*gambhīradharma*), the Buddha is flexible to their questions and answers their queries on the profound meaning (*gambhīrārtha*). How can you say that they are unable to obtain the Path?

Question. - Of the five destinies (*pañcagati*), the Buddha, teacher of gods and men (*śāstā devamanuṣyāṇāṃ*), does not include the three bad destinies (*durgati*). As they have no merit and do not participate in the Path, the nāgas all fall into the bad destinies.

Answer. - The Buddha never spoke explicitly about the five destinies. The five destinies are an invention of the school of the *Chou yi ts'ie yeou*[853](Sarvāstivāda), but the school of the *P'o ts'o fou tou lou* (Vātsiputrīya) accepts the existence of six destinies.

Moreover, there must be six destinies. Why? Because the three bad destinies are exclusively (*ekāntena*) places of punishment (*pāpasthāna)*. But if the merits are many and the sins (*āpatti*) are rare, as is the case for the asuras, gandharvas, etc., the place of birth (*upapattisthāna*) should be different. This is why six destinies must be posited.

Finally, even in the three bad destinies, there are beings who obtain the Path; but, as their merits are rare, [in general] we say that they do not possess the Path.

As for the expression 'bodhisattva before acceding to the state of Buddhahood', see what has previously been said.

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852 The Mppś will return twice to this episode: k. 11, p. 139b, and k. 17, p. 188b: "When Druma, king of the kiṃnaras, along with 84,000 kiṃnaras, came to the Buddha to play the lute, sing verses and pay homage to the Buddha, Sumeru, king of mountains, all the trees on the mountain, the people and animals, all began to dance. The assembly surrounding the Buddha, including Mahākaśyapa, could not sit still on their seats. Then the bodhisattva *T'ien siu* asked the ayuṣmat Mahākaśyapa: Old man, previously you were foremost among those who observed the twelve *dhutas*: why do you not sit still on your seat? - Mahākaśyapa answerd: "The five desires of the threefold world do not shake me, but the *abhijñā* of the bodhisattva [Druma], by virtue of the fruit of retribution of the qualities (*guṇavipākabalāt*), put me in such a state that I can no longer stay quiet." - This episode is taken from the Drumakiṃnararāja-paripṛcchā, T 624, k. 1, p. 351c; T 625, k. 1, p. 371a.

853 The order of the words should be corrected; I [Lamotte] read: *wou tao tchö che chou yi ts'ie yeou pou seng so chou*.